

Black Politics—

1987

May.

Capt. Trevis 11/5/87
5th worker's body found

JOHANNESBURG. - The burnt body of another SATS worker has been found - this time at Tembisa on the East Rand.

As in the case of the four SATS workers necklaced at Kazerne on Tuesday, he had been abducted from his work place and allegedly assaulted and then set alight with petrol.

All five had opposed the strike by rail workers.

The Bureau for Information later confirmed the incident and said the body was found at 10.30pm on Wednesday outside Saphokua Hostel in Tembisa. — Sapa

SATS worker: 3 burnt to death, page 2

'Verdict unsupported'

CAG Tracks 1/5/87

Bank rejects Munnik

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JOHANNESBURG. — A full meeting of the board of directors of the First National Bank has rejected the findings of the Munnik Commission of Inquiry into the funding of ANC advertisements, which implicated the bank's MD, Mr Chris Ball.

A statement issued here said the bank's legal team, after having studied the full report of the commission, could find no evidence to support the commission's verdict.

In a statement last night, Mr Ball said events over the past few months had caused concern to "staff and customers of the bank.

"The legal advice given to me since 5 February has been that I should not make any statement to use during the sitting of the Munnik commission. I am now, however, in a position to do so. The events of the last couple of months have given rise to certain false perceptions in regard to my personal stance which are caus-

ing concern to staff and customers of the bank.

"I have repeatedly stated that I am totally opposed to violence. I therefore cannot and do not support terrorism and revolution, or people or movements who promote them. Thus I believe in negotiation and reconciliation, in the creation of a peaceful and just society.

"Communication and dialogue are fundamental to the process. Businessmen have a right and duty to participate in the debate on the socio-economic issues.

"I am extremely proud of the traditions of the bank. Neither it nor I as Managing Director have ever taken sides politically and will not do so in future. The bank's contribution to the development of our great country is without equal and I and my colleagues will continue that tradition.

"The evidence I gave to the Munnik commission was factual and accurate and my conscience is totally clear on that point."

Mr Ball's statement received the full support the First

National Bank's board, who released the following statement:

"The Board of First National Bank of Southern Africa Ltd has had the opportunity of being advised by its legal advisers who were present throughout the hearing.

"In view of the foregoing, and that Mr Ball at all times acted lawfully and within his authority, the board expresses its full confidence in and continued support for Mr Ball.

"The bank affirms its age-old tradition of service to all sectors of the South African community. Contrary to impressions which may have been created, the bank has no political position or allegiance and seeks only consistently to serve the best interests of all its clients.

"At the same time it is of the view that there is a critically important role for business leadership to play in public life.

"The general management committee of the bank has been a party to and fully endorses the contents of this statement." — Sapa and Own Correspondent

Dead 'spy' had SADF ID, inquest told

SADF identification was found on a man who was killed after a UDF meeting in Mitchells Plain where he was accused of being a police spy.

This was evidence in an informal inquest hearing in Wynberg Magistrate's Court yesterday.

Inquest magistrate Mr G Hoffmann found that Mr Moegsien Abrahams, 22, died after receiving a knife wound in his chest, inflicted during an assault on May 25 last year. He also found that Mr Abrahams's death was brought about by an act amounting to an offence, being assault by an unknown person.

Sergeant F Coetzee said in a statement that he had searched the body of Mr Abrahams and found a purse and "an army identity document issued to M Abrahams".

In another statement, Mr Alan Borgstedt said he had been washing his car about 5.30pm when he saw a bare-chested man being chased.

"The man was covered in blood and ran on to my premises where he fell against a glass panel next to my front door and broke it. He then ran through my house and into the back yard."

Mr Borgstedt said he pleaded with the pursuers who had half-bricks in their hands and appeared to be UDF members, to leave the man alone.

"Some of them told me that the man was a police informer who had been at a UDF meeting at the Westridge Civic centre," Mr Borgstedt said.

"I went into my backyard and found Mr Abrahams lying against the wall with a knife wound in his chest." His pants and shoes were full of blood. By the time the ambulance arrived he was dead.

Mr Yusuf Adam, who had chaired the meeting, said one of the marshals who were there to maintain order, informed him that "two unwanted guests" were present. He had announced their presence and asked them to leave.

Immediately after he made the request he saw a number of people rush to the exit. He denied that he had identified the "unwanted guests" as police informers.

Mr Adam said some marshals escorted a man with a torn shirt to the stage. Marshalls and executive members formed a barrier to protect him from the people "who were trying to get at him".

Mr Ismail Bakardien, who was a marshal, said he had taken the man out through the back entrance and when they were a few yards away from the centre "some students burst out of the backdoor".

SATS in urgent court application

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — An account of how a SATS worker found the burnt bodies of three men who had been allegedly assaulted with him at Cosatu House earlier that day was given in papers before the Rand Supreme Court yesterday.

The worker's evidence was recounted in an affidavit by the SATS regional manager for the Southern Transvaal, Mr Abraham Spies Le Roux, in support of an urgent application brought yesterday evening by SATS against Cosatu and the South African Railways and Harbours Union (SARHWU).

Mr Le Roux said the worker had been tied to a water pipe at Cosatu House and assaulted, hit and kicked by about 30-40 people.

Three other men were also brought into the hall where he was.

Mr Le Roux said according to the witness they were told to clean the floor after they had had water thrown over them to get the blood off them.

He said they were all accuse of being informers and working with the "boere".

According to the worker the three men were taken off.

Later he and another man were taken through the Eastern exit of Cosatu House and put into a station wagon and taken to the Heidelberg off-ramp where he managed to escape.

Later, when he returned to the spot with a SADF patrol, he found the three burnt bodies and that of the man in the car with him.

SATS intended asking the court to order Cosatu to see that its premises, in particular those at World Centre in Germiston and Cosatu House in Johannesburg, were not misused for the intimidation, assault and murder of SATS workers and ex-workers.

They also wanted an order interdicting SARHWU from intimidating employees into not working and empowering the police to enter Cosatu premises to enforce the order.

In his affidavit Mr Le Roux said SATS had been aware of intimidation of workers during the strike.

The application was postponed till June 2 after Cosatu undertook to do all in its power to see that unlawful acts did not take place on its premises.

SARHWU said it was not in a position to admit or deny the allegations in court papers but nevertheless undertook not to intimidate or assault anyone.

Call Times 15/8/84

Cosatu 'condemns violence'

JOHANNESBURG. — A Congress of South African Trade Unions yesterday said Cosatu had long come out strongly against the use of violence in labour relations.

"Cosatu condemns violence that has resulted in the deaths of four SATS workers and makes it clear that we have never condoned violence as means of resolving disputes," the statement said.

"If those workers died at the hands of other railway workers we say that that should not have happened.

"Sarhwa has emphatically distanced itself from the events of Tuesday."

□ The Minister of Transport Affairs, Mr Eli Louw, expressed his and the government's abhorrence at the violent death of the SATS workers.



EVIDENCE . . . ? The photograph which refugees fear confirms that the Office for Community Services has been negotiating with "witdoek" leaders. From left to right "witdoek" leader Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana (sitting), Mr Ricky Shelhauser of OCS, Colonel J L Rheede of the SADF and Warrant Officer Philip du Toit of the SAP.

By CLARE HARPER

CROSSROADS squatter leaders have handed "evidence" to the Cape Times which they said confirmed fears that the Office for Community Services was negotiating with "witdoek" leaders over the reoccupation of the land they formerly occupied.

A spokesman for the Surplus Peoples Project, Ms Josette Cole, on behalf of the squatters, handed over a photograph to the Cape Times.

It shows "witdoek" leader Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana and his executives at a function with a representative of the Office for Community Services, Mr Ricky Shelhauser, Colonel J L Rheede of the South African Defence Force and Warrant Officer Philip du Toit of the South African Police at a function, wearing "tribal" garb.

Squatter land talk 'evidence'

Handwritten: 11/11/87, Cape Times 1/5/87

Yesterday Col Rheede said the function took place three or four weeks ago. The newly selected Crossroads committee was informed of the rules and regulations by the Cape Provincial Administrations Office for Community Services in Goodwood.

Last week, the squatter leaders called on the Office for Community Services to negotiate with them over the land, which has since been cleared, "or they would move back regardless".

Ms Cole said the photograph "clearly, visibly represented the alleged alliance between Old

Crossroads leader, Mr Ngxobongwana, the Office for Community Services, the South African Defence Force and the police".

The SPP called on Community Services to say whether they intended including the squatters in negotiations.

Director of Community Service Mr Louis Koch said yesterday, in response to Cape Times inquiries last week about the squatters' position, that he would release a statement "some time" next week.

He was "unaware" of any function attended by Mr Ngxobongwana and Community Services.

ONE TIME
11/18/77
11/14

Boesak blames Japanese

TOKYO. — The Rev Allan Boesak said yesterday that many South Africans believe Japanese companies are blunting the impact of economic sanctions by grabbing the business left behind by firms pulling out of the country.

He arrived in Japan for a five-day visit sponsored by 35 church, union and activist groups.

"The sad truth is that Japan today counts among the main supporters of the South African government and the apartheid system — in spite of the verbal denunciation of the apartheid system that we hear so often," he said.

Dr Boesak said: "Japanese businesses also have the tendency, whenever, for instance, a company from the United States withdraws from South Africa, to step into that void," he said.

He said Japan should step up economic, political and diplomatic pressure on South Africa without waiting for Europe and the US. — Sapa-AP

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MAY 1 1987

Financial
Mail

PEACE PROSPECTS

Over to the ANC

11A 4 FM 1/5/87

The problem when assessing SA raids into neighbouring territories is to decide who really tells it like it is. Experience suggests that the answer is no one.

On the one hand we have the Nats telling us that the ANC is hell bent on violently disrupting the May 6 elections. We believe them. After all the ANC makes no bones about its terrorist intentions and it would have been a strategic miss to let the opportunity pass.

But the Nationalists also say that one answer was to send armed pre-emptive "reconnaissance" groups into Zambia. That's harder to swallow.

The ANC, and its host government, says the hit squad missed its mark and killed innocent civilians. We also find that hard to believe. It's too close a parallel to the peace-loving Maputo factory workers hit in a previous SA raid. They turned out to be members of Joe Slovo's army.

From the SA government's viewpoint, however, it seems indeed fortuitous that it should have been presented with the opportunity to show just how tough it is on terrorism a mere two weeks before the election.

The Nats, after all, have spent a small fortune in the media telling the electorate that a vote for the PFP is a vote for communism — for which read terrorism. The surprising part is that many voters will believe them, although others will see the campaign for the crude and baseless smear it is.

All the same, the blame for the cross-border violence is far from one-sided. Whatever the wrongs it may be trying to right, the ANC has shown little inclination for selectivity in its violence against the people of SA. So while innocents are suffering, they are suffering on both sides.

The monumental pity of it all is that white SA, at least, doesn't know what it's fighting for. We have P W and Pik Botha and the rest of the ruling hierarchy telling us what the ANC wants, but what we don't have is the ANC telling us what the ANC wants.

Even in a democracy as circumscribed as ours, this is untenable. We are told who the enemy is; with one important exception we don't know why. The exception is that while the ANC continues in its violent ways we are bound to resist it.

On May 7 the National Party will be back in power with continued access to all the apparatus of state capable of keeping it there for years to come. As we say in our cover story over the page, the omens for real change are not good while "solutions" are offered only on the basis of group identity.

But at least the talking, the real talking, must begin. And before that can happen, the ANC must lay down its arms on condition that government releases its leaders, and tell South Africans what it really wants. If peace is the prize, there is no other way. ■

Putting back the clock



The turbulence in the labour arena could foreshadow an indefinite period of intensified uncertainty vis-à-vis the relationship between employers and the workforce. This situation is inevitable, and businessmen will have to be guided by such attested facts as can be salvaged from the murk created by censorship and the whole apparatus of the State of Emergency.

Part of the problem is that the effective suppression of umbrella bodies such as the United Democratic Front (UDF) has been a factor in the politicisation of the black union movement. Bannings and arrests have fur-

Government's labour reforms have gained it considerable credit abroad — and helped to maintain a degree of stability in the black workforce. Recent actions indicate it could be turning its back on this progress.

ther inflamed perceptions. This is most apparent with the increasingly militant Congress of SA Trade Unions (Cosatu). Political demands which cannot be made through

genuinely representative political avenues re-emerge on the shopfloor.

There is nothing particularly sinister in this — leading businessmen have cogently argued that business must play its role in fostering reform. Labour, obviously in its own terms, is increasingly doing exactly the same, and has been for almost 10 years — which is not to say that radical elements will not seek advantage from turmoil.

Just what can be usefully defined as labour as opposed to political action and statement has become virtually an academic issue. In creating this impasse both "sides" are

at the mercy of events which are moving very swiftly indeed. And government, bracing for the election, is not playing the conciliatory role it should be — through mechanisms which it set up itself in the Seventies when faced with the danger of an undisciplined and growing urbanised black workforce.

It may well be that the 16 000 dismissed Sats strikers can be replaced because of the severe unemployment situation — which Central Statistical Services estimates at 22% of the economically active black population.

But the move leaves out of account such intangibles as the enduring bitterness created by any mass dismissal, the cost of training novices and re-processing those who wish to return to work on almost any terms, the inherent risk of displacing unemployment to the homelands and other rural areas, so in the long term creating a disaffected base for insurgents, and the image foreign traders and investors gain of the vulnerability of our transport systems to strikes and sabotage.

And then hardline police actions spill over into the black union movement and the black community as a whole — witness the effects of the raids on Cosatu House and the Germiston and Doornfontein shootings, as well as last week's confused Soweto stayaway.

Emotions heightened by what is seen as unfair treatment of one group of workers (and the Sats strike had its origins in a petty alleged offence involving R40) are fed back into a community enraged by what it sees as unjustified rent hikes and the like. (The current wave of "unrest" began in September 1984 over rents and related issues in the Vaal Triangle townships.) This to and fro of causes and actions leads to a volatility which is in no employer's interest — private or public sector.

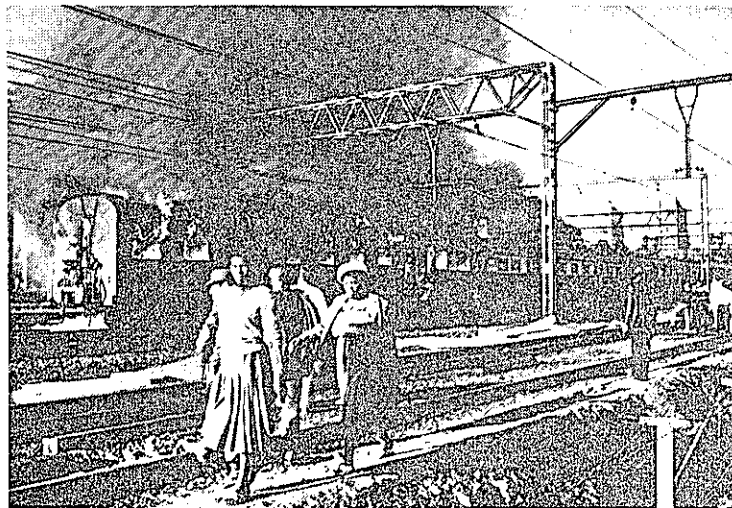
As for replacing black workers with whites — it's a pipedream, like attempting to maintain postal services with white schoolchildren and, very often, white drifters who will not stay in the job in the medium to long term.

Management-union confrontation in these circumstances simply cannot be as easily resolved as some recent mine strikes, where the National Union of Mineworkers is a recognised entity with which deals can be struck — witness the strikes at Randfontein Estates and Western Areas over retrenchments. Here the issue of "sweetheart" unions — compliant in-house employees' associations — did not rise up from the past to complicate matters. A JCI spokesman was reported last week as saying that about 23 000 workers were resuming shifts after productive negotiations. That's more than were involved in the Sats strike.

The ramifications of the transport workers' strike continue, and, of course, have been marked by violence — police action against

unions, sabotage of trains. As Cosatu's Jay Naidoo has pointed out (*Current affairs* April 24), public sector bodies like Escom and Iscor have come to terms with Cosatu-affiliated unions and negotiate with them. Sats is therefore out of step with its sister public sector corporations — fazed by the unionisation of its workforce by the SA Railway and Harbour Workers Union, affiliated to Cosatu. Its (sometimes confused) attempts to negotiate were focused on Blatu, a management-sponsored grouping with no real authority outside Natal.

Overall, Sats' responses to the strike seem defective. Attempts were made to promote a shadow union as the genuine representative of the workforce. There were unsubstantiated allegations of intimidation by Cosatu, and the whole process of shunting off one body of workers and taking on another was and is messy. What, for example, about service



Fire in the yard ... will reform be the casualty?

benefits and the like?

Such *kragdadigheid*, in current circumstances, has a further consequence. Michael Sinclair of the Washington-based Investor Responsibility Research Centre — which monitors SA events for corporate America — writes in a new publication: "An important factor in the new era of black political mobilisation was the legal recognition of black trade unions in 1979. The emergent black union movement is a democratic anomaly in a society that denies blacks any other representation ... Although only about 12% of the African workforce (fewer than 1m workers) is unionised, the union movement has a political influence far beyond its formal membership. As one union leader put it, 'We are blacks before we are workers,' and in the absence of other channels workers expect the unions to take up community issues and grievances."

There is also the possibility of the Sats dismissals leading to sympathy strikes, despite their illegality, as Cosatu has threatened. Since the "emergent" unions are democratically structured, they represent one way in which black workers as a whole

encounter the nature and aims of democracy itself. It can be argued that far from being at the mercy of "outside" influences (such as the UDF or the external mission of the African National Congress), these unions will in the long run have to themselves confront undemocratic tendencies in, for example, the ANC. The whole issue of nationalisation would fall into the spotlight in any transitional period. It wouldn't all go the ANC's way.

Such intangible "gains" will be lost if the entire process of industrial negotiation becomes an "us vs them" affair. If you cannot negotiate on a pay rise or working conditions, how can the groundwork be laid for negotiation about power-sharing at far higher political levels?

The hard line therefore suits undemocratic forces and tendencies by discrediting negotiating as a procedure for conflict resolution. As Sinclair puts it: "Unionisation has provided a platform for democratic organisation and developing political awareness that has an important spillover effect in the organisation of many political community organisations." This view has merit. Revolutionaries do not thrive in an orderly climate — and the labour scene at present is not orderly.

Government will make matters worse if, having accepted the Wiehahn reforms, it now turns its back on them — for example through legislation which would have the effect of turning labour issues into political ones in all circumstances. Minister in the State President's Office, Alwyn Schlabusch, gave notice last week

that a crackdown could be in the offing as soon as the next session of Parliament. If true, and not simply an election ploy, this would do considerable damage to the one area in which the Nationalists have carried through reform with a fair measure of sincerity and success.

It would also suggest that one "solution" to black aspirations remains the old "insider-outsider" strategy implicit in the Rieker Report. In essence, this would be to say that if you have a job and "approved" accommodation, you can stay on as an urbanised black. If not, it's out — back to the homelands and poverty. An entrenchment of privileges then occurs as well as political docility. People with a stake in the First World sector will perceive their best interests as lying with the status quo — or so the theory goes.

In fact, since life is uncertain, that won't happen. Hardline employer attitudes — sanctioned by government — will instead increase black-white polarisation. Again, a situation which suits revolutionaries. Such larger issues should not be forgotten in the hope that black unions, and blacks, will somehow go away. □

Opposing Labour

The formation at the weekend of the coloured-based Democratic Alliance (DA) effectively confirms the failure of Allan Hendrickse's Labour Party (LP) to live up to its pledge to dismantle apartheid "from the inside."

The new alliance comprises nine rebel LP MPs — seven in the House of Representatives (HoR) and two in the House of Delegates. It also embraces the Democratic Workers' Party — until now the official three-man opposition in the HoR; the only independent MP in the House; the Peoples' Congress Party, whose leader, Peter Marais, sits in the President's Council; the Indian Progressive Reform Party; and the Indian opposition party, Solidarity. The group is seeking recognition as the new official opposition in the coloured House.

Leaders

The new alliance will be chaired by Charles Redcliffe, MP for Schauderville in the eastern Cape. Its members include the fiery former Transvaal LP leader, Jac Rabie, and Peter Mopp of East London, long regarded as one of the most radical coloured MPs.

The group split with the LP because it believes Hendrickse has been co-opted by government to such an extent that the party's objective of destroying apartheid from within the tri-cameral system is now impossible.

The DA will regard the LP as the National Party's ally in the HoR and hold it responsible for government action and policy. Until now, the LP has had no real opposition. It has enjoyed the unenviable position of being both part of government and in opposition to it.

But its real role is expected to be dramatically defined soon after parliament reconvenes on May 18 when the DA introduces a motion of no confidence in the coloured Ministers' Council.

The new group is also expected to move towards formal links with the PFP and the Worrallite independents. It is understood that both have been approached by the group and have expressed interest in forming a nonracial, broadly based opposition force.

Redcliffe says the DA has been formed to establish a grouping which cuts across racial barriers and which can become a political

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force in SA. His alliance believes in equal social, economic and political rights for all, a "just" constitution drawn up by representatives of all South Africans at a National Assembly, and a peaceful transition to a non-racial government.

Hendrickse dismisses the split as a "damp squib" and accuses the rebels of climbing onto the Worrall bandwagon. He says by calling themselves an alliance the DA mem-

bers are evading a policy stand. "With whom are they going to be aligned?" he asks.

Hendrickse does not believe the split is the end of the LP which he says "has lived through so many crises and each one of them has made us stronger."

A senior LP MP tells the FM that "three or four" more MPs still in the party may break away soon. The rebels themselves believe the number may be far higher.

PR operation planned to underline MD's 'innocence'

Bank stands firm: We back Ball

MR
SM
1/10/81

Staff Reporters

The First National Bank today stood firmly behind its managing director Mr Chris Ball as controversy raged over the Munnik Commission of Inquiry into the African National Congress advertisement row.

The bank's senior general manager, Mr Jimmy McKenzie, said: "We have complete confidence in the innocence of our managing director in the whole affair.

"Our board of directors has reviewed all the evidence and formally rejects any suspicions that Mr Ball was aware that the R100 000 advanced to Mr Yusuf Surtee was to be used to finance the ANC adverts," he said.

"Mr Ball, universally regarded as South Africa's No 1 banker, will stay at the helm.

"We now intend a full-scale public relations operation to underline his innocence in the affair, whatever the allegations of the Munnik Commission, and to emphasise that neither Mr Ball nor the bank is involved in party politics.

"We hope we can now clear the air with our staff and all our customers, who have been fed all the statements flowing from the commission of inquiry while we have had to remain silent.

Accounts lost

"The bank cannot deny that it lost certain accounts as the controversy dragged on but we feel confident we can now influence a return of the accounts — and no doubt bring in new customers who have expressed sympathy with Mr Ball and bank in the affair.

"It is distressing that there is no legal route to appeal against the findings of a commission of inquiry. If only it had been a court of law Mr Ball could have easily proved his innocence."

The State President's office, which has been handed the full report from the Munnik Commission, said Mr Botha was aware of the formal statements issued by the bank's board of directors and the managing director himself, but had no comment.

Mr Ball last night reacted to the commission report, saying the evidence he had given was factual and his conscience was "totally clear on that point".

He said the events of the past few months had given rise to "certain false perceptions" regarding his personal stance, causing concern to staff and bank customers.

⊗ See Page 3.

Botha lays stress on ANC's threat to isolate 'regime'

By Bruce Cameron, Political Staff

MARITZBURG — The State President, Mr Botha, has inferred that he stands between South Africa and communism.

Speaking at a sometimes rowdy National Party meeting in Maritzburg last night he told about 1 400 people that the African National Congress's calendar for 1987 was aimed at isolating the "Botha regime".

"They don't want to isolate Eglin or Worrall, but Botha, because Botha is standing in the way of communism."

Ignoring his political opponents in the election, almost his entire speech dealt with the threat of communism, anarchy and the ANC.

In particular he warned young people "who lend their ears to radicals" . . . to stay away from anarchists and communists".

South Africa needed young intelligent people in the economy and to serve the country.

VOTERS MUST DECIDE

On May 6 South Africans had to decide whether they were satisfied the Government was dealing properly with the security of the country; whether it was doing the right thing keeping forces in SWA/Namibia to keep the communists at bay; whether the Government was right to take military steps to prevent people crossing the border; whether it was correct in protecting the heartland of South Africa, the Witwatersrand, from terror attacks.

"You must decide on May 6 if you will continue with a strong and determined government against anarchists and vagabonds from across the borders."

Mr Botha again committed himself to reform, saying no other Government had introduced as much reform as he had.

This was the reason why he was viciously attacked by the communists "because they don't want me to succeed".

But he added the Government would only go ahead with reform as long as there was "stability, economic progress and security — because we are not prepared to surrender".

"You as voters must decide if you want to continue along the road of security, economic growth and stability in order to bring about justice."

He said he was not prepared to have a fourth chamber for blacks or black majority government.

However, he was prepared to have majorities in the Government but on a basis of differentiation.

(Report by B Cameron, 85 Field Street, Durban.)

11A DD 115/87

Ball reacts to money finding

JOHANNESBURG — The managing director of the First National Bank, Mr Chris Ball, — said by the Munnik Commission to have known a R100 000 overdraft he granted a businessman was to be used to fund newspaper adverts calling for the unbanning of the ANC — says he is opposed to violence.

Mr Ball said in a statement that events over the past few months had caused concern to "staff and customers of the bank".

"I have repeatedly stated that I am totally opposed to violence," said Mr Ball.

"I therefore cannot and do not support terrorism or revolution, or people or movements who promote them."

Mr Ball's statement read:

"The legal advice given me since February 5, has been that I should not make any statement to you during the sitting of the Munnik Commission.

"I am now, however, in a position to do so.

"I believe in negotia-

tion and reconciliation, in the creation of a peaceful and just society.

"This requires goodwill from all sides and the realisation of an appropriate balance in the structure of our society and the accommodation of economic, cultural and power interests.

"Communication and dialogue are fundamental to the process.

"Discussion between all sectors and persuasions in our society on these goals and the route to success can only come about through contact.

"To this end I and others have sought to have communication on the socio-economic issues with people across

the full spectrum.

"My view is that businessmen have a right and duty to participate in the debate on the socio-economic issues.

"I am one of those South Africans who believe that there is the possibility of great success for our country and all its people and that that success can only be built on the real economic prosperity that we have the potential to deliver, so that we have the resources to promote the development and education of all of our people.

"I am extremely proud of the traditions of the bank.

"Neither it nor I as managing director have



MR BALL

ever taken sides politically and will not do so in future.

"The bank's contribution to the development of our great country is without equal and my colleagues and I will continue that tradition.

"The evidence I gave to the Munnik Commission was factual and accurate and my conscience is totally clear on that point. — Sapa

11A

Buthelezi on his French visit

JOHANNESBURG. — Although the French government acknowledged the African National Congress as a political party, they did not favour it as the next viable government of South Africa, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday.

At an airport news conference on his return from France, where he was the guest of the Prime Minister, Mr Jacques Chirac, he said it was clear from his reception they wanted to "hear the other side" and that they "had done their homework very well".

The Chief Minister of KwaZulu said his message to Mr Chirac and other leading French politicians was that South Africa would not destroy what it had in order to get what it did not have.

However, he had said there could never be peace till people were governed by whom they chose and in the way they chose.

National Front

He had told them the "pot at the end of the rainbow" after continued violence was not gold, but poverty. Democracy and poverty did not co-exist, Chief Buthelezi said.

Throughout his contacts, the politicians of all France's political parties — except the communists and the rightist National Front — responded by asking: "What can we do?"

He said heads of government departments had spoken of humanitarian aid to South Africa.

He said he pointed out to them the danger of the limited effect previous aid from the European Economic Community had had because of its selective application. — Sapa



MEETING THE PRESS . . . Archbishop Desmond Tutu talks to members of the foreign and local press at Bishops court about Wednesday's whites-only election.

Picture: RICHARD BELL

CAN Times 2/5/87 111

If you vote, vote for peace, sanity — Tutu

By PETER DENNEHY

ARCHBISHOP TUTU said at a press conference yesterday that he would probably not vote in a whites-only election if he had such an opportunity.

The Most Rev Desmond Tutu, Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town, said the choice facing whites was a difficult one. He added that he "ought to leave the ball very firmly in the white Christians' court".

Two options, not voting in solidarity with the disenfranchised or voting against the National Party and thus "for sanity, justice, peace and reconciliation", were both meaningful, he said.

"Remember the saint who said 'let us sow confusion amongst the unGodly'. If your act can do that, then good luck to you. Whatever you do, take your action prayer-

fully and responsibly."

White voters must ask themselves whether their action would help to bring about the downfall of apartheid and its perpetrators.

Negotiations would one day have to be entered into with the ANC, he said, as a small white minority could not go on ruling the country forever.

"Why not work for the transition from an unjust, unChristian, immoral and evil system such as prevails in this country, to a truly non-racial, democratic and more equitable system while there is still time, while there is still goodwill?"

The present election was "racist and totally undemocratic", he said, as it excluded 73% of the population. Blacks regarded it as another example of insensitivity, where whites spoke and decided about blacks, but not with them.

He expressed "disappointment" with some of the political parties which he had thought gave some kind of hope.

"I am amazed at the alliance between the PFP and the NRP. It seems an incredible thing. Many people are beginning to accept that Parliament is an irrelevance."

The labour situation developing all over the country was "a far more serious thing than maybe even the election". Unions were the cutting edge of the liberation struggle, he said.

He condemned the recent actions of the police against Cosatu, "and all that has happened at Cosatu House".

He hoped soldiers in the townships would "undergo a conversion", and said: "We care enormously for white people."

(Report by P Dennehy, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town.)

11A SM 2/1987

Violent explosion is near — Brink

JAMES TOMLINS

PARIS — Professor Andre Brink warned in an interview published in Paris yesterday that “an explosion in South Africa is coming nearer and nearer”.

Interviewed at his Grahamstown home, Professor Brink told Michel Bole-Richard, correspondent of the liberal evening newspaper, *Le Monde*, that while he continued to look for a “glimmer of hope”, he considered that a “total and violent explosion was inevitable”.

He continued: “The anger and resentment of blacks is increasing so rapidly, especially among the young people, that an explosion is coming nearer and nearer.”

“The attitude of the Government, its use of violent methods, its stupidity, stubbornness and foolishness are leading to an imminent violent explosion.”

Le Monde described Professor Brink (52) as “South Africa’s most famous committed author, pessimistic witness and racked observer”.

He was highly critical of President P W Botha who, he said, did not realise the gravity of the situation.

Nevertheless, Mr Botha would win the

forthcoming elections because “Afrikaners do not act rationally. They vote with their guts and in line with traditional support of the Afrikaner establishment”.

Professor Brink predicted a “slide towards totalitarianism”, and he believed there were only slim chances the white regime would not become a “de facto dictatorship”.

He noted, however, “despite everything that has happened, there still exists a remarkable reservoir of goodwill among blacks towards whites. The majority of blacks are still willing to sit down and work towards a joint future with whites”.

He bitterly criticised Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, at present on a week’s visit in Paris.

Correspondent Bole-Richard has not been wasting his time in South Africa. His reporting of the country on the eve of the elections is published over three pages, an almost unprecedented amount of coverage for a foreign election.

His interviews with Afrikaner farmers in the Messina region are rather startling.

Extreme right-winger Mr Rassie Erasmus told him: “If there were an even more right-wing party than exists at present, I would join it.”

“I don’t want to be governed by blacks in my own country. But if that evil happened I would kill my wife, my three children and then myself.”

“The blacks demand more and more and the Government goes on giving. What is left for us whites?”

Farmer Mr Johan de Villiers appeared unworried about the future and said, if he had to return to the Europe of his ancestors, he would prefer to settle in Britain rather than France, mainly owing to the language. He described himself as a moderate Nationalist who looked on the President as “having understood the situation a little bit better than other leaders”.

He said: “We whites were not born to survive in Africa. How many of us will be here in 50 years time? It is impossible to maintain Western values (in Africa).”

Another farmer said: “Africa will become completely black.”



PROFESSOR BRINK: “Afrikaners do not act rationally.”

French 'don't favour ANC'

The French government has acknowledged the African National Congress as a political party, but does not favour it as the next viable government for South Africa, Chief Minister of KwaZulu Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday.

On his return from France, where he was the guest of Prime Minister Mr Jacque Chirac, he said it was clear they wanted to "hear the other side" and that they "had done their homework well".

His message to Mr Chirac and other leading French politicians was that South Africa would not destroy what it had to get what it did not have.

However, there could never be peace until people had the government of their choice.

The French, through

their involvement in Africa and being the "mother of insurrection", were well equipped to understand that South Africa's course of liberation was not to endanger the possibility of democracy through self-destruction.

"Violence exists because there is tension, but I do not see it bringing change

in the foreseeable future," the chief said.

Chief Buthelezi had asked why a recent visit by French delegates to Frontline States had not included South Africa and had been told that it was policy in France, and all the EEC countries, not to have contact with South Africa. — Sapa.

'Time ripe' to free Mandela

11A
S/S
1/5/78

LONDON — For the first time in years, South Africa is in a position to free Nelson Mandela, says Richard West in *The Spectator* this week.

If, as seems likely, the National Party sweeps back to power next week, it should have a "golden opportunity" to let him out of prison, West writes.

"If the opinion polls are right, President Botha will by then have dished (sic) his opponents on the political Right, who think it treasonable to show any mercy to men such as Mandela. Nor has Botha much to fear at the moment from Nelson Mandela's followers in the banned African National Congress and its ally, the South African Communist Party," he adds.

"Between 10 000 and 20 000 radicals are now in detention, the boycott on schools has proved not only ineffective, but deeply unpopular with most of the black scholars and still more so with parents.

"The campaign of terror by necklacing has come to a halt, and most of the vio-

SATURDAY STAR BUREAU

lence in the townships now involves faction disputes," West claims.

He reports that the leadership of the ANC "has very little control" of its members in South Africa, and that the South African secret police have "infiltrated the ANC almost as thoroughly as the Soviet secret police".

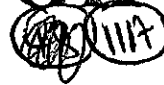
The international campaign to free Mandela has also lost much of its impetus, West alleges — and now would be the right time to free him, in order to "debunk his pose of martyrdom".

He predicts such a course involves serious dangers, one of which is "drawing enormous crowds and causing more violent confrontation".

However, West adds: "To free Nelson Mandela means taking a risk, but not to free him involves a greater risk: that the world will remember him as a martyr for freedom, and not as a savage terrorist."

ANC mediation: appeal to NGK

SM 2/1987 ROBYN GREEN



A request to Ned Geref Kerk moderator Professor Johan Heyns to act as mediator between President Botha and African National Congress leader Mr Oliver Tambo was made by Waterkloof PFP candidate Mr Abraham Viljoen at an election meeting this week.

Speaking to a crowd of about 110 people in Constantia Park at the final Progressive Federal Party election meeting in Pretoria, Mr Viljoen referred to a recent conversation with Professor Heyns in which the professor had expressed concern about divisions in the ranks of the church brought about by the violent political divisions.

Mr Viljoen said he wanted to call the moderator's attention to the rapidly deteriorating political situation. Professor Heyns — and the church — had a crucial duty to initiate the reconciliation process by offering to act as mediator, he said.

It appeared that the Government did not want to stop the violence.

SOMETHING TO FEAR

"The Government during this election is like a child walking around making muscles. It looks as if they don't want to solve the situation — it gives the people something to fear."

The emphasis on "necklace" murders was an example, said Mr Viljoen, "but one must remember that these murders are taking place while the NP is governing the country. 'Necklace' murders are the result of the total collapse of security under the NP Government".

The continued concentration on the ANC and the PFP was an attempt by the Government to draw attention away from its own failures. "It is trying to create a 'tokoloshe' — you don't know what it looks like or even what it is, all you know is that you are 'vrekbang'," he said to loud applause.

● Report by R Green, 216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria.

Surtee says Ball didn't know what the overdraft was for

Weekend Post
Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — Mr Yusuf Surtee, who was given the R100 000 overdraft used to pay for the newspaper advertisements calling for the unbanning of the ANC, said today that Mr Chris Ball, managing director of Barclays Bank (now First National Bank) did not know what it was for.

It was his first comment since the Munnik Commission's findings, released this week, that the "overwhelming probabilities" were that Mr Ball knew the purpose of the overdraft.

Speaking from his home in Fordsburg, Mr Surtee said he rejected the commission's findings.

"I reject the allegations

made against me personally as well as the conclusions of the report," he said.

First National Bank has also rejected the findings and expressed full confidence in Mr Ball, who has stated that his conscience is "totally clear".

Mr Surtee said he could not see what public purpose was served in appointing a commission to investigate perfectly legal conduct.

"The findings of the commission that Chris Ball knew what the purpose of the overdraft is without justification.

"No witness gave evidence to that effect and no document proved this."

Mr Justice Munnik found "on the overwhelming balance of probabilities" that

Mr Surtee's story that he did not disclose to Mr Ball the true reason for seeking the overdraft was untrue.

The one-man commission found Mr Surtee regarded Mr Ball as very sympathetic to the ANC and as having always been in favour of the unbanning of the ANC and the release of Nelson Mandela.

In the light of this, an answer by Mr Surtee that he did not know what Mr Ball's reaction would be had he told him the money was for the advertisements calling for the unbanning of the ANC was unacceptable.

Mr Surtee stressed that the advertisements were not unlawful at the time, a fact confirmed by the commission.



Mr CHRIS BALL

The Bank stands by Ball

THE board of directors of First National Bank — formerly Barclays — has pledged its full confidence in the bank's managing director, Chris Ball.

This is despite the Munnik Commission's finding that Ball knew that the money he was advancing by way of an overdraft would be used to sponsor an advertisement calling for the unbanning of the ANC.

"Nothing has changed the board's view on Ball's denial that he knew what the money would be used for, and we have absolutely no reason to doubt what Ball told the commission," said FNB's chairman, Basil Herslov.

Herslov's supportive statement of Ball came in the wake of speculation that the commission's find-

ings may have a negative effect on Ball's future with the bank.

The one-man Munnik Commission was appointed on February 11, with a brief to investigate and report:

- Which newspapers carried advertisements concerning the ANC which appeared on January 8, 1987.

- By whom, or behalf of whom, the advertisement was placed.

- How much and by whom, or on behalf of whom, the newspapers were paid for for the publication of the advertisements.

- What the source was of funds that were used to pay for the advertisement, and especially also with reference to a report in the *Cape Times* of February 5, which stated that the UDF had had a bank guaranteed cheque for R100 000 for the placing of the advertisement.

- Whether Ball was, in any way, involved in financial arrangements concerning payment for the placing of the advertisements.

- Any relevant aspects that may more fully explain the matter.

The advertisements in question appeared in *City Press*, *The Argus*, *Business Day*, *The Cape Times*, *Diamond Field Advertiser*, *Eastern Province Herald*, *Natal Witness*, *Ilanga*,



Flashback: Chris Ball, surrounded by bodyguards, attending a session of the Munnik Commission.

Sowetan, *The New Nation*, *Post Natal*, *Pretoria News*, *The Star*, *Daily News* and *the Daily Dispatch*. The *Weekly Mail* carried a blank in place of the advert, which had been banned by then.

The adverts were placed by lawyer Krish Naidoo, acting in his official capacity on behalf of the UDF, which, in turn, had the consent of the National Education Crisis Committee and the South Africa Council of Churches to cite these two bodies as issuing the advert jointly with the UDF. The names of other organisations were entered as supporters.

In a 121-page report handed to the State President, Judge Munnik found that, at the time that Ball authorised the overdraft in question, he knew the borrowed money was intended for the UDF to pay in advance for adverts calling for the unbanning of the ANC.

Ball, as MD of Barclays,

authorised a branch manager to open a second account for businessman Yusuf Surtee and authorised an overdraft facility of R100 000 to enable Surtee to draw this amount and hand it to the UDF by way of bridging finance for the adverts.

Munnik said his approach in deciding whether or not Ball knew the purpose for which the overdraft was required "...was to first examine and test Surtee's story standing by itself, then that of Ball".

His impression of Surtee as a witness was that, apart from his "unsatisfactory demeanour", he had been proved to have lied.

In coming to the conclusion regarding Ball's knowledge, the probabilities were overwhelmingly against him not having known "and Ball's calibre as a witness, and the quality of his evidence were not such as to lead me to a different conclusion".

THE EMERGENCY

This newspaper has been produced under emergency regulations which amount to censorship. The restrictions effectively suppress information of public interest. No details of unrest or security force action can be published without permission. However, within the limits of these restrictions, City Press will continue to make every effort to provide objective coverage.



Murphy Morobe ... call for two-day protest.

UDF protest call

By SANDILE MEMELA

THE United Democratic Front and its affiliates have called for a two-day protest against next week's white general elections.

The campaign is part of the UDF's "United Action" campaign.

The call was released in a statement by the organisation's acting publicity secretary, Murphy Morobe, this week.

The statement dealt with the killing of the six SA Railways and Harbours Workers' Union members, continued detentions without trial - especially of children - the banning of meetings and the handling of the rent, education and labour issues.

Among other issues, the call is based on:

- The unconditional reinstatement of the 16 000 workers dismissed by SA Transport Services.
- An immediate end to rent evictions.
- An end to the state of emergency.
- The scrapping of Parliament.
- The introduction of one person, one vote in a united South Africa.

The statement also called upon "white compatriots to abandon apartheid before it is too late".

● A police spokesman said that police would not force people to go to work. However, if workers were being intimidated and prevented from going to work, police would take action.

(Report by S Memela, 204 Eloff Street Ext, Johannesburg.)

c. prep

[Handwritten signature]
11A
3/5/87

Call for respect

by black people to continue the quest for a true humanity in our beloved land."

Mr Myeza said employers must view absenteeism on the two days as the best way in which black people in their employ can hold communion with themselves under the circumstances.

"Where people feel compelled to go to work, they should not be stopped. Security forces must conduct themselves with restraint and show that the security and interest of the black people are not different from those of the white people," Mr Myeza said.

Meanwhile, police headquarters in Pretoria

From Page 1

said it was aware of worker stayaway plans being organised for this week. A spokesman said: "Contingency preparations had been made".

He said police preparations were aimed at protecting people who wanted to go to work. He pointed out that police could not take action to force people to go to work, "if a man does not go to work that's his prerogative".

If however, workers were being intimidated and prevented from going to work, police would take action against those responsible.

Meanwhile, the one-month old strike by the 5 000 black post office staff members on the Witwatersrand has ended.

Post Office management and Post and Telecommunications Workers Association (Potwa), said in a joint-statement that after negotiations in the past week, they have agreed that workers will return to work today.

All the grievances have been successfully solved to the satisfaction of Potwa. The Post Office expressed its appreciation for the public's understanding during the strike and gave an assurance that all services will be back to normal as soon as possible.

THE PEOPLE SHALL GOVERN!

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

ALL 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.

THE PEOPLE SHALL SHARE IN THE COUNTRY'S WEALTH!

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

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

All other industries and trade shall be controlled to assist the wellbeing of the people;

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

THE LAND SHALL BE SHARED AMONG THOSE WHO WORK IT!

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

The state shall help the peasants with implements, seed, tractors and dams to save the soil and assist the tillers;

Freedom of movement shall be guaranteed to all who work 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 prison farms shall be abolished.

ALL SHALL BE EQUAL BEFORE THE LAW!

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

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

The courts shall be representative of all the people;

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

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

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

ALL SHALL ENJOY HUMAN RIGHTS!

The law shall guarantee to all their right to speak, to organise, to meet together, to publish, to preach, to worship and to educate their children;

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

All shall be free to travel without restriction from 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 officials and to make wage agreements with their employers;

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

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

There shall be a 40-hour working week, a national minimum wage, paid annual leave and sick leave for all workers, and maternity leave on full pay for all working mothers;

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

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

THE DOORS OF LEARNING AND CULTURE SHALL BE OPENED!

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

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

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

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

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

Adult illiteracy shall be ended by a mass state education plan;

Teachers shall have all their rights of other citizens;

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

THERE SHALL BE HOUSES, SECURITY AND COMFORT!

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

Unused housing to be made available to the people;

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

A preventive health scheme shall be run by the state;

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

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

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

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

THERE SHALL BE PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP!

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

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

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

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

The rights of all the peoples of Africa to independence and self-government shall be recognised and shall be the basis of close co-operation.

Let all who love their people and their country now say, as we say here:

These freedoms we shall fight for, side by side throughout our lives, until we have won our liberty

The People's Charter

CALL FOR RESPECT

11A
Stam
4/5/87



Blackpool hold Bucs
 MANDLA "Metroblitz" Sithole, Orlando Pirates' forward and Isiah Peete, Giant Blackpool's right-back in a tussle for a high ball. This was in their exciting Castle League match which ended in a 1-all draw at the Dobsonville Stadium yesterday.
 Pic: JOE MOLEFE

ON the eve of the planned two days of national protest, organisations have called upon the black community to show restraint and dignity.

Tomorrow and Wednesday are days set out by the United Democratic Front (UDF) and its allies as two days of action against the whites-only elections. The whites will be going to the polls on May 6.

The UDF said workers, youth, students, women, churches, traders and shopkeepers will join in united action to show their "abhorrence for a system that gives a minority group the right to have a vote while depriving the majority of the same right. Nothing could be more objectionable."

"It is within our rights as a people to protest against any form of injustice, especially when the regime in question consistently erodes whatever rights we may have," the acting publicity secretary of the UDF, Mr Murphy Morobe said.

He said the continued insensitive killings of black persons ... "have left us no option but to call for protest action."

Although the form of protest is not specified, the National Education Crisis Committee (Nec) has appealed that these two days be observed with respect and introspection.

Black dignity

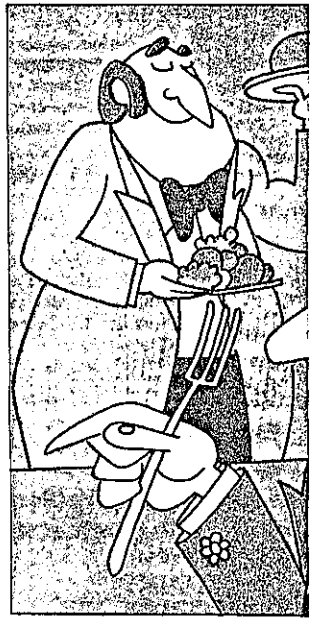
The Azanian Peoples' Organisation (Azapo) publicity secretary, Mr Muntu Mbyeza, said black people must mark May 6 as the day when white people of different political shades united in their elections to re-educate us on the absolute necessity of black solidarity and black dignity.

He said black people must conduct themselves with respect, quietude and refrain from wanton revelry and drunkenness.

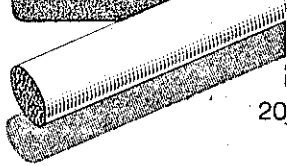
He said although protest action against the white elections would not in itself cause the voters to change their votes or to alter the results of the elections, "the contemplated action must be viewed as an introspection, an assessment and a re-dedication

To Page 4

"I can never recall whether the point upwards or downwards when course. But I know which cigarette meal."



* According to a well-known socialite considered good form to leave the ti Etiquette also dictates that one should one's guests with Mills Special cigar by their fine, expensive tobaccos is where one has to lay out.



England's Luxu

P.T.O.

The REAL election fight

By MOIRA LEVY

THE chief contestants in the all-white election due to take place next week are not the Nats and the Independents or Nats and PFP-NRP alliance, according to political commentators.

The real contestants, commentators said this week, were the ANC and the Afrikaner Nationalist government.

The crucial debates are not taking place on public platforms and in the newspaper columns. The battle is being fought behind the scenes, over questions of power and negotiation and tricameral-style politics.

Dr Van Zyl Slabbert has publicly referred to the election as a contest between the extra-parliamentary government of the management committees, JMC's and the State Security Council and the extra-parliamentary opposition.

A member of the UDF Western Cape executive is reported as saying: "The main issue at stake is the question of political power, who has it and how it is exercised and maintained."

Growing violence

"This applies not only to the tri-cameral parliament but to all the mechanisms of minority rule: Black local authorities, management committees, RSCs, JMCs, the military and security forces, vigilantes and homeland authorities."

Political commentators point to the pre-election backdrop of growing violence, resurging university and school unrest and state and worker clashes.

The media is giving high profile publicity to the debates between the Nats, the New Nats and the PFP-NRP alliance.

Yet South Africa is experiencing cross border clashes that have drawn international condemnation.

And within the borders police shootings have brought bloody violence right to the centre of Johannesburg.

A prominent Cape Town academic, Dr Colin Bundy, said: "These elections have as little to do with democracy, as detention without trial has to do with the rule of law."

He described the election as an exercise in which the minority was choosing between different options of preserving its rule.

It is increasingly clear in any case that parliament is no longer where political power resides. What control does parliament have over the fierce state action here and over our borders?"

Members won't vote

The UDF has stated that its white members will not vote. But at the same time, it acknowledges that the majority of whites will participate in the elections, and that there is an urgent need to "take the politics of the democratic movement into the white community on a mass scale."

"It is important that our democratic alternative, is presented to whites, because those who have rejected parliament will need direction, particularly after the Nats re-elected on May 6."

The UDF has rejected the option of working with the FP to win seats.

(Report by Moira Levy, 95 Sir Lowry Road, Woodstock.)



SPOT THE REAL ACTION NO. 1

114

VETERANS of the women's struggle — Dorothy Zihlangu, Helen Joseph, Francis Baard and Albertina Sisulu — and delegates from across the country met in secret in Cape Town at the weekend to launch a new national organisation for women — the UDF Women's Congress.

The body is an alliance of UDF-affiliated regional organisations such as the United Women's Congress (UWCO), the Federation of Transvaal Women (FEDTRAW) and the Natal Organisation of Women (NOW).

The Women's Congress is the latest in a series of major bodies to surface under state of emergency repression, following the launch of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) and the South African Youth Congress (Sayco).

The formation of the Women's Congress advances the march to the launch of a national federation of women's organisations later in the year.



Albertina Sisulu, left, and Francis Baard at the launch of the new women's congress this week

Picture By: RASHID LOMBARD

'Brave step' in these times

"PEOPLE say things have changed. The only thing that has changed is that the government has become more repressive. Innocent children are being killed and nine-year-olds are being detained for long periods. This organisation will fight in defence of our children. Our living conditions are terrible, tens of thousands are

homeless, our children are taught Bantu Education and workers — especially the domestic workers — are paid starvation wages. Our demands for political rights, housing and a living wage — that we made so many years ago — have not been met. These demands are based on the Freedom Charter, a document which reflects the peo-

ALBERTINA SISULU, a founder member of the old Federation of South African Women, was elected at the weekend to the national council of the United Democratic Front Women's Congress. After the congress's secret launch she spoke to **ANTON FISHER** about the new organisation.

ple's aspirations.

"We will fight against these injustices, but especially the injustices against women.

"We will fight against

the oppression of women by men, in other words, we want to liberate ourselves

"That is why we formed this organisa-

tion. We need to have a strong liberation movement for women which will work hand in hand with the UDF and have a strong national organisation as a

base. "For this reason we will adopt the Women's Charter. This has the main demands that South Africa's women has put forward since the 1950s. But we will also adopt the Freedom Charter.

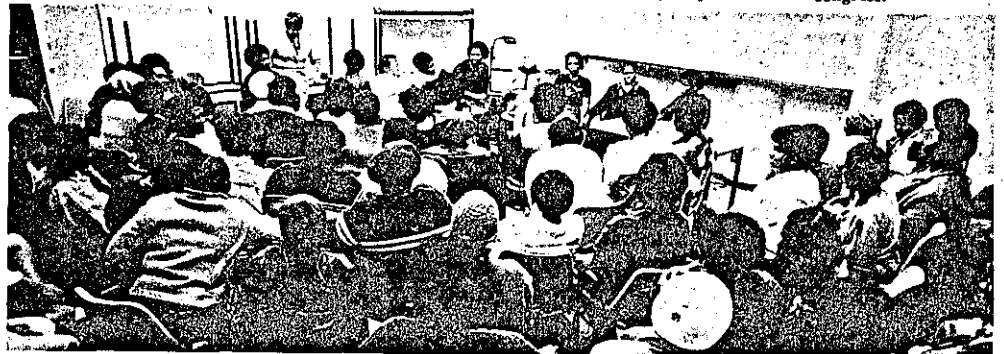
"The Women's Congress will enable us to affiliate to the planned federation of women where we have a very important role

to play. "The women have taken a brave step in forming the congress in this time of repression under the state of emergency. Some of us doubted that we would be able to do it.

"It is now the task of the congress to highlight the suffering of the women and to organise them under the banner of the congress."

"WE women have stood and will stand shoulder to shoulder with our menfolk in a common struggle against poverty, race and class discrimination ... We shall teach the men that they cannot hope to liberate themselves from the evils of discrimination and prejudice as long as they fail to extend to women complete and unqualified equality in law and practice."

From the Women's Charter of the Federation of South African Women, 1954.



WOMEN in South Africa have a brave history of struggle against oppression and exploitation.

One of the foremost organisations of women was the Federation of South African Women (FEDSAW) which was formed in 1954.

The 1950s was a period of strong and united resistance to the government's apartheid policies. People came forward in their thousands to resist the many unjust laws and participate in campaigns such as the Defiance Campaign.

It was in this climate that FEDSAW was launched. It was composed of organised groups of women which affiliated to the federation. These groups included the ANC Women's League, the Congress of Democrats (a body of progressive whites), the SA Coloured People's Organisation and the Food and Canning Workers Union.

At the inaugural conference a Women's Charter was adopted in which the women called for "solidarity in the struggle against

Women on the march

apartheid, racism, sexism and capitalist exploitation".

One of the major issues the federation tackled was the extension of passes to African women.

They had seen the devastating effects of the pass on the lives of African men and their families and the women were determined to defeat the government's plan to make them carry passes.

The climax of the anti-pass campaign was the gathering of 20 000 women at the Union Buildings in Pretoria on August 9, 1956. Among those who led the women on that historic march were Lilian Ngoyi, Helen Joseph, Amina Cachalia, Sophie Williams and Francis Baard.

They had travelled from all over the country and brought with them thousands of petitions to present to the then Prime Minister, Mr JG Strijdom.

His office that day was, not surprisingly, empty. The women stood in silence for half an hour and after the petitions were placed in the Prime Minister's office, sang the now famous song:

"Now you have touched the women/ You have struck a rock/ You have dislodged a boulder/ You will be crushed."

August 9 is now celebrated as National Women's Day.

Another issue taken up by the federation was the issue of beerhalls. The government made it illegal to brew beer and sell it from people's houses. This forced people to buy beer from the municipal beerhalls when many women depended on the brewing of beer as a source of income.

In Cato Manor in 1959 the campaign against beerhalls was very

sticks marched on the beerhalls and chased the men out.

The police then charged the women with batons. But the women's militancy ensured that the municipality closed the beerhalls.

Here in Cape Town, the women in Langa prevented the City Council from building a beerhall for many years.

FEDSAW thus played an important role in the 1950s in mobilising thousands of woman against apartheid. But the federation was badly affected by state repression.

Six FEDSAW executive members were among the 156 persons who were charged with high treason in 1956. Many of the women in the federation were detained during the state of emergency in 1960.

The banning of the ANC in 1960 dealt FEDSAW a serious blow. It

the ANC Women's League, leading to the stagnation of FEDSAW.

Recently there has been a growth of women's organisations throughout the country. Women are once again showing their courage and determination to resist racism, sexism and exploitation.

In 1980 Cape Town's first non-racial women's organisation since FEDSAW — the United Women's Organisation was launched. And a year ago the UWO merged with the Women's Federation to form the United Women's Congress.

Also in the early 80s there was the launch of the Port Elizabeth Women's Organisation (PEWO), then the Federation of Transvaal Women (Fed-traw) and the Natal Organisation of Women (NOW).

These organisations laid the basis for democratic grassroots structures by tackling issues like rent increases, the housing problem and child care.

Once again the women are on the march to another national movement



TO THE WHITE COMMUNITY

A MESSAGE FROM THE INDIAN PEOPLE ON MAY 6 ELECTIONS



MAHATMA GANDHI

Founded the Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC) in 1903

The Freedom Charter declares that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and no Government can justly claim Authority unless it is based on the will of all the people.

This remains the basic condition for freedom, peace and security in our country.

NOT WHITE MINORITY RULE BASED ON INJUSTICE AND INEQUALITY.

Not racist solutions like the Tricameral Parliament and Bantustans.

ABANDON APARTHEID! END NAT DICTATORSHIP!

DON'T SURRENDER...

- ★ To Government by the Police and Military through secret joint management committees and the State Security Council.
- ★ To Detentions, Bannings, Restrictions, the Denial of Press Freedom and Basic Democratic Rights.
- ★ To violence, strife, conflict and growing civil war caused by Nat Policies.

APARTHEID PARLIAMENTS CANNOT BRING PEACEFUL CHANGE

SUPPORT

ONE PERSON, ONE VOTE, ONE PARLIAMENT



11A SMP 5/19/87

ANC views to be put to Naude group at Lusaka meeting

Religion Reporter

Dr Beyers Naude, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches (SACC), and 44 other church and community representatives are in Lusaka for a five-day World Council of Churches meeting on southern Africa.

The theme of the meeting is "The Church and the Search for Justice and Peace in Southern Africa".

Delegates will be addressed by representatives of the South West Africa People's Organisation (Swapo), the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC).

About 200 people from around the world are expected at the WCC-organ-

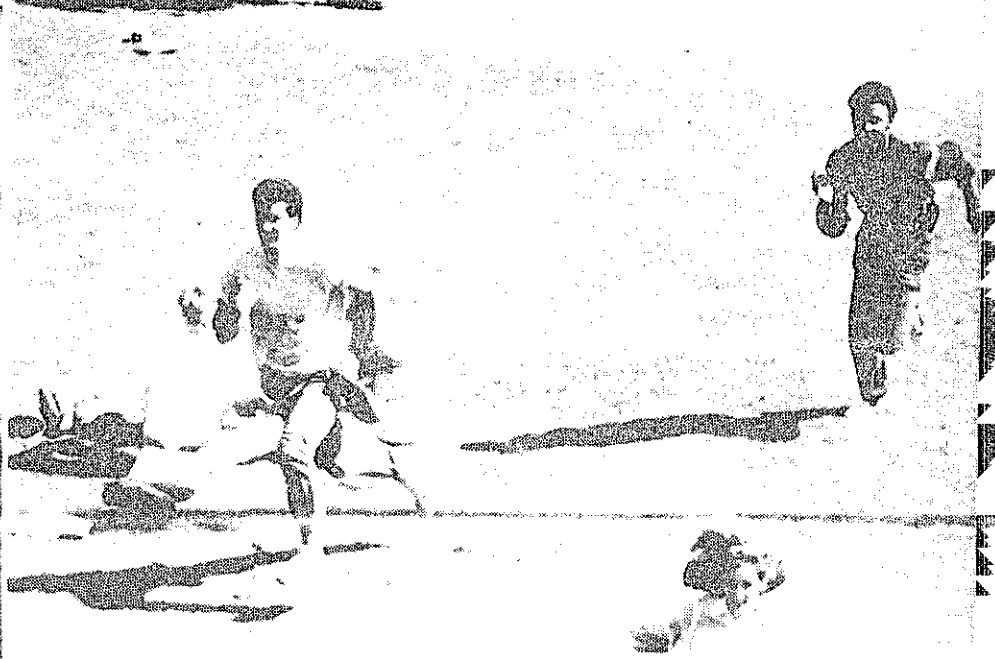
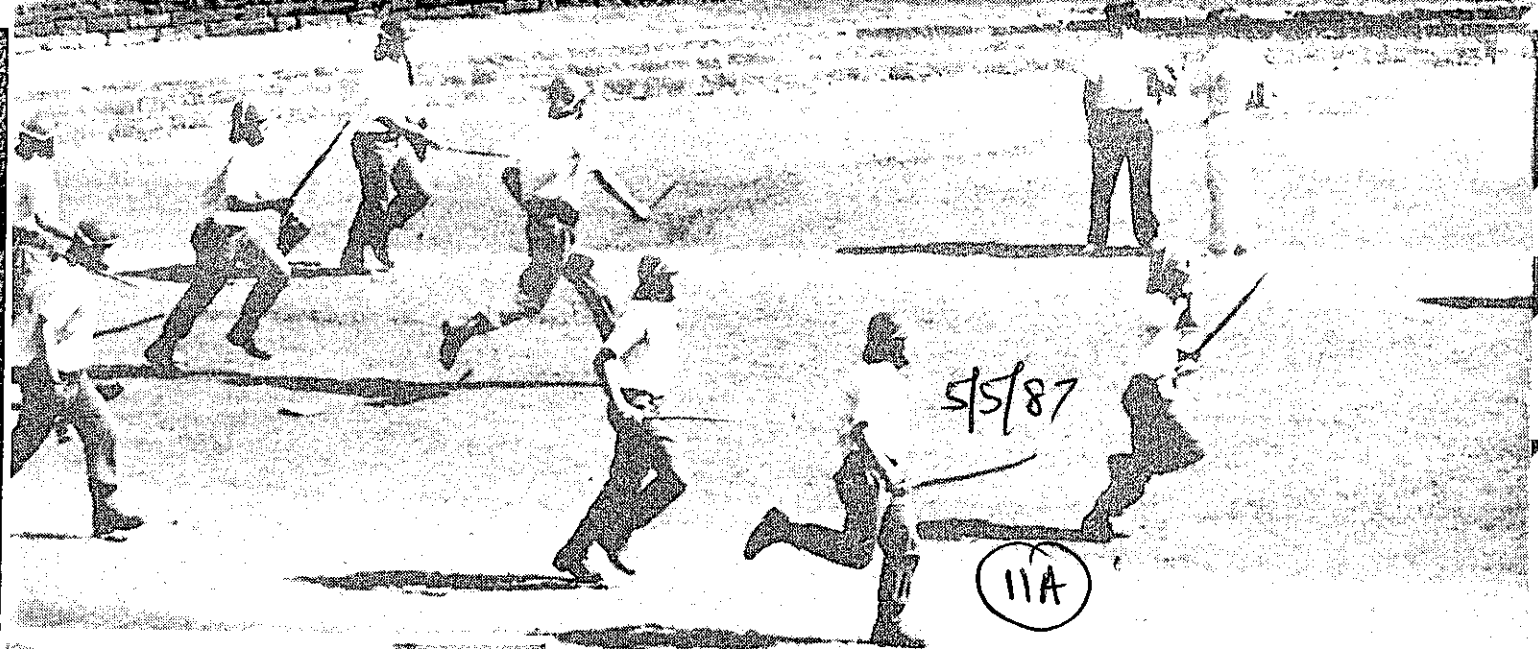
ised event which began on Sunday.

In a statement released in his absence yesterday, Dr Naude said the SACC believed:

"The presence of representatives of the liberation movements is regarded by the SACC as essential in view of our conviction that lasting peace can only be achieved after meaningful dialogue with, among others, bodies such as the ANC, PAC and Swapo.

"A large percentage of people who have fled from the country and are now involved as insurgents in militant action in South Africa and Namibia are members of member churches of the SACC or the Christian Council of Namibia".

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Policemen charge into the pool amphitheatre at the University of the Witwatersrand yesterday. Police and students clashed on campus — with 121 students arrested and at least two taken to hospital — after an illegal gathering which was to have been addressed by Mrs Winnie Mandela (inset).

Closure may follow Wits clash

The University of the Witwatersrand is likely to be closed on election day after a recommendation by the Senate to the University Council.

The recommendation followed police and student clashes on the campus with 121 students arrested and at least two taken to hospital.

Police said they were forced to act after students attending an illegal gathering which was to have been addressed by Mrs Winnie Mandela threw stones at them.

Students said they had gathered peacefully. None of the six members of The Star's news team at the scene saw stones thrown.

In a move hailed by students as a rare expression of unity, the Senate acceded to demands from students and staff that the campus shut down in protest at the all-white election and the mass arrests, sjambokkings and teargassing on campus yesterday.

The Senate recommendation was being put to the Council today.

It will decide whether the closure becomes official.

The students were arrested on campus when a lunchtime meeting attended by an estimated 3 000 was declared an illegal gathering.

Some students were whipped.

As scores of lecturers in full academic dress joined students during the afternoon to consider how to respond to earlier police action, their gatherings outside the Great Hall were twice disrupted by teargas.

A large group of students in Senate House cheered as Mr Etienne Marais, president of the Wits Student Representative Council (SRC), announced that the Senate had decided to shut the university on election day.

Mr Marais said the decision followed requests from the Wits SRC, the Academic Staff Association, the Black Students' Society, the Young Christian Student Movement and the Post Graduate Association.

Although the Senate has recom-

mended a one-day closure, many lectures will not take place today.

Scores of academic staff yesterday afternoon drew shouts of approval when they told students assembled outside the Great Hall they would not teach on either of the two days of national protest called by trade unions and political organisations.

The sequence of events leading to the confrontations began about 1.15pm after police moved to enforce an order banning the meeting of thousands of students on the library lawns.

The order was issued by Johannesburg's assistant chief magistrate Mr George Schoeman 10 minutes before its scheduled start.

The meeting, convened by the South African National Students' Congress and the National Union of South African Students, was to respond to tomorrow's election and Mrs Win-

...is whether Mr Reagan knew profits from American arms sales to the Middle East, Iran, were being funneled through Swiss bank accounts

...members will be Major-General Richard Secord, a retired US Air Force officer who acted as the principal private sector operator for former Na-

NEW YORK — Mrs Nancy Reagan said yesterday she never hesi-

...he fails to handle it adequately, his White House dream will be over. Yesterday, Miss Rice, a beautiful 29

tion on the election.

Federal Party to have her name placed on the roll.

Wits may shut in protest at police action

Wits demo, police action on British TV

The Star Bureau

● From Page 1

...nie Mandela, wife of jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela, was to have been main speaker.

The banning order was handed to student leaders as the meeting got underway and hundreds of police surrounded the gathering.

Students left the lawns peacefully for the Old Mutual Sports Hall where the intention was to hold a lawful indoor gathering.

Police then poured on to the lawn, brandishing sjamboks and following students into the hall where they began arresting occupants — apparently at randomly — as several people engaged in sports activities were led away.

Helmeted police carrying batons and transparent shields surrounded the building and took students to parked police vans in Yale Road.

Hundreds of other students gathered near the hall were urged to disperse by Professor Mervyn Shear, deputy vice-chancellor (student affairs).

Police then charged the spectators and whipped Press photographers and students, witnesses said.

Mrs Mandela walked off campus, saying: "This is typical of South Africa today."

At 2.30pm a squad of about 200 riot policemen marched on to the campus towards the canteen where students met to choose delegates to consult the university administration.

Occupants barricaded the doors but police made no attempt to enter the canteen.

Instead they turned their attention to newsmen outside. Two foreign TV teams and five photographers were arrested.

Shortly before 3m scores of lecturers clad in academic dress emerged on the steps of the Great Hall. More than 1 000 students regrouped and sang freedom songs as their teachers descended to express solidarity.

Speaking for the group of academics, Dr Doug Hindson, said: "We've decided we should stay with you. We want to ensure police don't take any more violent action."

"We feel as you do that a fundamental right of peaceful protest has been taken away and we want to re-establish that right on campus."

He announced the staff decision not to teach today and tomorrow.

Minutes later police moved in from behind the Great Hall and fired about 20 teargas canisters directly into the crowd. People scattered.

The crowd regrouped and academics — now numbering close to 100 — formed a human chain in a bid to protect students from further police action.

At 3.50pm the police moved once again from behind the Great Hall. This time an even greater number of teargas canisters was fired. Members of the academic staff battled in vain to maintain their human chain and eventually fled choking into the buildings.

LONDON — British TV viewers last night saw snatches of the police action to break up the demonstration before the Great Hall at the University of Witwatersrand — one of the few newscasts of such an operation under South Africa's revised reporting restrictions.

The Independent Television News report showed a crowd singing and dancing, waiting for an address by Mrs Winnie Mandela, an undergraduate at the university.

But within minutes, heavily armed riot police moved in to inform the crowd the meeting has been banned.

No sidearms or quirts could be seen, but these were referred to by ITN reporter Peter Sharp.

Sharp said the campus was deserted within minutes. About 120 demonstrators were arrested.

The Times today gives full, front-page coverage to the arrests, referring to "heavily armed police wielding sjamboks and firing teargas shells", and recounting that appeals to them to let the meeting proceed peacefully were ignored.

It described the crowd as "good-natured" and said people had been singing freedom songs when the police deployed.

Police violence is criticised by SASJ

The Southern African Society of Journalists (SASJ) is gravely concerned at the behaviour of the police towards journalists over the past weeks and at the University of the Witwatersrand yesterday.

SASJ president Miss Pat Sidley was at the Wits campus yesterday when police briefly detained several journalists, confiscated film and notebooks and in at least one case handled a member of a foreign TV crew "with excessive force".

"Police have confiscated film, detained and arrested journalists at almost all scenes recording the violent behaviour of the police, claiming the emergency regulations are still in force as before the Natal judgment," said Miss Sidley in a statement last night.

"The police and Government only emphasise their disregard and disdain for the courts."

"South African TV viewers have been allowed to see only scenes showing violence of others, not the police."

"The action of police against journalists and in restricting what is seen on TV should worry most South Africans."

"The electorate ought to be able, on the eve of the election, to see what public servants — the police — are doing in their name."

(Report by C Le Grange, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)

Nats get double TV time as poll nears

Political Reporter

The SABC more than doubled the time given to the National Party in the week leading up to the election, according to the weekly survey of the SABC's coverage conducted by Rhodes University's journalism students.

"Party speakers were directly or indirectly quoted for one hour, 26 minutes and 27 seconds. With government, security forces and other NP supporters, the total was one hour, 48 minutes and 58 seconds," said a statement released by Rhodes.

"The PFP-NRP alliance also received its highest coverage to date: 44 minutes, eight seconds. Independents received only one minute, 10 seconds while the Conservative Party and the Herstigte Nasionale Party received 30 minutes, 32 seconds."

(Report by C Ryan, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)

The first day . . .

TODAY is the first day of a two-day national protest called by the United Democratic Front and the Congress of South African Trade Unions against tomorrow's white elections.

Yesterday, a low-flying helicopter bearing no markings was seen over Soweto. A loudhailer was employed to assure residents wanting to go to work that the army would protect them.

"The soldiers are your friends," a booming voice said.

Pamphlet

In another development, a pamphlet in support of the protest was distributed in the townships.

The pamphlet called for certain actions which may not be reported in terms of the media regulations.

The pamphlet went on to state that the people should exercise restraint and that the protest be carried out in a disciplined manner.

The pamphlet also stated that health workers and journalists may go to work

but must wear their uniforms or show their Press cards.

The Greater Soweto Chamber of Commerce and Industries yesterday resolved that shops and other businesses in Soweto be open today and tomorrow.

The chamber said the opening of shops would depend on the conditions and procedures laid down by the organisers of the protest action.

Yesterday, General Johan Coetzee, the Commissioner of Police, said the police were fully aware of the planned action by certain radical organisations and individuals to disrupt and to discredit tomorrow's elections for whites.

He said security forces would be out in full strength and well-prepared to handle any attempt to disrupt or discredit the elections.

"We are aware of other specific actions which I would not like to mention for obvious reasons," General Coetzee said.



Sowetan 5/5/87

WCC delegates 'raise
the roof' for Tambo

LUSAKA. — ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo was greeted with enthusiasm when he arrived at the World Council of Churches meeting here yesterday, Ziana, Zimbabwe's semi-official news agency, reported.

South African delegates "almost raised the roof with their singing, dancing and cries of 'Amandla' and 'Viva Oliver Tambo'," as Mr Tambo entered the hall, the Ziana report said. He received a standing ovation at the end of his speech.

Before leaving, Mr Tambo embraced Dr Beyers Naude, former general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, who is also attending the session. Dr Naude also received a standing ovation.

Yesterday South African Christians conducted the opening workshop, led by Bishop Manas Buthelezi of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Johannesburg. They prayed in particular for those beginning a two-day stayaway from work in South Africa.

The general secretary of the World Council of Churches, Dr Emilio Castro, said the conference was a chance for delegates "to become once again the disciples of those who are in the forefront of the struggle for justice". — Sapa



MR OLIVER Tambo . . . standing ovation.

Tambo at WCC indaba

LUSAKA — The president of the African National Congress, Mr Oliver Tambo, was greeted with enthusiasm when he arrived at the World Council of Churches meeting yesterday, Ziana, Zimbabwe's semi-official news agency, reports from Lusaka.

South African delegates "almost raised the roof with their singing, dancing and cries of 'amandla' and 'Viva Oliver Tambo,'" as Mr Tambo entered the hall and was embraced by the Anglican Archbishop of Central Africa, the Most Rev Khotso Makhulu, Ziana report said.

Mr Tambo also received a standing ovation at the end of a speech.

Before leaving, Mr Tambo embraced Dr Beyers Naude, former general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, who is also attending the session. Dr Naude also received a standing ovation.

When the end of the session was

SA Press Association

declared, all rose and sang *Nkosi Sikelel' i Africa*, the hymn composed in South Africa. It has become the national anthem of several African countries after gaining independence. It is used as Zimbabwe's national anthem.

Yesterday South African Christians conducted the opening workshop, led by Bishop Manas Buthelezi of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Johannesburg.

They prayed in particular for those beginning a two-day stayaway from work in South Africa.

A minute's silence was also observed in solidarity with the stayaway.

Those delegates who have spent time in South African prisons were later asked to

stand and were applauded by their fellow-delegates.

The general secretary of the World Council of Churches, Dr Emilio Castro, who arrived for the meeting yesterday, said he was especially happy to greet members of the "liberation movements" attending the conference.

The conference was a chance for delegates "to become once again the disciples of those who are in the forefront of the struggle for justice" in the region, he said.

"The real protagonists are those who are risking their lives going through hell and purgatory on the road to heaven," he said.

He assured the conference of the prayers of Christians all over the world.

This report has been curtailed — Mr Tambo may not be quoted in South Africa. — Sapa.

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France's estimated televi-

n.

Lawyers join hands

6/5/87
Stam
THE National Association of Democratic Lawyers was launched in Durban at the weekend.

According to a statement released by the body's president, Mr Dumisa Ntsebeza, 300 lawyers "committed to a democratic and just society free from oppression and exploitation formed themselves into the new body".

Nelson Mandela was elected honorary member. — Sapa.



CAP Times 7/5/87

11A

UDF challenges regulations affecting foreign aid

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — A section of the emergency regulations which declares the United Democratic Front to be an affected organization and prohibits it from receiving foreign aid is being challenged in the Supreme Court here.

The urgent application brought by the UDF against the State President and four others is asking that the proclamation made last October 19 — which prohibits an affected organization from receiving foreign money — have no force and effect in law. The executive chairman of the UDF, Mr Curnick

Ndlhovu, said in an affidavit before Mr Justice Didcott that the organization received funds from inside and outside South Africa.

The current budget of the organization, he said, was R2 million, of which R200 000 had been received during the year.

"Our two principal sources are the Swedish Labour Movement and Novib, a church in the Netherlands," Mr Ndlhovu said.

"It is a matter of crucial importance to the continuing and effective functioning of the UDF that it should be free to receive the financial assistance it

needs from abroad.

"An order declaring the action of the State President to be unlawful is crucial and urgent," he said.

It has been argued by counsel for the UDF that unless a committee of three magistrates appointed by the Minister of Justice have made a factual report on an affected organization, the State President has no jurisdiction to exercise his powers.

In an affidavit by the former Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, it has been stated that in accordance with the proclamation, a committee of three magistrates was formed in June 25, 1986.

The committee was asked to compile a factual report on the UDF as an affected organization.

"I was satisfied that the members of this committee carried out their task effectively," he said.

Mr Ishmail Mahomed SC appeared on behalf of the UDF, the Durban Housing Action Committee, the Natal Organization of Women and Mr Ndlhovu.

Mr Jan Combrink SC appeared on behalf of the State President, the government, the Minister of Law and Order, the Minister of Justice and the Registrar of Affected Organizations.

The hearing continues today.

SAIRR slams 'political funding'

CMB TMB 7/5/87
Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The SA Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) has condemned the Kagiso Trust's rejection of R40 million in humanitarian aid which it said could have been used to fund some of the 8 000 bursary applications it had received this year.

Although director Mr John Kane-Berman did not mention the trust by name, he said it was "tragic that particular political viewpoints had been allowed to enter into educational funding".

Kagiso Trust negotiators Dr

Beyers Naude and Mr Ahmed Dango recently rejected the R40 million being offered by European governments after a disagreement with the donors over how the funds would be administered, and over the EEC's insistence that they be used for strictly "humanitarian" and not "political purposes". The South African negotiators argued it was impossible to separate the two in South Africa.

"We have had more than 8 000 applications for bursaries this year and have been able to satisfy fewer than 10% of these. It is heartbreaking to have to turn so many people down," Mr John Kane-Berman said.

CAPG Times 7/5/87

Mandela: 'Vote against apartheid' call

11M
AP Correspondent

WASHINGTON. — The New York Times yesterday praised Mrs Winnie Mandela for urging whites not to boycott the election but to vote for opponents of apartheid.

The newspaper was quoting the text of a speech she was prevented from delivering at the University of the Witwatersrand on Monday, and inferred that the speech

had been approved by her husband whom she last visited in Pollsmoor Prison two week ago.

"The message of the ANC is that white South Africans of relevance must vote against apartheid," the text ran. "Each vote against apartheid is a vote of protest against a government which is fighting with its back against the wall, desperately and ruthlessly clinging to power — a

government that has lost control."

In an editorial, the Times called Mrs Mandela "wise", adding: "It finally seems to have occurred to the ANC that the right course for apartheid's opponents is to call for more voting, not less.

"If this represents not just a gimmick but a change of heart, something has already happened in SA."

Nelson Mandela tops 'choose your leaders' poll

11A
CAPC 7/15/87
By SHAUNA WESTCOTT
Staff Reporter

JAILED ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela comes out on top in a "choose your leaders" poll run by the Grassroots community newspaper.

Readers were asked to return a "ballot" form answering the question: Who would you choose to lead our country if you had the vote? Each was allowed to vote for five people.

More than 400 readers have "voted" in the

poll which ends later this month. An analysis of the results "would disturb all the parties involved in today's racist and undemocratic election", Grassroots says.

Mr Mandela leads the poll with 295 votes, followed by ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo with 228 and UDF patron the Rev Allan Boesak with 119.

South African Communist Party secretary and former Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Mr Joe Slovo is in fourth place with 117 votes and Rivonia trialist Mr Walter Sisulu is close behind with 104.

Also in the top 10 are fellow Rivonia trialists Mr Govan Mbeki and Mr Ahmed Kathrada — with 51 and 57 votes respectively — and Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu with 56 votes.

Jailed former UDF president Mr Oscar Mpetha and the last president of the now banned Congress of South African Students, Ms Lulu Johnson, are ninth and 10th on the list of leaders with 45 and 33 votes respectively.

Others who voters have named are the UDF's Mrs Albertina Sisulu (24 votes), Mou-

iana Faried Esack of the Call of Islam (21), Mr Thabo Mbeki and Mr Joe Modise of the ANC (20 and 18), Imam Hassan Solomons of the UDF (17), Mrs Helen Joseph (14) and Mrs Winnie Mandela (11).

Analysed by organization, the poll gives 66,5% of the vote to the ANC and 29% to UDF-linked figures.

"While there is no doubt that (P W) Botha will win the May 6 election," Grassroots says, "the initial results of the poll show that he would not feature in a non-racial and democratic election in South Africa."

Foreign aid is crucial, says official

UDF challenge to ban on funds

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(11A)

5/10 Day 7/5/87

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Own Correspondent

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The urgent application brought by the UDF against the President and four others, is asking that the proclamation made on October 19 last year, which prohibits an affected organisation from receiving foreign money, have no force and effect in law.

In an affidavit by former Law and Order Minister Louis le Grange, it was stated that in accordance with the proclamation a committee of three magistrates was formed on June 25, 1986.

UDF executive chairman Curnick Ndlhovu said in an affidavit before Mr Justice Didcott that the organisation received funds from inside and outside SA.

The committee was asked to compile a factual report on the UDF as an affected organisation.

He said the current budget of the organisation was R2m.

"I was satisfied that the members of this committee carried out their task effectively," he said.

"Our two principal sources come from the Swedish labour movement and Novib, a church in the Netherlands," Ndlhovu said.

Ishmail Mahomed, SC, appeared for the UDF, the Durban Housing Action Committee, the Natal Organisation of Women and Ndhlovu.

"It is a matter of crucial importance to the continuing and effective functioning of the UDF, that it should be free to receive the financial assistance it needs from abroad."

Jan Combrink, SC, appeared for the President, government, the Minister of Law and Order, the Minister of Justice and the Registrar of Affected Organisations.

The hearing continues today.



Nelson Mandela romped home in the mock poll.

Mandela wins poll

By Sam Mabe

Jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela easily beat President P W Botha, who trailed in 24th place, in a mock presidential vote conducted by the *Sowetan* newspaper and published today.

Results of the ballot gave Mr Botha 119 votes, way behind Mandela who got 838.

The second most popular leader to be voted into Mandela's "Cabinet" was ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo with 743 votes, followed by Archbishop Desmond Tutu with 691 votes.

The *Sowetan's* editor, Mr Aggrey Klaaste, said last night the ballot was announced at the same time as Mr Botha announced the date of the whites-only elections.

"All we wanted to do was to show what a post-apartheid government in South Africa would be like had all citizens of this country participated in the elections."

A total of 17 404 readers cast their votes and nominated 466 people. But about 6 000 votes were discarded because of infringement of voting rules, bringing the number of voters to 11 404.

Former PFP leader Dr Van Zyl Slabbert was the most popular white in the poll.

While thousands in Johannesburg waited anxiously for the election results last night, midnight in Soweto found most people asleep.

In fact, the only impact the election had on the townships was a two-day stayaway — the "only weapon of protest available to us".

Minister withdraws Aussies' work permits

2 foreign journalists told to leave SA

The Minister of Home Affairs yesterday withdrew the work permits of two Australian television journalists for their alleged biased reporting on South Africa.

The Director-General of Home Affairs, Mr Gerrie van Zyl, said in a statement that Richard Carleton and Jennifer Ainge of the Australian Broadcasting Corporation, had been requested to leave South Africa by midnight last night.

Mr van Zyl said the move was "on account of reports containing gross untruths about South Africa".

The Director-General of the SABC, Mr Riaan Eksteen, said in a statement yesterday that since 1976 the SABC "has regularly made its facilities available on a commercial basis to foreign TV stations for recording and feeding their programmes".

"The SABC took no issue on these programmes simply because opinions were based on fact.

"However, this morning in this particular instance, Mr Carleton, an Australian TV journalist, exceeded totally the limits of freedom of expression. His own report was riddled with blatant untruths."

'Spreading venom and distortions'

Mr Eksteen said Mr Carleton made the following statements in the introductory part of his programme:

- The choice they're being offered: The Right, the far Right and the extreme Right.
- In Soweto it is immensely violent with police and army shooting almost at random.
- Soweto is a sealed off township and there, police and army, answerable to no one, are roaming at will.
- But because of special characteristics of the electoral system the result will not be known for 24 hours.

In his closing comments, Mr Carleton allegedly made the following remark:

"Still on that black leader rotting in Pollsmoor prison ..."

Mr Eksteen said the SABC also made its studio and satellite feed facilities available to Mr Carleton on a commercial basis.

"However, when these facilities are used as was done by Mr Carleton to vent his spleen on South Africa and to spread venom and distortions, no commercial transaction which was concluded in good faith, can be sustained. Certainly no one can expect such a blatant misuse of facilities to be tolerated," Mr Eksteen said. — Sapa.

Lead item for radio listeners

The Star's Foreign News Service

MELBOURNE — The expulsion from South Africa of Australia's best-known TV journalist, Richard Carleton, was the leading item in most radio news services this morning.

Bulletins headlined his removal from Johannesburg and broadcast excerpts from his phoned description of his detainment by security officials.

Carleton is one of Australia's most experienced TV reporters and his news comment programme, the Carleton-Walsh Report, enjoys high ratings.

Today's newspapers reported that the SABC had banned last night's programme because they claimed Carleton had been "telling lies" in his introduction which officials monitored before it was due to go to air.

Carleton's introduction claimed the South African media was "censored in the same way the Soviet Union does it" and that the South African Police and Army were acting "as a law unto themselves".

Man killed by 'anti-Azapo mob'

By Mudini Maivha

A Soweto man whose family is identified with the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) and Azanian Students' Movement (Azasm) has been murdered by youths alleged to be political opponents of black consciousness.

Mr Sandile Leeuw (22) of Phiri, Soweto, was a cousin of Miss Thenjiwe Leeuw, secretary of the Azanian Students' Movement.

His family said he was shot, hacked with pangas, stabbed with a garden fork and burnt with three tyres around him.

The attack took place in a street in Dlamini 2 on Monday. The murder came six weeks after two attacks on Miss Leeuw's family in which their home was fired at.

Said Miss Leeuw: "This is a continuation of an

intimidation campaign against black consciousness adherents. It is a follow-up to what happened to me."

Mr Bucs Leeuw, Thenjiwe's father, said Sandile was confronted by three men on his way to visit them in Dlamini 1.

One man had a gun and when he saw Sandile he whistled and another two men emerged from a nearby house.

Said Mr Leeuw: "He was shot at, hacked with pangas and stabbed with garden forks. They put three tyres around him and set him alight."

"The actual killing was done by a mob belonging to an organisation opposed to Azapo."

The deceased's father, Mr Max Leeuw, said he had been to the mortuary where he found tyre wires still around his son's waist.

He said Sandile had no political affiliations.

UDF in court challenge to curb on funds

11A
5/11/82
7/5/82

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — An application by the United Democratic Front and three others, challenging the validity of a declaration by the State President last year listing the UDF as an "affected organisation" and thus prohibiting them from receiving foreign funds, began in the Supreme Court, Durban, yesterday.

It was brought before Mr Justice Didcott by the UDF, its executive chairman, Mr Curnick Ndhlovu, the Durban Housing Action Committee and the Natal Organisation of Women, against the State President, the South African Government, the Ministers of Law and Order and of Justice and the Registrar of Affected Organisations.

The UDF attacked the validity of Proclamation No 190 announced by the State President

on October 9 last year, which lists the UDF as an "affected organisation".

The applicants ask that the proclamation be declared of no force and effect and that an order be made prohibiting the Registrar of Affected Organisations and the Minister of Justice from taking steps against the UDF, pursuant to the declaration of the proclamation, read with Act No 31 of 1974.

Mr Ismail Mahomed, SC, for the applicants, argued that the respondents had failed to comply with Section 8 of the Act, which clearly stated that the Minister of Justice appoint a committee of three magistrates to investigate the organisation before it was listed as "affected".

In this case, the then Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, appointed the committee.

Defence counsel for the respondents argued that there had been a valid assignment of powers to the Minister of Law and Order.

In an affidavit Mr Curnick Ndhlovu said the UDF received funds from both inside and outside South Africa which it distributed to 600 affiliated organisations.

The UDF's current budget was R2 million and it had received about R200 000 of this amount during the year.

He said the funders included various people and organisations interested in encouraging a movement towards a non-racial, democratic and unfragmented dispensation in the country.

The two principal sources of overseas funds were the Swedish Labour Movement and Novib, a church in the Netherlands.

Mr Ndhlovu said it was a matter of crucial importance to the continuing and effective functioning of the UDF that it should be free to receive the financial assistance it needed from abroad.

The hearing continues.

Election result of Sowetan Ballot Box

MANDELA WINS THE VOTE



11A Sowetan
7/5/87

11A
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By JOE THLOLOE
assistant editor

JAILED African National Congress leader Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela should be head of the South African Government, according to readers who participated in the Sowetan Ballot Box.

As the 3-million white voters went to the polls in an all-white election yesterday, staff at the Sowetan were counting the final votes in the Ballot Box and the results give an indication of what a post-apartheid Government, chosen freely by all South Africans, would look like.

Mandela won overwhelmingly with 838 votes, followed by ANC president Oliver Tambo (743) and Archbishop Desmond Tutu (691). But in spite of Mr Mandela having won the poll, we are unable

to use his picture in the paper today. Yesterday morning we received a telex message from the SA Prisons Service stating: "With reference to your telex requesting permission to publish photographs of Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Zephania Mothopeng and Govan Mbeki, I regret to inform you that such permission cannot be granted."

Final voting

The final voting tally was 11 404 and a total of 466 people were nominated by the readers. We had to discard about 6 000 other votes because of infringements of the rules.

When State President P W Botha announced the date of the elections for the white chamber of Parliament, we also announced the Ballot Box, just to show what it would be like if we did not have apartheid and we lived in a united South Africa.

We asked readers to give us ten names of people they believe should be running the country.

Says acting editor, Mr Aggrey Klaaste: "The response was great considering we were not offering any prizes.

"Some even got carried away and wanted to

To Page 2

THE border branch executive of the United Democratic Front and former Fort Hare University lecturer, the Rev Arnold Stofile (42), was discharged on two counts in the terrorism trial being heard in the Bisho Supreme Court yesterday.

The acting Chief Justice of Ciskei, Mr Justice Benjamin Pickard, discharged Mr Stofile on a count of possession of four limpet mines and on a count of possession of an AK-47 assault rifle of Russian origin.

Mr Stofile, Mr Nelson Ndledla (32), Mr Linda

STOFILE DISCHARGED

ON TWO COUNTS

Stofile (28), Mr Gladwell Gqibitole (28), and Ms Nomvuyiso Stofile (30), are facing charges in terms of the Ciskei national security act. They have all pleaded not guilty.

Last week the defence, Mr W M Friedman, applied for the discharge of four of the accused on the main count of

terrorism, and on the alternative count of taking part in the activities of an unlawful organisation.

The defence also applied for the discharge of Ms Stofile on the charge of harbouring or failing to report a

suspected terrorist.

The application was made after the state closed its case. After the discharge application, the prosecutor, Mr W F Jurgens, made an application to amend sections in the main count of terrorism of the

national security act. The amendment was granted by the court.

Dealing with the application for the discharge of the accused, some of them individually on the main count, the judge said he had listened to the lengthy argument.

Mr Justice Pickard said the evidence before the court should be taken

at face value. The court would take a fair, reasonable approach.

He said evidence at this stage was that Mr Ndledla was a terrorist trained in Angola. He was an occupant in a car driven by Mr Linda Stofile, in which documents bearing his photos, and a Makarov pistol were found.

He had also pointed out a limpet mine at a certain place.

Mr Ndledla had sought a "safe place" to escape from the police. There was also evidence that a witness (identity protected by the court) had asked to be trained by Mr Ndledla as a terrorist.

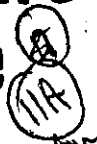
(Proceeding)

You can stay as you are for the rest of your life or you can change to Mainstay.

You can stay as you are for the res

Azasm honours Steve Biko

7/5/87



THE Azanian Students Movement (Azasm) will commemorate the 10th anniversary of the death of Steve Biko and the banning of 19 black consciousness organisations.

This was resolved at the organisation's first executive council which was held in the northern Transvaal recently.

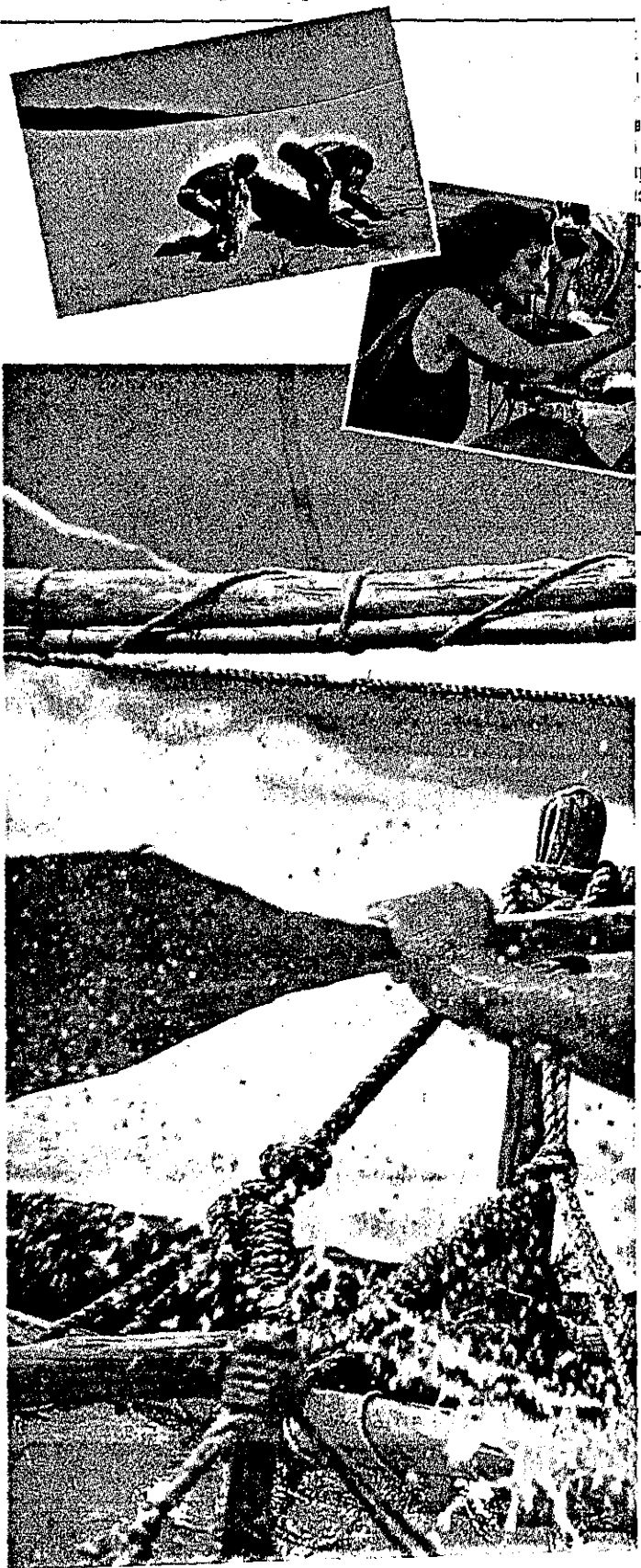
Isolation

Azasm, a student wing of the Azanian Peoples' organisation, has also resolved to strengthen its campaign against graduation ceremonies together with the overall isolation campaign of the South African Government.

Mr Raschin Naidoo, a spokesman for the movement, said the organisation takes it upon themselves to honour Steve Biko and to commemorate the banning of 19 BC organisations in 1977.

Mr Naidoo said they were going to step up the campaign against graduation ceremonies, which he described as "the glorification of racist capitalist education".

"These graduation ceremonies are a promotion of ethnicity and elitism to authenticate the myth of separate development. These ethnic and multiracial universities use these graduation ceremonies as hunting grounds for capitalist agencies who want to use the black students as lieutenants of oppression and exploitation of the black working class," he said.



III A

Buckling down to P W Botha



Businessmen should not be intimidated by the State President's unfortunate treatment of Barclays' Chris Ball. It is a warning shot across the bows of businessmen who dare to challenge him that should be met with defiance.

The Chris Ball election side-show is having detrimental short-term consequences for the bank, which is unfortunate. But it is also symptomatic of a changing relationship between government and business which, if it continues, could be important for the survival of free enterprise in a post-apartheid society. In the short term it could mean a rough ride.

Simply put, the more that businessmen demonstrate that neither apartheid laws nor the capricious behaviour of beleaguered Nats are compatible with the normal conduct of business, the more credibility a free enterprise society will have in the eyes of intelligent black citizens. That suggests businessmen must in future be more — certainly not less — critical of government intransigence over reform.

The first duty of every CE is to preserve the productive capacity of the assets under his stewardship. Inevitably that means he has to be aware of the environment, political and otherwise, in which his enterprise operates.

Botha himself invited businessmen to participate in politics at various celebrated conferences. When, however, his reform initiative retreated into rhetoric, he became impatient at their outspoken concern. We guess he will react again with mercurial indignation as other businessmen express views with which he does not agree. Given the nature of the man, that is inevitable. Given time, it could be his downfall.

Certainly, it will enhance the possibility of some Brutus appearing within his ranks. We should never forget the deep differences that exist between Cape Nats and those in the Transvaal. Didn't Tacitus say of another race a long time ago something like: "They are separated by high mountains and mutual animosities"? It is true too of the Afrikaner.

Ball has been unfortunate, a victim of circumstances as

The sad affair of Chris Ball and P W Botha won't be without an encouraging aspect if it heralds greater business censure of apartheid's incompatibility with free enterprise.

much as Botha's misplaced wrath. There, but for the grace of God, stands many another businessman. Botha brought against him the full force of sovereign power, parliamentary privilege and a legal process which might give the impression of a fair trial.

It doesn't matter a damn to anyone who cares to think about it, except the Nats, whether Ball knew or didn't know for what purpose he advanced a relatively small sum to a client. Many business judgments taken in the heat of the moment could look illogical in the ex-post glare of legal scrutiny. Proof must be in the outcome; the advance to pay for the controversial advertisement has still not been proved commercially unacceptable.

Our government expects foreign bankers to be politically blind when making loans to this country. The same criterion must logically apply to local banks, within the bounds of reason and the law. Ball's mistake was that he did not make this clear right from the outset.

Ball's "trial" was not according to the normal processes of court procedure which enable the accused — in the course of defending himself — to call witnesses and cross-examine those giving evidence against him. Even then, the presiding judge did not find beyond all reasonable doubt that Ball knew what he denied knowing. His judgment was based on probability and his selection of the relevant facts.

Even such a finding would be acceptable were an appeal to a higher tribunal possible. But it is not.

The legality of the advertisement was never in question. And after all the travail of the commission's hearing and finding, the slur on Ball's integrity and the damage done to the bank, the State President — according to his office — plans to take the matter no further.

So it is difficult to assume any other motive than an election tactic.

There may also have been an element of vengefulness over the decision of Barclays Bank Plc in Britain to withdraw from this country. Ball's unsuccessful attempts to dissuade his British shareholders by demonstrating that the bank in SA could be used to further the interests of blacks made him a sitting duck for rightwing politicians.

Ball's contact with the ANC has been minimal. He was not among those who visited Lusaka and drew Botha's wrath. Nowhere has he voiced support either for the ANC's objects or its methods. But he did openly engage in discussions with ANC leaders in Britain, himself supplying government with tapes of the discussion.

In some quarters it has been argued, probably with more mischief than logic, that as the bank, which is suffering, is greater than the man, Ball should be censured or dismissed. That, in our view, would not be in the longer-term interests of shareholders.

First, Ball has done a great deal to overcome the problems left by his predecessor, whose conduct in no way parallels Ball's. Technologically he has moved the bank forward substantially. There is, moreover, no obvious candidate of similar stature and ability capable of stepping into his shoes.

This is the second leadership crisis into which the bank has been plunged in recent years. The morale of its considerable staff would not be enhanced by another change.

If there be any argument for censuring Ball, it must await the bank's ensuing annual financial statements. That is the proper measure of the conduct of a CE.

Second, in view of the changing nature of the relationship between business and government, the longer-term interests of shareholders of what is to become First National Bank will better be served by the shorter-term cost of standing up to the intimidation of the State President.

Nowhere is there a better example of that changing relationship than banking. Ten years ago any growth



Ball, Jimmy McKenzie (rt) ... in the firing sights

in bank lending could take place only with the permission of Pretoria. It was controlled by a quantitative ceiling, any movement of which was determined by official command, and not competitive market forces.

The result was that to increase lending, and in turn profits, bankers had to go cap in hand to Pretoria and plead a special case. The skills of bank profitability were tantamount to the skills of successful advocacy. Implicit in that relationship was acquiescence to Pretoria. If you wanted to make money, you didn't cross government.

Two things have changed since then. The bank lending ceiling has been scrapped and profitability rightly restored largely to determination by competitive forces. And a new generation of CE has emerged, no longer inhibited by having to plead in Pretoria. Ball is of that generation.

Of course, this is true not only of banking. It prevails to some extent in other industries. But significantly the new CEs in those industries that require protection, or depend heavily on government contracts, are still wary of taking government to task. Their inclination is still toward special pleading behind closed doors.

We believe that if this economy is deregulated, decontrolled and competition is en-



**President Botha ...
electoral smears**

couraged, there will be a rising tide of criticism from young businessmen less inhibited than their predecessors as their profits bump against the vestiges of apartheid. That is inevitable, despite the unpleasantness of any intimidation that Botha may yet decide to

bring to bear.

As head of state, his power to do so is considerable, especially if the clandestine endeavours of the security police be used. Businessmen, like politicians and journalists, can never be sure now that their telephones are not being tapped and that the most confidential of transactions will not be open to the abuse of parliamentary privilege for political purposes.

The lesson in the Ball affair for businessmen — who rightly perceive it their duty to continue to point out the conflict between apartheid and free enterprise, and that discussion with opposing forces is not capitulation — is that conflict with Pretoria must be treated with the utmost circumspection.

Ball has learned the hard way that it is unwise to shoot at politicians from the hip. But confrontation there must be while the Group Areas Act remains on the statute books and until government acknowledges that its constitutional reform is inadequate and, in any event, off the rails.

Until those matters are adequately dealt with, and no matter how many troops are maintained on the borders or in the townships, business will have to operate in a community in which there is a rising tide of violence.

ESCOM'S CORPORATE STRATEGY

Going for the glow

Escom, SA's biggest corporate institution, is sitting pretty. With assets of over R34 billion, it has been dramatically and successfully restructured over the last two years. And, according to chairman John Maree, tighter financial controls, improved decision-making and clearer customer focus have been the major benefits. "We still have a long way to go," he notes. "But I feel that the first lap is successfully behind us."

Maree, who took the reins in May 1985, with the formation of the Electricity Council, says that August that year was an auspicious month in the life of Escom. That was when the debt standstill was imposed — forcing, in his words, "a major rethink of the corporation's funding strategy. We had planned on borrowing R1 400m overseas last year. But suddenly this money was no longer available to us. So we were faced with a situation of having to balance our books without placing too much strain on the limited local financial markets and pushing up interest rates."

In the event, Escom was able to revise its budgets, and cuts of R1 000m were made in operating expenditure with a similar amount in capital expenditure for the years 1986 to 1989 (see graph). This target was achieved last year. Staff cuts of 8 000 will account for savings of around R160m alone over the next couple of years. In addition, a planned R150m will be trimmed off the stores bill over two years. "Given the fact that the

John Maree's successes in other fields have been matched at Escom. In the face of the cut-off of credit lines, the electricity corporation has tightened its belt and planned soundly.

holding costs on these stores work out at R50m a year, that adds up to significant savings," says Maree.

In broad terms, he adds that the aim has been to run Escom like a business. "We have had to turn what was a bureaucracy into a



**Escom's Maree ... dynamic
tactics**

meritocracy. Another priority has been to decentralise the organisation. There is no doubt that the man in the front line generally makes a better decision than someone sitting in head office. But that in turn means, on the one hand, you have to have the right staff at the front line, and management information systems must work properly."

Maree believes that people perform differently according to how they are structured and led, and on the level of internal communication within an organisation. "This brings into play the concepts of reward, promotion and motivation. The days when people at Escom received increases simply on the basis of number of years' service are gone. That no longer forms part of our thinking. Performance is the criterion now."

He adds: "What matters is giving the organisation clear direction and getting the priorities right. In this regard we've put together numerous task forces to handle specific problems, and the result is a leaner but more efficient organisation."

This performance should provide a sound basis for further business orientation in the years ahead.

Escom at the moment has something of an overcapacity problem, with huge new 3 600 MW to 4 000 MW thermal power stations still coming on stream or being built. According to Maree: "We originally anticipated that the growth in the demand for electricity would run at around 8% as it did



LABOUR STAYAWAY

Protesting the white poll

Called to coincide with Wednesday's white election, the two-day work stayaway led by the United Democratic Front and organised black labour got off to a massive start on the eve of the poll.

This is the first time since 1958 that a call for united mass action has been made in protest against a white general election, observes the Wits University-linked Labour Monitoring Group (LMG).

The crucial difference now, it adds, is the existence of strong trade unions, mass-based youth, student and community organisations, and divisions within the white community.

"Both for the State and for those who have endorsed this protest, these few days represent a critical test of strength," the LMG observes.

Last week, the National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu, which is made up of Cosatu and the black consciousness Cusa/Azactu unions) met and "agreed that community action could only succeed if it was mass-based with adequate thought and support given to it."

According to Nactu: "Botha has pressed ahead with his racist parliamentary elections ignoring the call by all democratic forces for universal franchise in a united country."

On Tuesday, thousands of blacks failed to turn up for work in the country's industrial heartland, the Witwatersrand. According to the LMG, the PWV area saw a 43% stayaway among African workers in the manufacturing sector, while between 75% and 90% of African retail sector employees stayed at home on the first day.

Nationwide, the LMG estimates that about 500 000 retail and manufacturing workers stayed away. The group points out that its figures did not include the mining sector or other non-unionised workers. The Department of Manpower says it does not monitor stayaways.

Downtown Johannesburg's normal stream of Kombi taxis for blacks was conspicuously absent. Putco said on Tuesday morning 75% of its drivers on the Reef did not come to work. At its Wynberg-Alexandra depot none had reported, while in Pretoria the service was fairly normal.

Sats said peak hour occupancy on trains from the East Rand, the West Rand, Soweto and Pretoria started off at 20,5% at 5.15 am and dwindled to 7% by 7.15 am.

In Port Elizabeth-Uitenhage, the LMG reported a 99% stayaway among black workers, and 35% among coloureds on the day before the election. According to the group, employers in the eastern Cape said the elections were hardly mentioned by

ELECTION RESULTS

The *FM* went to press as voting in Wednesday's general election for whites got under way. Details of the results, together with a constituency map and the names of all MPs elected to the House of Assembly will appear in next week's edition.

workers as a reason for the stayaway. The protest, they said, seemed to have more to do with the attacks on Cosatu House last week and the dismissals at Sats.

In Cape Town the LMG reported a very limited stayaway. A Chamber of Industries spokesman reported a worker stayaway of up to 50% at some factories, but essential services, including bakeries and dairies, were operating smoothly. He said the stayaway was more noticeable among black workers than coloureds, adding it was possible the boycott would be more widespread on the second day due to "intimidation" in the townships.

In Natal, the LMG reported a 60% boycott in the retail and manufacturing sectors. The Natal Chamber of Industries estimated employee attendance at about 65% in Durban, but considerably lower (40%) in Maritzburg and Ladysmith. Assistant director Mike Smith claimed the stayaway arose from disruption of bus services, rather than sympathy with a protest stayaway.

According to Putco area operative Ashley Milanese his company experienced a 90% turnout of drivers who were "more than willing" to drive. "We also had a massive build-up of passengers who wanted to be transported. But we couldn't get buses in and out of several areas and as a result operated only 20% of our normal service."

Durban Transport Management Board GM Marshall Cuthbert said loads were "generally pretty low" and that in Lamontville the service had been entirely suspended.

In an attack on the organisers, KwaZulu's Mangosuthu Buthelezi maintained it represented a "declaration of war." KwaZulu, he said, had no quarrel with the sentiments that prompted such appeals, but disagreed with the methods.

Warning that intimidation would be employed to enforce the stayaway, Buthelezi said: "People have been talking of a new dawn. If this is the new dawn, God save us from our liberators."

□ Meanwhile, two limpet mines exploded on

the morning of May 5 at the Johannesburg Civic Centre, which was to be used as a polling station. No one was injured. Government believes it to be part of the "ANC campaign of violence to disrupt the polls."

A landmine exploded when a tractor detonated it in a quarry on the farm Kaalrug in the Malelane area of the eastern Transvaal. No one was injured. On May 4 a man died and 10 others, all blacks, were injured when their vehicle detonated a landmine just west of Beit Bridge in the northern Transvaal.

□ Pre-election tension reached fever pitch on the campuses of the universities of Cape Town and Witwatersrand as students rallied against security force action and the whites-only election.

PARLIAMENT

The load ahead

With the election behind them, MPs return to parliament on May 18, for a marathon session which will effectively keep government in Cape Town until the middle of next year.

The delayed main Budget on June 3, followed by a month-long Budget debate, will be the first hurdle. After a break in July, MPs return for at least three or four months of further legislative sittings. Parliament will reconvene in January after the year-end recess for another full session lasting about five months.

Government is expected to come under immediate pressure from the Progressive Federal Party and its own junior partners in



P W Botha ... looking for blacks to join his council

the coloured and Indian chambers, to implement its campaign pledges of further reform — none of which have been clearly spelt out.

Although the legislative programme is not

PW Botha misinterpreted law on UDF, hears court

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8/5/87

Dispatch Correspondent

DURBAN — The State President had "misinterpreted" the legislation which declared the United Democratic Front an affected organisation — and prohibited it from receiving foreign aid.

This was submitted by counsel for the UDF, Mr Ishmail Mahomed SC, during argument before Mr Justice Didcott in the Supreme Court here yesterday.

A proclamation issued on October 19, last year prohibits an affected organisation from receiving foreign money.

Mr Mahomed said that for the State President

to properly exercise his jurisdiction it had to be ascertained whether the organisation was engaged in politics with the aid of foreign money.

It was his submission that the UDF was not only engaged in politics nor was it engaged in party politics for the purpose of seeking office. "On the facts of this case the position is that the UDF also provides housing, employment as well as religious, sporting and cultural amenities," he said.

Mr Mahomed argued that the legislation was probably intended to encourage political judgement by the people of

South Africa without foreign intervention.

"It is possible it was intended to encourage political judgement from the natives of the country, unpolluted by foreign countries."

Mr Mahomed appeared for the UDF, the Durban Housing Action Committee, the Natal Organisation of Women and Mr Curnick Ndhlovu.

Mr Jan Combrink, SC, appeared for the State President, the government, the Minister of Law and Order, the Minister of Justice and the Registrar of Affected Organisations.

The argument continues today.

Support for ANC politics — Malan

(11A)

28/11/82

00

Dispatch Correspondent
CAPE TOWN — The independent candidate in Randburg, Mr Wynand Malan, says there is "definitely" substantial support inside South Africa for ANC politics but not for its strategies and violence.

Mr Malan said he was convinced that over the last 18 months the situation had changed so much that "the nationalists are no longer in control of the ANC".

"There is definitely substantial support inside South Africa for ANC politics, not for ANC strategies and ANC violence," Mr Malan said in an interview published in the latest journal of the Youth for South Africa organisation.

"This political constituency inside South

Africa must be freed so that it can participate in politics," he said.

Mr Malan added that he supported the state of emergency "in principle".

"It is a dream to think you can handle violence and revolution outside of a democratic system without one or other oppressive measure.

"You must not lock up people who are part of a politically organisation and want to engage the government in discussions. Protest must be made possible because protest could overflow into violence.

"You must therefore create an alternative channel for protest. You must try to engage the protest by negotiation," he said.

(Report by Barry Streek, 122 St Georges Street, Cape Town.)

Black leaders react to swing to the Right by white electorate

It's the dawning of SA's darkest age, says Tutu

The "darkest age" in South African history has dawned with the landslide election victory by the National Party and the white shift to the Right, says the Archbishop of Cape Town, the Most Rev Desmond Tutu.

He was joined at a Press conference at his Bishops court home yesterday by Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches. Both men are also patrons of the United Democratic Front.

The front itself, through its acting publicity secretary Mr Murphy Morobe, has declared the stage set for "a deepening of the conflict and a further polarisation of South Africa".

Archbishop Tutu said even a slightly different result would have signalled some hope.

"Now we have a right-wing government that has been confirmed in its right-wing views, with a possibility of an extreme right-wing opposition. I believe we are going to see increased oppression and intolerance of any dissent."

To the Progressive Federal Party he said: "I repeat the plea I made to the PRP donkey's years ago. Get out of Parliament because you have given the world the impression that we have a multiparty democracy when now it is quite clear we have a total charade."

Archbishop Tutu called on the international community to intensify pressure on the South African Government.

Dr Boesak said: "The election result is hardly a surprise to many people. When you have had a government that employs all the tactics of a fascist police state for a number of years then it is quite natural that the (voting) swing would be towards the same tendency."

"White voters have made their position clear. They support the

state of emergency; they support the detention of more than 30 000 people; they support detention of thousands of children without trial and they support the actions of the security forces."

Dr Boesak said Government opponents had no choice but to continue to resist "as strongly as we can" to ensure the future of the country would be shaped by the majority.

The UDF's Mr Morobe blamed the right-wing shift on "outrageous and false 'swart gevaar' propaganda".

"As the election heat and dust settles white South Africans who voted for continued white minority rule will find the crisis and conflict has intensified and there will be less comfort for all to take home."

Renewed repression

Mr Morobe said the UDF remained determined to fight for a country free of racism.

"Sooner or later whites will have to realise that the oppressed majority and their organisations — like the UDF, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) and the banned African National Congress — cannot be wished away."

Cosatu — whose Johannesburg headquarters were badly damaged by two massive blasts hours after polling stations closed — is bracing itself for renewed repression.

"During the election (campaigns) there were predictions that May 6 would be followed by more concerted and determined repression of democratic organisations — and in particular the labour movement," said a Cosatu statement.

"Government rhetoric against Cosatu effectively prepared the ground for a big clampdown against us. Cosatu fears that this bomb

blast and the elections have ushered in a period of unprecedented repression against democratic forces."

The Chief Minister of Kwazulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, had predicted that whites' decisions on Wednesday would prove in years to come to have further radicalised black politics.

"I fear for the future. The white electorate has given more justification to the arguments of those who say that only escalated violence can bring whites to their senses," he said.

"Even those of us who are committed to non-violence would rather die than accept the National Party's prescription of a sugar-coated apartheid pill."

In apparent reference to the kwaNatal option, Chief Buthelezi said: "The State President has all but destroyed prospects of real negotiations taking place with the National Party and we must now concentrate on doing whatever can be done at regional level."

KaNgwane Chief Minister Mr Enos Mabuza said yesterday in his policy and budget speech delivered in kaNyamazane that the election campaign had been characterised by concerted efforts to depict the ANC as blood-thirsty ogres controlled by the South African Communist Party and manipulated by Moscow.

"Without the ANC being given an opportunity to state its case and reply to the accusations levelled against it, selective and out of context statements were dished out to the hostage-held South African public," Mr Mabuza said.

The election may have given whites a sense of respite but it would not solve the current turbulence. The most important development in the country during the past two-and-a-half years had not been government reform but the country-wide protests.

Describing apartheid as legalised racism, Mr Mabuza said: "We shall not rest until its walls, roof and pillars crumble into rubble — Staff Reporters and Sapa."

SPAN
81-187
11/8

| | |
|-----|-----|
| NP | 123 |
| CP | 22 |
| PFP | 19 |
| NRP | 1 |
| Ind | 1 |
| HNP | 0 |

'POLL RESULT BLOW TO SA' - UDF

THE stage was now set for the deepening of the South African conflict and further polarisation of the country following the white election result, the United Democratic Front said yesterday.

A statement signed by the UDF publicity secretary, Mr Murphy Morobe, said the clear rightwing shift among whites was due to "outrageous and false Nat 'swart gevaar' propaganda".

"As the election heat and dust settles, white South Africans who voted for continued white minority rule will find the crisis and conflict has intensified, and there will be less comfort for all to take home," the statement said.

"Sooner or later, whites will have to realise that the oppressed majority and their organisations like the UDF, Cosatu and the banned ANC cannot be wished away.

If anything, we are determined to ensure that this will be the last racist election in our country."— Sapa.

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Secretary
9/1/77

THE winner of the Sowetan Ballot Box, Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela, is serving a life sentence in jail, so he could not give us his vision for a new South Africa. The Sowetan then asked the person closest to him, Winnie, to tell us what her husband's vision is. She writes . . .

MRS WINNIE Mandela . . . leaders are united in our belief that our people have been denied their birthright to land, liberty and peace.

Mandela's vision for a new SA

11A
Sowetan
8/5/87



TO understand Mandela's vision of South Africa, one need just refer to his farewell utterances when he appeared in the courts of the land as he was tried for his ideological beliefs.

Defending himself during his first trial in 1962 he declared:

"It is fit and proper to raise the question sharply — What is this rigid colour bar in the administration of justice?"

"I feel oppressed by the atmosphere of white domination that lurks all around this courtroom.

"It reminds me that I am voteless because there is a Parliament in this country that is white-controlled. I am without land because the white minority has taken a lion's share of my country and forced me to occupy poverty-stricken reserves, over-populated and overstocked."

These words, uttered 25 years ago, could have been uttered on election day in 1987 as the white minority went to the polls.

Mandela's vision of

FOCUS

tomorrow's South Africa is of one unitary non-racial democratic State which belongs to all its inhabitants and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of the majority of people. The same court atmosphere he found oppressive 25 years ago could have been written about by any detainee today.

United

He and the rest of the leaders inside prison and still in exile, differing as they may on minor ideological differences, are united in one belief that our people have been denied their birthright to land, liberty and peace.

Rolihlahla Mandela symbolises the belief that only a democratic State, based on the will of the people, can secure all their birthrights without distinction of colour, race, sex or belief.

Therefore the people shall govern in that

unitary State where there shall be equality before the law, the doors of learning open to all with equality, equal distribution of the country's wealth.

Shared

That is why our leaders fervently believe that the land shall be shared among those who work and not the white minority.

After 25 years of Mandela's imprisonment, the Botha regime, under extreme pressure both internationally and internally, was forced to dangle a carrot before Mandela and his colleagues. He and the leadership of the ANC had to renounce violence to be released from prison.

His response to P W Botha's offer of "freedom" was forthright and unambiguous, a rare opportunity of testing the commitment of men incarcerated 25 years ago for their vision of a new South Africa. In an address read by Zindzi Mandela, he declared:

"I am a member of the African National Congress, have always been

a member of the African National Congress and will remain a member of the African National Congress until I die.

"Oliver Tambo is much more than a brother to me. He is my greatest friend and comrade for nearly 50 years. If there is anyone who cherishes my freedom, Oliver Tambo cherishes it more. There is no difference between his views and mine.

Freedom

"What freedom am I being offered while the organisation of the people remains banned? What freedom am I being offered when I must ask for permission to live in an urban area? What freedom am I being offered when my very South African citizenship is not respected? Only free men can negotiate! Prisoners cannot enter into contracts.

Your freedom and mine cannot be separated. I will return! Herein lies the

embodiment of his vision for a new South Africa. These are the freedoms men have paid a high price for, a free and democratic South Africa devoid of racial hatred in which the people shall share the wealth of the land.

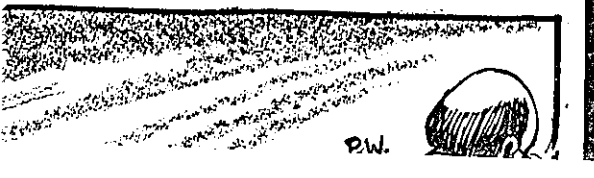
Ideals

Attempts to emphasise divisions among the freedom-loving people of our land will never succeed. The clear vision is that of a people who shall be free to express their ideals where freedom of speech will be respected.

None of these ideals have been realised. Therefore, Mandela remains behind bars with the rest of our leaders and will do so until they are freed by those they represent.

• Portions of this article have been excised so as not to contravene the Internal Security Act.

Lest we



P.W.

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MRS MUSHOMO ... Officials said one was dead.

'Traders must do their share'

IIA
 Soweto
 2/5/87

MRS URBANIA Mothopeng, wife of the jailed Pan Africanist Congress president, Mr Zeph Mothopeng, yesterday said black businessmen have a major role to play in the national liberation struggle and for freedom from hunger and exploitation.

Addressing the 17th annual general meeting of the Southern Transvaal African Chamber of Commerce (Soutacco) in Johannesburg, she said they needed skills, education and whatever they could lay their hands on, for their liberation.

She said: "But in the process of getting those skills we should not be swallowed up to become junior partners in the oppression of the African nation."

The conference, whose theme is "Black Business: Capitalism or Capitalist Agents?", was also addressed by Mr Sam Motsuenyane, the president of the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce, Mr Pandelani Nefolohodwe, vice-secretary of the National Council of Trade Unions.

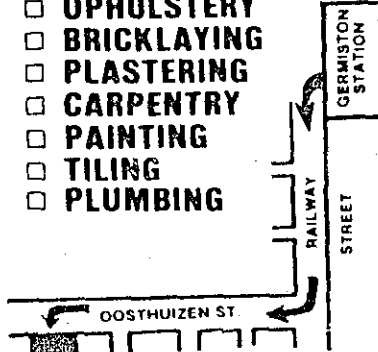
Mrs Mothopeng said Africans wanted a fair deal for their labour. They were tired of being exploited for the benefit of the few in their land.

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- PLUMBING



IN

(117) *Soweto*
25/87

Hlapane called as State witness

By ALI MPHAKI
A FORMER United Democratic Front chairman for the West Rand, Phillip Hlapane, who is serving a 13-year jail term for armed robbery and murder, yesterday gave evidence in a sedition case involving seven members of the Azanian Students Movement in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court.

Dressed in prison gear, Hlapane told the court about a June 16 commemoration service held at the Mohlakeng Anglican Church in 1985.

He said he saw one of the accused, Mr Nicodemus Tlhoriso Phake, addressing the meeting. Two of the accused, Mr Kenneth Mampondo and Mr Rubin Moliike, were also there.

Charges

Charges against the seven arise from the violence which broke out after the meeting. Several buildings, including a beer hall, were set alight.

Hlapane told the court that at the meeting several songs, which included hymns, township songs and freedom songs were sung.

The seven, all out on bail, are Mr Phake, Mr Vusi Ben Nko, Mr Mampondo, Mr Stanley Sigotyana, who is Azasman national organiser, Mr Moliike, Mr Gogo Soshibo and Mr Stephen Manoe.

One accused estreated his bail and another is missing.

The trial continues today.

'Involve blacks in business'

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — A large number of young blacks believed that business would have no place in post-apartheid South Africa and considered "capitalism" to be a swear word, according to Soweto civic leader Dr Nthatho Motlana.

Taking part in an open workshop on business at yesterday's Idasa conference here, Dr Motlana said that because of this attitude, there was an urgent need to involve blacks in business "on a massive scale".

He said people wrongly understood the Freedom Charter to contain a final definition of the type of economic system which would exist in the future but even the African National Congress had not decided exactly what would ultimately be nationalized.

Detainees

To date, the only sectors of business which were known to be in line for nationalization were giant corporations — particularly Anglo American — and banks, he said.

Another speaker, Mr Blair Hartley of Rhodes University Students' Representative Council, said business should examine the material needs and interests of workers and regularly state their attitudes on events such as the election or state of emergency.

Protection of workers by business should take the form of both financial aid and physical protection to the extent of calling for release of detained leaders, Mr Hartley said.

Mr Christo Nel, of Project Freedom Enterprise, said business as well as other sectors grossly under-estimated the depth of misinformation being fed to white South Africans which resulted in "political and social illiteracy".

Business — and in particular the factory floor — was one of the few areas where people could meet without the "extremities of apartheid" being an inhibiting factor.

Therefore, Mr Nel urged, democracy should begin in the workplace with employers giving a "demonstration of intent" and showing true solidarity with workers.

At an open workshop on education at the conference, a

speaker said that an entirely new educational structure — one which was not based on the raising of the level of black education to white standards — was the only long-term real solution to the education crisis.

The concept of establishing a new, democratic and non-racial educational system was mooted.

The discussion group heard that while there were the obvious problems in black education, white education was also fundamentally corrupt in that white schoolchildren were being trained to fit into an exploitative capitalist scheme of things.

"The whole country should be made into a school. Factories should become places where people learn and universities should become peoples' universities," one speaker said.

Mr Richard Todd, head of the Leadership Education and Advancement Foundation, who opened the workshop, said that if one took all the money that was spent on education and divided it equally among all pupils, the end result would be that only slightly more money would be available for blacks.

Mr Todd said there was no simple answer to educational problems, but original and lateral thinking was needed to rebuild the entire foundation of the educational system.

□ The regional chairman of the National Educational Union for South Africa, Mr Mvuyo Ralawe, said at the conference that whites were trained to calculate, decide, manage and rule.

The educational system had, however, trained blacks to be subservient.

There was a dire need for an education system to be based on the policies of the liberation struggle, which included non-elitism, non-authoritarianism and the breaking down of divisions.

"Children should be taught not to scorn manual work. They should be trained for manual work, as well as intellectual and creative workers."

Schools should be responsible to the community, all decisions should be taken democratically and it should become the duty of those who had an education to teach others.

Court overturns UDF aid curbs

11A DD
9/5/87

DURBAN — An order invalidating a proclamation by the government which declares the United Democratic Front (UDF) to be an affected organisation and prohibits it from receiving foreign aid, was issued in the Supreme Court here yesterday.

After issuing the order and ruling in favour of the UDF, Mr Justice Didcott said the matter was, "clearly destined for the Appellate division."

Mr Justice Didcott ordered that the proclamation made on October 19 last year prohibiting an affected organisation from receiving foreign money, have no force and effect in law.

It was also ordered that the registrar of af-

ected organisations was not entitled to take any steps against the UDF and that the Minister of Justice not be entitled to exercise any powers vested in him against the organisation.

Mr Justice Didcott said this was a most important case, not only to everyone concerned, but to the country as a whole.

He said it was a matter which profoundly affected public interest.

In his opinion this hearing was nothing but a "dress-rehearsal" before the appeal, which was to take place in Bloemfontein.

He said no credible findings had to be made by him, but it was necessary that the hearing be brought to a final

conclusion as soon as possible.

The executive chairman of the UDF, Mr Cur-nick Ndhlovu, said in an affidavit earlier this week that it was of crucial importance to the continuing and effective functioning of the UDF that it should be free to receive the financial assistance it needed from abroad.

He said the organisation, which had two principal sources of foreign aid had a budget of R2-million, of which R200 000 had been received during the year.

It was ordered that costs be paid by the government and the respondents be granted leave to appeal in the Appellate Division in Bloemfontein. — DDC

THE jailed African National Congress leader, Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela, should be head of the South African government, according to readers who participated in the *Sowetan* ballot box.

As the three million white voters went to the polls in an all-white election on Wednesday, staff at the *Sowetan* were counting the final votes in the ballot box, and the results give an indication of what a post-apartheid government, chosen by all South Africans, would look like.

Mandela is top of heap

(1/A)
C/Press 10/5/87

Mandela won overwhelmingly with 818 votes, followed by ANC President Oliver Tambo (743) and Archbishop Desmond Tutu (691).

The newspaper was unable to use Mandela's picture in the paper yesterday. *The Sowetan* received a te-

lex message from the SA Prisons service stating that: permission cannot be granted."

The final voting tally was 11 404 and a total of 466 people were nominated by the readers. The newspaper had to discard about 6 000 other votes because of infringement of the rules.

The newspaper said when the State President, PW Botha, announced the date of the elections for the White Chamber of Parliament, it also announced the ballot box just to show what it would be like if there was no apartheid in a united South Africa. - Sapa

Mandela elected to new society

Also 1987
By DAN DHLAMINI

THREE hundred lawyers committed to a democratic and just society, free from oppression and exploitation, last weekend elected the jailed ANC leader, Nelson Mandela as their honorary member at their inaugural meeting held in Durban.

The newly established body is the National Association of Democratic Lawyers (NADEL).

NADEL was formed at the instance of the Black Lawyers Association, the Democratic Lawyers Association, the Democratic Lawyers Congress, the Democratic Lawyers Organization, the Eastern Cape Democratic Lawyers Association, Lawyers for Democracy and independent Lawyer groups.

The newly formed Association declared that all persons should be equal before that law, should enjoy full and equal rights of citizenship in a unitary state and should have the right to participate in all organs of government.

Pik has urgent meeting on ANC

PRETORIA — In an urgent meeting with 35 foreign diplomatic representatives in Pretoria yesterday, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, urged the West to warn Zambia, Zimbabwe, Botswana and Mozambique of the consequences of "colluding" with the ANC plan to disrupt the May 6 House of Assembly general election with violence.

He emphasised the government's information about the ANC plan was reliable and the only thing that mattered now was that the "evil design" be stopped.

Mr Botha also indicated the car bomb explosion in a suburb of Botswana's capital, Gaborone, early yesterday morning had been a "mistake" on the part of the ANC as the explosives were "probably" intended for targets in South Africa.

Three people had been killed and four injured in the incident.

Mr Botha said governments which had one-sidedly condemned South Africa in the past for previous retaliatory action "cannot now stand aside as it is up to them" to warn Zambia, Zimbabwe, Botswana and Mozambique against the consequences of colluding with terrorists in the promotion of violence.

Mr Botha said: "Despite the knowledge western countries had of the progressive deterioration of Africa's social and economic base, they picked on South Africa — one of the few countries in the continent which showed improvement on every level."

This, Mr Botha said, automatically made some Southern African governments think that support would come for the use of force — "an obvious cul de sac."

Mr Botha concluded the meeting by appealing again through the diplomats present to urge their governments to "base themselves on the realities and the facts of Africa". — Sapa

Mansion for Mrs Mandela

JOHANNESBURG. — Rising out of the dust of Soweto's Orlando West Extension is a mansion that would not be out of place in Houghton.

Sources claim the double-storey house is being built for Mrs Winnie Mandela, wife of jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela.

It is believed Mrs Mandela will occupy the house as soon as it is completed, the Sunday Star reports.

The cost of building the house is believed to run into hundreds of thousands of rands, sources said.

The architect declined to discuss the money issue.

Some of the money is believed to have come from an overseas trust fund for the Mandela family, the sources said.

Mrs Mandela told a Johannesburg weekly newspaper the house was being built with royalties from her book "Part of My Soul".

"There are concerned fellow South Africans who believe our leaders deserve even better than what I have done for Mandela. They formed a trust which has built Mandela's house," she said.

The huge house is in the wealthy Soweto suburb of Beverly Hills and is surrounded by two-metre walls.

The red-brown bricks blend with huge boulders on the nearby hillside.

The interior is fitted with sliding doors and windows, walk-in cupboards and Italian tiles.

There is also an open-air balcony that provides a view of the nearby Orlando Stadium and the main road into Johannesburg. The sitting room has a fireplace.

On the ground floor, there are two studies and a conference room.

The small kitchen is centrally situated. It has an adjacent pantry.

On the first floor, there is a master bedroom plus a number of smaller bedrooms. There are also a number of bathrooms and a television room.

There is a garage for two cars and an outside servant's quarters.

The building of the house began in mid-1986. It is expected to be completed soon. — Sapa

Cape Times 11/5/87

Buthelezi fears junta in SA



Chief Buthelezi

ULUNDI. — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday questioned whether South Africa was now heading towards a military junta in which even the pretence of democracy was suspended.

He described the result of the white South African general election as "the devil's hour of glory" and said whites had increased the anger of moderate, peace-loving blacks by rejecting an opportunity of breaking the upward spiral of violence.

And he undertook now to use black anger to sentence whites to "life imprisonment in a democracy".

The KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president said whites had apparently not learnt how big a part the introduction of the tricameral parliament had played in increasing violence.

He told a KwaZulu day-of-prayer

gathering near Ulundi that he was "appalled" by the fact that the Conservative Party was now the official Opposition.

He refused, however, to squander the increased anger of his people on street corners and to turn it loose to "mutilate" other blacks and to unleash it against whites.

When he saw a group of 10 whites and knew that, according to overall election statistics, seven of them voted against what he stood for, his anger became a calculating one which demanded that "we out-strategize those who are opposed to us" and that this was done in the name of God.

It was not a vindictive, retributive anger, but a corrective one which had led him and his people to sentence white South Africa to a life in a democracy.

"We shall sentence them to life confinement in an open democracy where

all shall be free and, whether they like it or not, they shall live in a democracy because we shall keep them imprisoned in it," Chief Buthelezi said.

"They shall not escape our vigilance and they shall not escape the love that they reject."

The KwaZulu leader warned also of a "moral liberal sickness in whites" but emphasized that he was not referring to the "sons and daughters of the great liberal traditions", but to what he called those who wanted absolutism on the cheap.

These were the kind of whites who were always found in black radicalism because they needed to protest their innocence. They gained "their own peculiar kind of moral dividend" by associating with blacks just because they were black.

He likened this "sick white liberalism" to a crowd standing in front of a

tall building and chanting "jump, jump, jump" to a black high up and contemplating suicide.

Chief Buthelezi warned that "after this massive movement to the right" in the general election there would be a renewed white input into black radicalism.

White theologians would renew attempts to justify the Kairos Document and would try harder to stimulate the international community into further punitive isolating activity against South Africa.

White political action often "traded with the coinage of black anger". But such inroads into black choices could not be tolerated.

"We therefore pray today for the best and most constructive use of black anger and ... it will be made into the kind of anger which we can lay at Christ's feet with humility," Chief Buthelezi said. — Sapa

11/15/82
11/15/82

Paris march for Albertini

PARIS — Several thousand people marched through Paris at the weekend in a show of support for a French lecturer imprisoned in Ciskei.

The march was the latest in a series of protests organised by the youth wing of the French Communist Party since the jailing of the former Fort Hare University lecturer, Mr Pierre-Andre Albertini, in Ciskei.

Mr Albertini, who was originally charged with aiding the banned African National Congress, was sentenced to four years in March for refusing to give evidence during the trial of an executive member of the Border branch of the United Democratic Front, the Reverend M. Stofile. — Sapa-RNS

Police allegations are 'absurd', says Cosatu

Someten
11/5/87



THE Congress of South African Trade Unions has rejected as "absurd and nonsense" claims made by police that railway workers may have been murdered inside Cosatu's Johannesburg headquarters.

Cosatu said the bombing of its headquarters last Wednesday night "shows that those who are eager to accuse us — wrongly so — of using violence, in reality condemn violence only selectively."

The organisation added that the allegations were made to discredit it and portraying it as a bent on violence and intimidation, thereby clearing "the air for State action against the body."

Utter nonsense

"To suggest that killings or even torture had taken place in the building without the knowledge of the officials is without doubt utter nonsense. If they are suggesting that

our leadership was aware of the alleged incidents, then we challenge them to prove this in court.

"It is clear that whoever planted last week's bomb intended to destroy the building completely," Cosatu said in a statement.

The organisation added that Cosatu House (their headquarters), has never been a closed and secretive building "unlike John Vorster Square."

Crackdown is coming, say experts

By MOIRA LEVY

AS THE National Party romped home in the all-white elections, political commentators and black leaders warned of a new crackdown.

They fear that P W Botha will hit hard at extra-parliamentary protest, curb links between progressive leaders and the ANC, and go all out to promote black politicians like Gatsha Buthelezi.

They predict that South Africa will become more violent and repressive.

The state of emergency will continue, security force action will intensify and more and more curbs will be placed on press and extra-parliamentary organisations, especially UDF affiliates, they say.

At the same time spokesmen an-

icipate that the Botha government will renew its bid to woo black leaders, especially Buthelezi, and make a determined effort to secure the local government option.

They fear that recent police action on campuses, detentions and security clamps will continue.

And they warn that meetings with the ANC in Lusaka will probably be prohibited in future. Most commentators predicted that the government would curb all the ties between the ANC in exile and business, church and student leaders.

Professor Jakes Gerwel of the University of the Western Cape, said: "We are at the end of the terminal phase of white colonial rule, and this is a phase marked by repression. The government is historically incapable of reversing

that."

Dr Alan Boesak of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches predicted: "We will see an all-out government effort to present Gatsha Buthelezi as an alternative to Nelson Mandela.

"They will have to start giving Gatsha at least some of the things he is asking for. The outside world is looking for credible black leaders who will not bring about any real change."

Dr Alex Boraine of the Institute for Democratic Alternatives for South Africa (Idasa), summed up post-election government as a "mixed bag of unabated coercion, with a move towards co-optation, probably with Gatsha Buthelezi as the chief prize".

He said government attitudes to the ANC were hardening. "They

will allow nothing to do with the ANC and will continue treating the ANC as a scapegoat for their own failures."

Professor Hermann Giliomee of the University of Cape Town, said he expected the government to make every attempt to instal the regional service councils, especially in the black townships.

P W Botha would try to draw black leaders into its proposed National Council and might consider reviving the Indaba-style negotiating platform, he said.

Mr Don Pinnock, of the Rhodes University Journalism Department, warned that in spite of what he termed the "creativity and inventiveness" showed by the alternative newspapers in continuing to report what is going on, more press curbs were likely.

Imam Solomon smeared

AN anonymous pamphlet smearing Imam Hassan Solomon, former UDF and Muslim Judicial Council executive member, was distributed at several mosques in the Peninsula last Friday.

The pamphlet, issued by an unknown group called "The Disillusioned Muslim Front", attacked Solomon for leaving the country while being sought by police during the 1985 unrest.

The pamphlet was printed by a firm called Lida Press. The firm, however, is not listed in the Peninsula telephone directory and not known to other printing firms.

The pamphlet also attacked Moulana Faried Essack, who with Solomon, is a prominent member of Call of Islam. The pamphlet accused Solomon and Essack of being police informers.

Solomon, in a recent interview with SOUTH, said he was enrolled for studies at a university in Mecca, Saudi Arabia, and would be returning to South Africa. He said his commitment to the struggle for freedom in South Africa was "as strong as ever".

Sheikh Nazeem Mohamed, president of the MJC, said: "Imam Solomon has been, for the 25 years I've known him, a strong and vigorous campaigner for freedom and justice in this country."



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Analyst warns of growing 'derecognition'

Chief Reporter

INTERNATIONALLY, the outcome of last week's general election was likely to mean a "growing derecognition and delegitimation" of the South African state, rather than mandatory economic sanctions, a prominent Canadian political analyst warned yesterday.

Professor Heribert Adam of Vancouver, author of "South Africa Without Apartheid" who is on a year's sabbatical as director of the Centre for Inter-Group Studies at the University of Cape Town, said at a Cape Town Press Club lunch:

"This would include a break-off of diplomatic relations with SA by some Western states, official diplomatic status for the ANC and a refusal to recognize SA passports unless endorsed by the ANC.

"It could also mean refusal of landing rights for SA Airways in Europe, a total cutting of postal and telecommunications with SA by some Western states and a demand that firms still operating in SA also pay taxes to a *de jure* ANC government."

'Silenced phantom'

Professor Adam, acknowledged as a leading analyst of South African affairs, said one major winner of the election was the ANC.

"It participated like a silenced phantom. Pretoria elevated the ANC to its major threat. It thereby made the Congress the only alternative to NP rule, eliminating attempts to create a credible middle-ground.

"The more Pretoria criminalizes the movement, the more does its symbolic appeal spread.

"The election results also amount to a setback for Buthelezi, who publicly endorsed the PFP/NRP platform."

Professor Adam said the political crisis had unfortunately yet to worsen before it got better in SA.

"Only when a shared perception of stalemate exists will both sides negotiate in good faith. As long as each side feels in the ascendancy, the violence without victory will continue."

□ He said that while television had become the main weapon of the government, the "liberal English-language press" had badly overestimated its influence, as well as the appeal of the PFP/NRP alliance.

"By uncritically supporting the PFP and the independents to the hilt, papers like the Cape Times lost credibility with both their conservative as well as their left-wing readership.

"The English papers generally failed to give adequate coverage of the extra-parliamentary opposition. The crude attempts to create a bandwagon effect for the PFP-independents backfired.

"Given the suspicion of English support by Afrikaner traditionalists, the Cape Times's enthusiastic support may well have lost Worrall votes, while a critical assessment of the candidate may perhaps have gained him the few dozen votes he needed to win the Helderberg seat."



Mr Mentor

Top award withdrawn from Sendingkerk leader

The Argus Correspondent
PRETORIA. — The Decoration for Meritorious Service, awarded to the former moderator of the Ned Geref Sendingkerk, the Reverend I J "Sakkie" Mentor, has been recalled by President Botha, apparently at Mr Mentor's request.

Neither the President's Office nor Mr Mentor would discuss the matter.

An announcement appeared in the Government Gazette at the weekend noting the annulment of the award. No details were provided except to say that Mr Botha had recalled the award.

A spokesman for the President's Office today declined to comment on the matter and referred all inquiries to Mr Mentor.

Speaking from Cape Town yesterday, Mr Mentor refused to answer questions on the issue, saying he did not believe the matter should be discussed.

It is understood, however, that the award was recalled at Mr Mentor's request as he did not wish to receive it. The award was made to him in 1985 but he was not at the official ceremony.

The DMS, now known as the Order for Meritorius Service, is a civilian award granted in recognition of distinguished services to the Republic of South Africa.

Mr Mentor lost his post as moderator of the Sendingkerk last year when he lost an election to Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches.

Azasm trial: four are cleared of sedition, violence

11A
SMM
12/9/87

Azanian Students' Movement (Azasm) national organiser Mr Stanley Sigotyane (21), of Soweto, and three Azasm members were found not guilty in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court yesterday of sedition, alternatively public violence. Three others were convicted on public violence charges.

But after a trial which lasted almost 22 months, not all of those found not guilty are free.

Detainee Mr Nicodemus Thloriso Phake (29), of Mohlakeng, Randfontein, was led down to the cells after being found not guilty of those allegations which were brought against him in the trial.

Held in detention

First arrested two years ago in connection with the allegations and later released on bail of R750, Mr Phake has been held in detention under the emergency regulations since July 9 last year.

Mr Vusi Ben Nko (22) and Mr Kenneth Moshe Mampondo (21), both of Mohlakeng, Randfontein, were acquitted of all charges. One accused has estreated bail and another is missing.

Magistrate Mr I J J Luther convicted Ruben Moliki (22), Gogo Sosibo (20) and Stephen Menoe (20) of public violence.

All three were previously granted bail of R750 but only one went home to Mohlakeng last night because his fellow accused are both emergency detainees.

Mr Luther found that they had acted in concert with others who had stoned buses, stoned and set alight two buildings — the West Rand Administration Board's Beer Hall and the Ramosa Recreation Centre, in Raletta Street.

Although the court heard that Moliki had been seen hitting people to prevent them from throwing stones at a community hall, the magistrate found this was "not an adequate defence but may be relevant to his ultimate sentence".

In 1985, the court heard that a service, organised by the Mohlakeng Civic Association to commemorate June 16, was held at the Anglican church.

During the service pamphlets, purporting to have been distributed by Azasm, which criticised the Government and propagated a socialist workers' state, were distributed.

There was no evidence that any of the accused, who had attended the meeting, associated themselves with the sentiments of a Sebokeng man, who had addressed the audience and called for Government property to be damaged.

Mr Phake, Mr Nko, Mr Mampondo and Mr Sigotyane addressed the meeting, but there was no evidence of their either distributing or even knowing about the pamphlets.

Nor had they participated in the violence which followed.

After the service a "mob" of about 600 to 800 people marched through the streets singing freedom songs, stoning buildings and vehicles.

Evidence in mitigation of sentence will be heard today.

Distinction between ANC wings ruled out

CAPE TOWN — The argument that a distinction should be drawn between members of the military wing of the African National Congress (ANC) and people engaged in other ANC activities failed to impress the Cape Town Supreme Court yesterday.

"Whether it's a wing or a leg it remains part of the same bird," Mr Justice A J Lategan said.

Mr A M Omar was arguing in an appeal against the conviction of Ntozizwe Talakumeni (27) who was jailed for "harbouring a terrorist".

Mr Justice Lategan said: "It's obvious a terrorist must rely heavily on the assistance of other people in carrying out his evil intentions." — Sapa.

5/10 21/5/87

AAM lays off Barclays after sell-out

LONDON — The Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM) has formally ended its 17-year campaign against Barclays Bank, claiming that its protests forced the bank to sell its South African assets last year.

The AAM's chairman, Labour MP Mr Bob Hughes, announced that the campaign was being called off because it had "achieved its objective," but he warned the movement would keep a close watch on Barclays and other British banks.

The movement's general secretary, Mr Mike Terry, said the AAM had waited to make sure the withdrawal was genuine, that there would be no credit lines available to its corresponding bank in South Africa and that technical co-operation would be minimal.

A spokesman for Barclays said: "We are delighted that our critics have recognised that our disinvestment from South Africa is real and not cosmetic, and expect to see the boycott totally removed, particularly among students."

Barclays owned 39 per cent of Barclays National Bank in South Africa, and late last year sold its share to Anglo American and De Beers for £82 million.

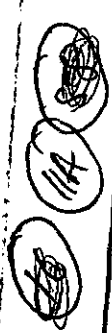
It said its decision was mainly commercial, but admitted that it had lost a number of commercial accounts, mainly among students, as a result of the AAM's activities.

Another factor was the bank's expanding activities in the United States, where there is a strident anti-apartheid campaign.

Boosted by what it considers to be its exclusive success, the AAM is now turning its attention to other companies with South African connections.

It has singled out Standard Chartered Bank, the only British bank with substantial South African interests. — Sapa

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Cape Times 13/5/82
11A

Police clean out UCT SRC dustbin

By CLARE HARPER

SECURITY policemen yesterday confiscated half the contents of a dustbin from the offices of the Students' Representative Council at the University of Cape Town.

A police spokeswoman for the Western Cape, Lieutenant Denise Benson, confirmed that five security policemen visited the UCT SRC offices with a search warrant.

UCT deputy vice-chancellor Dr James Leatt said the security policemen searched the SRC offices and the SRC press.

A SRC statement said the SRC had "nothing to hide and if the security police want to take away the contents of our dustbins, maybe they should approach the city council for more suitable employment".

A SRC executive spokesman said the "pretext for the search" was to look for a publication entitled "The ANC: Where do They Come From?" issued by a student society last year.

The spokesman said the SRC believed the "invasion of privacy" was "completely unwarranted" and the information contained in the publication could be found in any academic work on the ANC in any library or bookshop.

"We believe it is imperative that students and, in fact, all South Africans have access to information about the ANC," the spokesman said.

She said the campus had been bombarded "with National Party propaganda about the ANC" in the past few weeks.

"If we are to evaluate this information in any intellectual sense, we need to have access to more information than is contained in three lines of the NP advert," she said.

11A

Fight at Langa High over sports tour

CAPE TIMES 13/5/87
By CLARE HARPER

CHAOS erupted at Langa High School yesterday morning when members of the school's athletics team returned from their Durban tour and reportedly assaulted other pupils, while a knife-wielding sports master allegedly chased the headmaster.

The headmaster, Mr Duke Ngcukana, said yesterday evening that he was "fine" after "some of the kids came to my rescue" and the police arrived on the scene.

He said that two other pupils, who are members of the school's Student Representative Council, were

badly beaten in the fracas and three other teachers attacked.

Mr Ngcukana said classes were dismissed for the day when it became clear the situation was "out of hand".

He said yesterday's conflict followed the participation of the school athletics team and sports master in a Department of Education and Training athletics meeting in Durban last week.

A teacher, who declined to be named, said the majority of pupils were supporters of the "non-racial" South African Council of Sports (Sacos) and

opposed to the school's participation in a "multiracial" sporting event.

Mr Ngcukana said the school last week dissociated itself from the tour over dissatisfaction that the DET could find the funds to send children to Durban at great cost, yet there was no furniture in some classrooms and many pupils at schools in the area were without books or stationery.

A police spokesman for the Western Cape, Captain Jan Calitz, said police were not investigating as "no charge has been laid".

Knifing attempt — school investigation

13/5/87
Education Reporter

THE Department of Education and Training is investigating an incident in which a man tried to stab the principal of Langa High School, Mr Duke Ngcukana, at the school yesterday, according to regional director Mr W Staude.

When the man tried knife him Mr Ngcukana fled into a classroom. Pupils barricaded the door to prevent the man from entering.

Mr Ngcukana said he had recovered from his ordeal.

Two members of the Students' Representative Council who were assaulted by the man had been discharged from hospital, Mr Ngcukana said.

The Parent-Teacher-Student Association will meet on Sunday to discuss the incident.

● Police said no charge had been laid.

Three jailed

PARENTS and relatives of three members of the Azanian Students Movement who were jailed for public violence wept as they left the Johannesburg Magistrate's Courts yesterday.

The magistrate, Mr J J Luther, found Rubin Moliki (22), Gogo Sosibo (20), and Steven Menoe (20), guilty of public violence. He acquitted them on charges of sedition, alternatively subversion.

Moliki will spend one year in jail after the magistrate suspended two years of his sentence for five years. Sosibo and Menoe will each spend one-and-a-half years in jail. One-and-a-half of their sentences was suspended for five years.

Charges against the three arose from the violence which broke out after a June 16 commemoration service held at the Mohlakeng Anglican Church in 1985.

Several buildings, including the Ramosa Recreational Hall and a beerhall, were stoned and set alight.

(114)

Southern

13/5/87

'MAKI WAS A UDF FAN'

By MONK NKOMO

(11A)

Miss MAKI Sikhosana, who was burnt to death in Duduza, Nigel, two years ago, was a member of the United Democratic Front and in love with a policeman, it was alleged in the Pretoria Supreme Court yesterday.

Ms Lydia Mokoena (24), one of the 11 people accused of murdering her, said she also heard in the township that Miss Sikhosana wore a UDF tee-shirt at the time of her death near the Duduza Cemetery on July 20, 1985.

Cross-examined by prosecutor, Mr B J Breidenkamp, Miss

Mokoena said she knew Miss Sikhosana because she was at one stage in love with her (Mokoena's) brother.

Surprised

"It surprised me that she was in love with a policeman while she was a member of the UDF," said Ms Mokoena. She heard this rumour in the township but this did not upset her, the court heard.

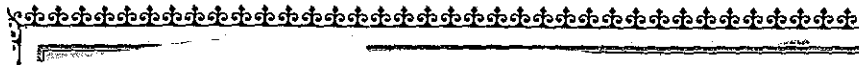
Miss Mokoena gave evidence shortly after Mr Justice Hartzenberg, sitting with two assessors, dismissed an application by the

defence lawyer, Mr David Soggot, for her and Mr Jacob Tshabala's acquittal.

Miss Mokoena said she heard about Miss Sikhosana's death from friends. She was not at the cemetery, she said.

She denied involvement in the murder of Miss Skhosana and also refuted allegations by State witnesses that she was the lady with a red cap on the video recording (which was shown in court), attacking Miss Sikhosana. She added that the

(Proceeding)



11A

'It's going to be a painful process ...'

SYLVIA VOLLENHOVEN spoke to Mrs Winnie Mandela at her home in Soweto



IT IS a typical Transvaal-winter afternoon as we sit in Winnie Mandela's garden.

The government's near hysterical season of anti-ANC propaganda seems light years away here on this small Soweto stoep with the white wrought-iron garden furniture.

"The elections have emphasised the fact that we are at war with Pretoria," says Mandela.

She is wearing a plain headscarf and a floral dress but still manages to look regal.

Inside the house is buzzing with people as usual. Passers-by wave from time to time and occasionally she responds with a clenched-fist greeting.

In her lounge a group of children are watching late afternoon television and elsewhere music is playing.

It is not easy to get an interview with Winnie Mandela. Her schedule is a constant round of family and political activities.

Football club

And sometimes the demands on her time fall somewhere in between. Like cheering the Mandela Football Club.

But when we eventually sit down in the sun, Mandela talks as if she has hours to spare.

We start talking about the elections but she says dismissively: "We are not concerned with the white minority racist elections. It is really a non-issue."

According to her, the choices made by the white electorate last week merely showed how the "Afrikaner folk was falling apart".

The real opposition to the Afrikaner Nationalists is the African National Congress.

"No white South African really completely identifies with us. In the final analysis even the PFP does not really represent our aspirations," says Mandela.

"We have had to accept the challenge that Pretoria has de-

clared war on the oppressed masses of this country."

Asked if she thought several political parties would compete for power in a free South Africa, Mandela said: "I have never believed in a so-called one-party state. I believe South Africa belongs to everyone who lives in it and everyone should have a say in the government of the day.

Imagination

"But if the oppressed people believe in a unitary state, in a one-party state, that will be their decision. I do not believe anyone should prescribe."

She said the so-called ideological divisions in black politics were really "figments of the white man's imagination".

"We all have one unifying factor. The emphasis on differing ideologies is really wishful thinking. They are of no consequence at all," says Mandela.

There was a time when there was much talk of her husband's release, Mandela was asked what she thought the government's motives were at the time.

"We knew that there never was any sincerity in the talks of his release. It was just a ploy, asking him to renounce violence."

"How can the African National Congress dissociate itself from violence which is not of its making?"

"The armed struggle was a response to Pretoria's violence against the unarmed and defenceless oppressed majority."

She said she believed the government was in serious trouble.

"They no longer know how to extricate themselves from the political quagmire to which they have reduced the country."

"How does the Botha regime emerge from a political ideology they have preached for



Pictures: ALF KUMALO

over 39 years, without losing face?"

"They know for a fact that there will be majority rule and that the future government of this land is a black government."

"How do they go back to people who have voted them into power on a baasskap ticket."

"The Afrikaner knows only one language ... the language they used against the British ... the language of violence."

"We are talking past each

other completely. The Afrikaner is talking the language of reform and completely out of touch with the mood of the oppressed people of this country."

"While they are talking the language of reform, the oppressed masses of this country are talking of the transfer of power. We are completely at variance with each other."

"White South Africa will not hand over power in a round table conference. It is going to be a very painful process."

It is known that Nelson Mandela is extremely well-informed of events in South Africa. How has he managed this?

Winnie Mandela laughs and says: "We will only know that after his release. We don't know how he has managed to manipulate the prison bush telegraph."

Asked what scenario she saw for the immediate future, she said:

"I do not think the political mood of the people is going to change adversely. Pretoria's deployment of the security forces will sustain the spirit of the people for a very long time."

Militant

About the growing militancy in the townships, she said: "I have found young people I left over 10 years ago much more hardened, much more militant and determined."

"I am gravely worried about the generation gap. I have been worried about the degree of co-operation between the older generation and the younger generation."

"I am personally extremely concerned that there has been a deterioration in the value of life."

"And a debatable question is whether it should really be liberation first and education thereafter. Whether it should not be vice versa, remains an extremely disturbing issue."

Leadership

She said the constant removal of political leadership by detentions, imprisonment or people being forced into hiding, had a "destabilising" effect on the community.

"The African National Congress was driven underground in the Sixties. Perhaps the birth of Umkhonto We Sizwe might never have come

about if the organisation was not driven underground.

"It is extremely difficult to control the forces in the kind of climate where one has to operate underground. It becomes impossible to monitor organised action because it is difficult to determine people's attitudes."

Mandela said it was clear the people were in the final phase of the struggle.

Aspirations

"The Afrikaner is a government in retreat. They are really facing an angry majority with their backs against the wall."

"That is why they are practising the politics of desperation. They know this is the last phase in the mass struggle."

"Tragically we are all prepared to fight to the last man to realise the dream for a peaceful and democratic South Africa."

She said she had no aspirations to a post in the government of the future.

"That is of the least consequence to me. I have no such aspirations at all."

"I remain the backroom type of material. All I would appreciate is the liberation of my land and no particular position for myself," says this woman who is South Africa's most renowned political activist outside jail.

The overwhelming impression left by Winnie Mandela is her moderate views on most issues. She says she is appalled by the suggestion that the ANC members are "communists".

"The people of this land don't even know what communism is all about," she says.

And how much longer will the struggle continue?

"We no longer talk of liberation in our lifetime. We talk of liberation now!"

CAPE TIMES 14/5/77

Ball: ANC advert affair is 'closed'

JOHANNESBURG — First National Bank of Southern Africa Ltd's managing director, Mr Chris Ball, said here yesterday that he considers to be closed the affair arising from the Munnik inquiry into his involvement in funding an advertisement supporting the African National Congress.

"I and the bank wish the matter of the Munnik Commission of Inquiry to be forgotten as soon as possible and we want to continue with our non-political tradition," Mr Ball said in a statement released after a report quoted him as saying he had been used as a "whipping boy" by the government to gain political mileage ahead of last week's whites-only election.

'Smear people for his own ends'

Mr Ball described the report as "inaccurate" and said it did not reflect his views.

"It's easy to for Mr Botha to smear paint on people for his own ends and to the create the impression that people like myself are involved in political power plays, but this isn't the case," he said.

"The United Democratic Front doesn't discuss its political strategies with me. We discuss economic issues.

"It is necessary to talk to the UDF if, as it seems, the organization represents the urban black opinion-maker," Mr Ball said. — Sapa-Reuter

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US award for Sisulu

CAMBRIDGE, Massachusetts. — Jailed SA newspaper editor Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu was named the winner of the 1987 Louis M Lyons journalism award from Harvard University, which cited his "courage and dedication in providing SA blacks with an alternative voice amidst harsh efforts by the SA government to quell a dissenting press". Sisulu has been detained since December 12 last year.

Mutilated girl: People's court 'official' tells of 'trial'

Supreme Court Reporter

A PEOPLE'S court "official" has told the Supreme Court of the discovery of the mutilated body of a nine-year-old girl and the subsequent "trial" of her cousin and her uncle.

Mr Makhele Tono testified yesterday in the trial of Mr Simon Sikhunana, 19, and his uncle, Mr Morgan Sikhunana, 42, who have pleaded not guilty to murdering Siphokazi Alicia Goniwe in Nyanga East on April 19 last year.

Previous evidence was that both accused were arrested during people's court hearings.

The State alleges Siphokazi left her parents' home with Mr Simon Sikhunana, her cousin.

Later, it is alleged, both ac-

cused were seen washing their hands and a knife at a tap.

Five days later, Siphokazi's partly-decomposed body was found about 500m from the tap.

She had been stabbed and parts of her body were missing.

A district surgeon testified that the girl's lips and right ear and parts of her nose and right cheek were missing, as well as part of her thigh.

Mr Tono said he was one of the leaders of the Nyanga Youth Brigade and sometimes acted as chairman of a people's court, held at Zolani Youth Centre.

On April 24, a youth brigade member reported finding a body.

Mr Tono said he fetched Mr

Simon Sikhunana and showed him the body.

Mr Simon Sikhunana said he and Mr Morgan Sikhunana had killed Siphokazi, said Mr Tono.

Mr Morgan Sikhunana was brought to Zolani Youth Centre by relatives.

A people's court "trial" of the two accused began on April 25 and was interrupted by police, who arrested Mr Morgan Sikhunana.

The next day, police again intervened and arrested Mr Simon Sikhunana, said Mr Tono.

(Proceeding)

Mr Justice van Heerden is on the Bench. Mr L E Buyskes and Mr H J Luttig are assessors. Mr G Visser appears for the State. Miss R Williams and Miss L G Troskie appear pro Deo for the accused.

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STEFFAN'S



NP candidate Piet Marais celebrates his victory in the Stellenbosch constituency over independent Esther Lategan
 Picture: GIDEON MENDEL

We've moved into another dark ages, warns Tutu

11A
 @

ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu's description of the National Party's landslide election victory as the "darkest age" in South Africa's history was echoed in much of the reaction to the results yesterday.

United Democratic Front acting publicity secretary Murphy Morobe said the voteless had made their feelings about the election known through a three-million strong stayaway.

He added: "With the clear rightwing shift amongst whites — due to outrageous and false Nat *swart gevaar* propaganda — the stage is now set for the deepening of the conflict and a further polarisation of South Africa.

"As the election heat and dust settles," he continued, "white South Africans who voted for continued white minority rule will find the crisis and conflict has intensified."

He added: "Sooner or later, whites will have to realise that the oppressed majority and their organisations like the UDF, Cosatu and the banned ANC cannot be wished away. If anything, we are determined to ensure that this will be the last racist election in our country."

The Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), in a statement after the bombing of the federation's Johannesburg offices yesterday morning, said it feared the blast and elections had ushered in "a period of unprecedented repression against democratic forces".

Tutu said: "Now we have a rightwing government that has been confirmed in its rightwing views, with a possibility of an extreme rightwing opposition. I believe what we are going to see now is an escalation in the intransigence of this government; an escalation in oppression and intolerance of any dissent.

WEEKLY MAIL REPORTERS

"I repeat the plea I made to the Progressive Federal Party donkey's years ago: Get out of parliament because you have given the world the impression that we have a multi-party democracy when it is now quite clear we have a total charade."

An African National Congress representative in Lusaka said the ANC believed the results had changed "nothing fundamental ... (it) merely reinforces the status quo and confirms that Botha has majority support within the white minority."

Despite the "small shifts" within the National Party, the ANC official predicted increased suffering due to escalating state violence inside the country and against neighbouring countries.

The white extra-parliamentary Five Freedoms Forum said the electorate had shown the government's two states of emergency had worked. "The politics of fear and ignorance wins votes.

"The Five Freedoms Forum finds the results profoundly depressing. Whites have scorned black demands for equality and basic human rights. They have voted for confrontation instead of negotiation ... Extra-parliamentary politics have been vindicated as the only way to negotiate a non-violent solution."

Professor Hermann Giliomee of the University of Cape Town's Department of Political Studies said the election result confirmed the "iron law" of South African politics: "Never underestimate the National Party".

He said the campaign of the PFP and independents have peaked much too soon. The NP had run a highly successful campaign on security and communism which had won the votes

of many English-speakers.

After the PFP's disastrous showing, "the CP seems to be the only credible alternative government".

Giliomee said extra-parliamentary organisations should rethink their strategy. Analysts had calculated the entire parliamentary system could be crippled if groups like the UDF controlled the House of Delegates and Representatives, he argued.

Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, the former PFP leader who resigned from parliament last year saying it was incapable of change, said of the election results: "To a certain extent I feel vindicated."

Slabbert said his resignation was based on a trend he observed as leader of the parliamentary opposition.

"It was an extraordinary situation ... any party that appeared slightly suspect on the issue of white security was going to take a bit of a pounding."

He said the election result "somehow confirms what I felt all along, that the government has moved more into an almost extra-parliamentary executive and parliament itself is trapped in the confrontation between the government and extra-parliamentary opposition."

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, president of Inkatha, said he was "totally appalled" at the result and foresaw a "long, hard, costly political grind ahead.

"We must now concentrate on doing whatever can be done at the regional level," he said.

The results, Buthelezi added, showed the total historical necessity for the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba. The politics of negotiation must ultimately triumph and it is time now to commence on that triumphant journey by taking local and regional steps towards final national goals."

'Vanished' men commemorated

By MONO BADELA

A TWO-HOUR service and a number of work stoppages are planned in New Brighton today to mark the disappearance exactly two years ago of three Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation leaders.

The three leaders — Pebco president Qaqawuli Godolozzi, general secretary Sipho Hashe and organiser Champion Galela — were last seen on May 8, 1985, just before they set out for Port Elizabeth airport to meet a passenger from Johannesburg.

In affidavits placed before the Port Elizabeth Supreme Court earlier in the year, the wives of the men indicate they believe the men are alive and in police custody.

An application brought by Godolozzi's mother and the activists' wives demands the Law and Order Minister and the officer commanding the Port Elizabeth police station release Godolozzi or produce him in court. The matter has been postponed to June 2 for oral hearing.

11A

8-14/5/87
W/Mall

"They kicked the door open and asked for Thamsanqa," she said. "They told him that they were arresting him again. He was assaulted and they asked him about the gun."

She said they had beaten him inside and in front of her house and had poured water over his wounds

"They also assaulted his girlfriend saying she knew where the gun was. They took her wallet containing R48.

"It was very painful to watch my son being beaten, bleeding and crying," she said.

"I did not know his whereabouts. He was taken away by these police guards. I didn't know whether he was alive or dead. I went to the police station but could not find him."

Describing his assault from his hospital bed, Thamsanqa said: "After assaulting me they dumped me here. I should think I have been injured for the rest of my life."

Another man, Mdantsane resident Mbuyiselo Mabindiza, said he was sitting in the diningroom about 7pm when the "greenflies" came.

He said he had just returned from visiting his sister in Duncan Village.

"They asked me about a certain Williams who they alleged was a 'comrade' who had just arrived in the area. I said I did not know him.

They then asked him about the dead policeman but he denied any knowledge of the murder.

"They did not want to listen to me. They assaulted me. I escaped by running to a bedroom and locking the door.

"The doctor examined me and told me that I had fractured one of my left ribs," he said.

The officer commanding, Warrant Officer Willem Wolmarans, denied any knowledge of the assaults by the police guards, but said he would be investigating the matter.

He said his records showed no arrests made by them on the day in question. — Elnews.

'Greenflies' accused of vengeance rampage

8-14/87
W/Mail
11A

By NCEDO NTAMNANI, East London
DUNCAN Village residents have accused the "greenflies" (municipal police) of going on a rampage of revenge after one of their number, Constable Thembile Williams, was murdered last Saturday.

By Wednesday, 20 alleged assault victims sought help from the Black Sash advice office in East London. Most of them said they were beaten up on Monday night.

Police have confirmed charges have been laid against the municipal police by 22 people..

The municipal police fall under the control of the Gompo town committee, formerly the Duncan Village community council.

Three residents who went missing after being taken away by the "greenflies" were found two days later. One of them, Thamsanqa MacKiben, was found in Frere Hospital by his brother, Anthony.

His mother, Olga MacKiben described how she was forced to watch her son being beaten up by the "greenflies". She was recently granted an urgent interdict against the municipal police restraining them from assaulting another son, Anthony, an employee at the Black Sash advice office.

Mrs MacKiben said Thamsanqa had been arrested twice in two days: The first time on Sunday when he was returning home from a soccer match.

When Thamsanqa denied any knowledge of the murder he was assaulted and the "greenflies" asked him where he had hidden the gun taken from the murdered policeman.

She said Thamsanqa was taken to the police station, but was told he was arrested for being in possession of dagga.

The following day he appeared in court and was released on R50 bail. The municipal police returned that evening.

CONFESSIONS OF SEVEN BUMBLING SPIES

Five men and two women are paraded before the press by their ANC captors. Each has a strange tale to tell of life as a double agent, pretending to work for the ANC, while reporting to security police 'handlers'. Some of their claims hold up. Others seem to be pure fantasy. Here we delve into the background of some of these extraordinary stories



THE SECRET SEVEN. Standing, from left: Robert Dube

A CORNER was lifted on the secret war being waged between South Africa and the banned African National Congress at the weekend when the ANC produced seven alleged spies sent to infiltrate the organisation.

They included one who identified himself as a man whom the South African authorities have previously and publicly claimed was dead — murdered by the ANC itself.

Another of the alleged spies identified himself as a policeman and made an appeal to his commanding officer to secure his release through a prisoner exchange.

A third man recounted an astonishing story, claiming that he was a double murderer sent by South African intelligence on a mission to assassinate leading members of the ANC. But checks have failed to produce corroboration for his story, which may prove to be a fabrication.

The seven were interviewed at the weekend by a panel of international journalists who were invited to meet them by the ANC, at an unidentified venue in black Africa. The *Weekly Mail* has obtained details of the interviews and has since investigated.

All seven talked freely. Only three of them appeared to be in detention. It was both the first confession that ANC had granted such interviews with alleged spies and the first time that they had publicly acknowledged keeping prisoners.

The ANC decision to produce them was apparently an attempt to counter the impression created by the South African authorities that the organisation was helpless against infiltration.

It appears, however, from the accounts given by the seven, and by senior ANC officials, that South Africa is conducting undercover surveillance operations on an extensive scale — committing often unqualified agents as intelligence cannon fodder in the hope that a fraction of their number will survive and produce significant information.

Last year, in one batch of 10 refugees trying to gain membership to the ANC after "fleeing" to Botswana, the ANC claimed to have found that eight were South African agents.

The stories told by the seven — who included two women — as to why they agreed to become agents ranged from financial inducements to maltreatment and blackmail. Five of the seven claimed to have been controlled by the same handler, a lieutenant in the security branch operating from Norwood in Johannesburg and Protea police station in Soweto.

One of the alleged agents also claimed that farms outside Johannesburg were being used as bases for spies.

The self-proclaimed assassin among the seven identified himself as Samuel Litsosome and purported to be a trainee teacher.

He claimed he had been arrested after killing a man in an altercation over money and had been presented with a choice between a possible death sentence and co-operation with the authorities by infiltrating the ANC.

He said he had been combat trained, instructed in the use of poisons and briefed to kill leaders of the ANC if the opportunity arose. The ANC president, Oliver Tambo, and the former commander-in-chief of Umkhonto we Sizwe, Joe Slovo, were among those named to him as priority targets, he claimed.

Before being despatched to Botswana he had been ordered to murder a student. He had subsequently infiltrated the ANC, but had been discovered in "East Africa" and confessed.

Attempts to confirm details of this story have been unsuccessful. No trace could be found of the family of the first murdered man — named as "Gerry Manqule" — in Vosloorus township, near Boksburg, where he was said to have lived. In the Free State the principal of the school which the murdered schoolboy — "Jakajji Makuqa" — was said to have attended did not recognise the "dead" youth's name and had no knowledge of any other pupil killed in such circumstances. But, although Litsosome's story appears highly dubious, elements of the stories told by most of the others were born out by checks.

The ANC appears to be trapping substantial numbers of South African agents by fairly simplistic security checks. The main checking system involves the compilation of autobiographical sketches by refugees on their initial arrival at refugee camps, on their transfer to other front-line states for further processing and on their allocation either to schools, or training camps of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

The cross-checks between the biographies — sometimes taken further with double-checks in South Africa itself — frequently throw up contradictions. Mental pressure on agents, under constant fear of discovery, often results in breakdowns.

South African agents also appear prone to classic errors in their cover — frequently wearing clothes bought from known security force suppliers.

The ANC has an elaborate disciplinary code which provides for trial by tribunal and punishments ranging up to execution — a penalty subject to confirmation by the organisation's national executive. The organisation is believed to have the use of penal facilities for its prisoners in some black African states.

ROBERT DUBE

"I WANT to tell (PW) Botha his time is finished, it

is our time now. Our freedom is at our finger-tips. Botha's soldiers are occupying townships to rape schoolchildren. Forward with the struggle of the people."

Robert Dube told this to an anti-apartheid rally in Bonn. His ticket there was paid for by the South African Council of Churches.

Robert Dube was a police spy.

A youth from Soweto, Dube told how — while working as a police spy — he had been sent overseas as a representative of South African township youth and had been treated royally by foreign anti-apartheid organisations.

He had addressed a huge rally in the centre of Bonn, and had been sent on to the United Kingdom. In London he had been asked to pass on an invitation from the National Union of Students for another youth leader to travel over and address them. His police handler had succeeded in having the invitation taken up by yet another agent.

The Anti-Apartheid Movement in Germany has located the original of Dube's fiery speech to the Bonn rally, in which he said — among other things — that the State President's soldiers "are occupying our townships to rape schoolchildren".

A well-built, smartly dressed young man, Dube claimed that he was recruited as a police agent in 1982, through a friend who was working for the security forces. He had been told to attend meetings of Azapo and report back on them.

He had dropped out of police work after a while, however, resuming the work in 1985 on his own initiative when he was hard up for a job.

He claimed to have visited Botswana in March and May 1985, to meet the ANC and had been debriefed at a farm run by the security forces near Randfontein.

In late May he had returned to Gaborone and had received training from the ANC in the use of hand grenades — in the "Blue Note Motel".

They had been trained with dummy grenades, but he had then been given 20 live grenades which he brought back into South Africa in the boot of a car. He claimed to have handed these over to the alleged ANC man in Soweto — who later turned out to be a police agent himself.

Dube claimed he had continued attending meetings of the Soweto Youth Congress for the police, as well as the mass funeral of Mathew Goniwe and his three murdered comrades at Cradock in July 1985.

On his way back from the funeral he had been arrested at a road block with about 130 others in two buses.

Shortly afterwards a friend who was a student leader in Soweto had approached him with an invitation to go to Germany. The German anti-

"Enquiries were received by this office regarding the seven South Africans (alleged spies) who were allegedly paraded in Zambia recently. These enquiries were forwarded to security headquarters for attention and that office has informed us that they are not prepared to comment on the allegations made." — SA POLICE COMMENT ON THE ALLEGATIONS

apartheid movement wanted a representative of youth from Soweto to attend a major rally in Bonn. The friend did not have a passport, so he offered it to Dube — who did have one.

A ticket for the trip was issued by the South African Council of Churches (this has been confirmed by the SACC).

He had arrived at Frankfurt on September 21 and gone on to Bonn where he had led a march to the centre of the German capital — under a large ANC flag — and had delivered his fiery speech.

He had flown on to London where he had stayed for two days in the home of a Labour MP, Bob Hughes, and had taken part in a picket of the South African embassy in Trafalgar Square.

From there he had returned to Johannesburg and had been arrested at Jan Smuts airport as a suspected subversive. Handed over to the security branch, he had been released after asking police to telephone his handler.

He claims to have been de-briefed at a police farm, writing a 184-page report on his experiences and being paid a R940 bonus for his work.

In December his handler had sent him to Zambia, where he had met the ANC again, he said. The ANC had told him that they wanted both him and two other men from South Africa to return to Zambia for military training. The other two men the ANC wanted also happened to be police agents, but Dube said the coincidence of this did not strike him.

He returned to Zambia with yet another police agent in June. There they had been confronted by the ANC and confessed.

Dube said he was still in detention, "answering questions" and being "re-educated". He had named six South African agents, two of them policemen.

CHARLES MABASA

PRESSURE from his uncle who is a police sergeant in Soweto, coupled with financial difficulties and lack of job security forced 25-year-old Charles Mabasa to join the police force in 1983.

After leaving school in 1979 he worked as a laboratory assistant for four months earning R100

a month. He resigned because of the low salary and worked as an office cleaner for about two years.

After quitting the job he went to Protea police station and enrolled as a police recruit.

Two weeks after being recruited into the security police division he claims he was instructed to infiltrate the Azanian People's Organisation.

He claims to have been taken in a minibus, apparently belonging to "Clothes on Wheels", to the Soweto home of an Azapo member named Patrick.

Mabasa told Patrick he wanted to join Azapo and was given Azapo literature.

He went home and wrote a report about this meeting. The report was collected from his Chiawelo home by a security branch member.

He claims his handler advised him to return to school and complete his matric.

Mabasa enrolled at the Senoane Junior Secondary School in April 1983 where he passed Std 9 at the end of that year.

When the Azanian Student Movement (Azasm) was launched in July 1983 at Masealema Conference Centre outside Pietersburg, Mabasa gathered information for his handler.

He played an active role in Azasm and became organiser of the Soweto branch before being elected branch secretary.

The following year Azasm members questioned Mabasa about his police involvement and he told them the information was put out by a policeman in the stolen vehicle branch at Protea to discredit him.

This didn't stop the rumours and he claims his handler advised him to withdraw from Azasm and join the Soweto branch of the Congress of South African Students (Cosas).

Stories about Mabasa's police involvement had already reached Cosas and he tried to join the Soweto Youth Congress (Soyco) instead. He was thrown out of the first Soyco meeting he attended.

Mabasa eventually joined the Young Christian Workers (YCW) together with another police agent, Freddie, and rose to become Soweto branch secretary.

Mabasa had also unsuccessfully tried to infiltrate the Dhlomo Theatre which was then based in Pim Street in Newtown, Johannesburg.

Mabasa was again introduced to Patrick and was told he was also a police agent. Patrick then told him that some people wanted him to go out of the country.

He reported on Patrick and other police agents. His handler arranged a travel document for him. Patrick gave him R30 and he left for Gaborone.

Mabasa had no idea who he was meeting in Botswana and when he couldn't find his contact he

BACK FROM THE DEAD

VUSI GQOBA.

Named by the South African Police as one of 28 people executed by the ANC last year.

the country were passed on to his handler. Pali also reported on ANC positions and movements inside Botswana.

By this time Aawu members suspected Pali of being a police informer and he was forced to return to the Eastern Cape. Several Aawu members had been arrested and accused of getting funds from the ANC.

In December 1983 Pali left both Azapo and Aawu to join the ANC.

From January 1984 he claims to have received a regular salary of R332 from the police.

His information led to the exposure and arrest of three ANC cadres in October 1983, he says.

Later that year when the Botswana government threw out a number of ANC people Pali lost contact with them.

He was then infiltrated into Zimbabwe but his cover was blown in November 1985.

He had been in Zimbabwe for only two weeks when he got a message that he had to go to Lusaka.

Pali thought he was going to be executed and he gave the ANC the names of about 15 agents.

Pali has appealed to his handler to exchange him for imprisoned ANC guerrillas held in South African prisons.

He has not thought of joining the ANC and to him working for the police was just an ordinary job.

But his main worry is his belief that black policemen who are agents and turn their backs on the police are secretly killed.

VUSI GQOBA

VUSI Gqoba, the 31-year-old man who was said to have been executed months ago by the ANC for spying, is not only very much alive and living in Lusaka, but also claims to be working for the ANC as a mechanic and being fed and sheltered by them.

This revelation has shattered the truth of General Johan Coetzee's categorical statement in December last year that the ANC had killed 28 members for "subversion" — including Gqoba who was named as "a certainty".

This week Gqoba, a former national organiser of the Congress of South African Students (Cosas), emerged to tell his version of the story.

Admitting that he had worked for the South African security police from April 1982, he claims to have received a full pardon from the ANC and been allowed to remain within the ranks of the organisation.

Gqoba says he was originally recruited by the security police in Krugersdorp to monitor the activities of Cosas in an effort to "connect Cosas with the ANC". His submission to this, he claims, came after several periods of detention and maltreatment, resulting on one occasion in a broken hand.

When he was again picked up by the police in 1982 having been in contact with the ANC in Mozambique, Gqoba alleges he was threatened with assault but told that if he became a spy, he would be allowed to leave unharmed and paid a retainer of anything between R200 and R500 a month.

The police also allegedly told Gqoba, who at the time was working on a self-help scheme in Kagiso, to keep watch on Winnie Mandela.

"I was told to report almost weekly. They were pushing to get as close as possible to Winnie. They said I should go down to Brandfont to see her and even went as far as to propose that I make love to Zinzi".

At the time Gqoba was facing accusations from Cosas that he was absconding with funds supplied "from outside". He visited Winnie Mandela in an attempt to "sort it all out", he said. Mandela has subsequently confirmed this.

In the same year, with pressure mounting from all sides, Gqoba went to see a white priest in Durban, hoping he would somehow intervene by getting the security police "off (his) back" and sort out his conflict. The priest, he says, told him the Bible said he should not oppose the government of the day.

Finally, in Maputo, Gqoba says, he "confessed all" to the ANC. "They wanted all the information. After I gave them all the information I was pardoned and was treated in the same old way."

Presented with this information this week, Winnie Mandela, wife of the jailed ANC leader, Nelson Mandela, confirmed that she knew Gqoba and expressed shock and dismay to learn that he was now claiming to have been a security branch agent.

"I am astounded, I find it difficult to believe. Yes, I know the young man. He came to visit me in Brandfont in 1982. I knew him to be a student leader and he had a problem," she said.

Her daughter, Zinzi Mandela, said: "Mama I am not shocked. There was something very funny about the man. He would talk about knowing an MNR leader. To me that was very funny."



Robert Dube, Zanele Miya, Vusi Gqoba and Hilda Mguga. Seated: Zanzina Pali, Charles Mabasa and Samuel Litsosome

STRANGE TALES

SAMUEL LITSOAME

Told of orders to kill ANC leaders. Checks by reporters show gaping holes in his tale

would not demand any money towards petrol costs," an HWA official said this week.

Although she was earning R532 a month she used to drive around in a big German-made car.

Mguga was born in Langa, Cape Town, 39 years ago. Armed with a Std 8 certificate she set off for Johannesburg in 1971. Three years later she started work at Baragwanath Hospital as a laboratory technician.

In 1981, while visiting Aurelia Gqabi in Botswana, she claims to have befriended several ANC activists.

Aurelia is the wife of former ANC member Joe Gqabi who was gunned down outside his house in Zimbabwe by people believed to be agents of the South African Police. Mguga started taking pamphlets to "friends of theirs in Soweto".

In July 1982 she was picked up at work and taken to Protea police station in Soweto where she was questioned about her activities in Botswana. She claims that after being maltreated, she cracked and made a statement to her handler.

She claims to have been told to go back to Botswana and gather information for the police for R500 a month. She had to identify where ANC leaders lived and what cars they drove.

She took two of her handler's agents and introduced them to the ANC. On every return trip Mguga had to report to her handler's flat. At that time she was secretary of the Baragwanath branch of the HWA.

Her car was repossessed and her controller gave her a Volkswagen to make trips to Botswana. He later gave her an Audi and a Golf.

In 1985 Mguga spent a week in Zimbabwe and was introduced to the ANC there by one of her handler's undercover agents. She claims to have gone into Zimbabwe using a police car with altered number plates.

When Mguga returned her handler said he wanted her to introduce another agent to the ANC. She went to Zimbabwe with the woman agent and spent a week there.

In January 1986 Mguga was meant to return to Zimbabwe but her controller was worried that one of his agents had disappeared there. At the same

time the ANC sent word she should visit them. Mguga left for Zimbabwe in February 1986

By that time, "I had already decided that I had had enough of my handler because of the things he had done to me." She claims her controller had twice sent people to make love to her and now believes both were sent to keep an eye on her.

But once in Zimbabwe Mguga could not gather enough courage to reveal the truth. She was taken to Lusaka where the ANC confronted her with police contacts.

Mguga says she is free now and is going to work for the ANC. She works as a typist, a driver and a hospital worker.

ZANZINA PALI

WHEN 26-year-old Zanzina Pali joined the Black Allied Workers Union (Bawu) in May 1983 he claims to have already been on the payroll of the South African Police.

Zanzi, as he is commonly known, claims to be agent RS277.

He left school in 1981 after failing Std 10. He could not find work and in 1983 applied for a job on the mines through the Ciskei recruiting wing of the Chamber of Mines, Teba (The Employment Bureau of Africa). At the same time Pali applied to join the SAP.

In March 1983 he was called in by a Major Schoeman of the security branch in Stutterheim, Eastern Cape, who told him that many younger men joining the police force were needed as undercover agents.

Pali's application was approved in May 1983 and he was sent to Johannesburg "without any formal training as an undercover agent".

At that stage Pali claims he knew nothing about the African National Congress and did not understand then, as he does now, that "apartheid is evil and an injustice".

He joined Azapo reporting on their meetings to his handler.

Pali was later appointed assistant organiser for the Bawu Johannesburg branch.

When the African Allied Workers Union (Aawu) split from Bawu he joined the former and was soon appointed national organiser.

In September 1983, while working for Aawu Pali was introduced to the ANC by his handler's agent in Botswana.

He was told he would be working with the agent on a mission in South Africa.

His associate told the ANC that Pali was more sympathetic to the ANC than he was to Black Consciousness.

Books and letters meant for ANC contacts inside

went to the address he had been given. From there he was taken to an ANC residence.

When he returned to South Africa he passed on information to his handler.

In December 1983 he returned to Botswana and met a man called Jeff Sibali at Gaborone railway station.

In Botswana he was made to fill in a form giving autobiographical details and his attitude to the ANC. The next day he was told he had been accepted as a member of the ANC.

He attended political classes for two weeks. Once in South Africa he was given an employment address by a white ANC member.

Mabasa was then instructed by the ANC to stop contact with Patrick and to establish his own independent cell.

His handler told him not to do it as this would be furthering the aims of the ANC by recruiting members.

Meanwhile Mabasa claims to have introduced three people he knew to be informers to the ANC.

On December 14 1984 he went to Botswana to report on the activities of underground cells.

The ANC told him he had done enough and asked him to stay. His handler had briefed him that should he be asked to undergo training he should agree.

During his stay he became worried that he had been uncovered.

He was advised to go to Francistown to declare himself an ANC refugee.

In July 1985 he was moved to Lusaka where he revealed himself to the ANC.

"The treatment I received and still am receiving is good. I am still with the ANC and they are still taking care of me. I hope to go back to South Africa when it is free."

Mabasa said the saga was just an adventure for him. He received a double salary and claimed some agents were given houses and cars.

He said if there had been any tangible proof of his police involvement while he was in South Africa he would probably have been "necklaced".

But he does not mention that top Azapo officials once saved him from serious assault at an Azasam meeting.

HILDA MGUGA

MEMBERS of the Health Workers Union (HWA) at Baragwanath Hospital remember former laboratory technician Hilda Mguga as a dedicated activist.

"She was always willing to transport young Soweto activists to meetings outside the area and

YAKA, MONO BADELA AND SPECIAL CORRESPONDENTS.

Cheers for Tambo at world church rally

WHEN Oliver Tambo walked into the conference room at Lusaka's Pamdzi Hotel on Tuesday, the South Africans who came here for a World Council of Churches (WCC) conference on the "Search for Justice and Peace in Southern Africa" gave him a warm reception.

When cheers and song hailing Tambo finally ended, a visibly tired African National Congress leader — he came to the meeting after an all-night flight which ended his five-week tour of the Far East and Europe — spoke in monotone at first, then with deepening passion fueled by listeners' enthusiasm.

Tambo's appearance, one day before the whites-only election in South Africa, was part of a week-long WCC conference. It was a three-way dialogue involving about 60 church people from South Africa and Namibia, about 100 delegates from WCC member churches around the

By STEVE ASKIN, Lusaka

world, and exiled members and leaders of the ANC, the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and South West African People's Organisation (Swapo).

On Friday they were to announce plans for increased action supporting a December 1985 "Harare Declaration" in which WCC-affiliated church leaders endorsed "immediate implementation" of United Nations Resolution 435 on Namibian independence and pledged support for "South African movements working for the liberation of their country".

Though WCC's programme to combat racism has provided small amounts of financial aid to the ANC, PAC and Swapo for refugee work and other humanitarian efforts for more than 15 years, this meeting was the international group's first formal, public dialogue with the three movements.

In a speech which directly addressed the concerns of religious critics of the WCC programme, Tambo focused on the ANC's attitude toward violence.

Turning to the alliance with the South African Communist Party (SACP), he indicated its roots in a shared involvement in the struggle to overthrow apartheid and committed the ANC to equal alignment with those who oppose apartheid from Christian, social democratic or liberal principles.

Instead of sanctioning violence, Tambo supported politicisation of the entire community so that it would isolate those who worked with the government.

The "most magic moment" in the words of one South African, came after Dr Beyers Naude, the South African Council of Churches general-secretary, rose to ask Tambo what can be done to end violent clashes between United Democratic Front supporters and Inkatha members.

Tambo led the audience in a standing ovation for the clergyman.

Naude said he had already seen Tambo as "a man of peace, not terrorist".

Tambo impressed some of the participants not inclined to praise him such as a Dutch Reformed Church minister and Lutheran theologian.

The day before, Swapo president Sam Nujoma was accorded a reception as warm as Tambo's. Like Tambo the Swapo leader stressed willingness to continue fighting, coupled with a hope for peaceful negotiation.

He said: "We are ready to sign a ceasefire any day, with South Africa in order to end the war in our country and to bring peace and reconciliation among all our people."

PAC chairman Johnson Mlambo met with some skepticism when he spoke after Tambo. His claims that his group was behind acts of militant resistance were disputed by young activists.

W/Mail



11A

8-14/1987

'Greenflies' accused of vengeance rampage (11A)

By NCEDO NTAMNANI, East London
DUNCAN Village residents have accused the "greenflies" (municipal police) of going on a rampage of revenge after one of their number, Constable Thembile Williams, was murdered last Saturday.

By Wednesday, 20 alleged assault victims sought help from the Black Sash advice office in East London. Most of them said they were beaten up on Monday night.

Police have confirmed charges have been laid against the municipal police by 22 people.

The municipal police fall under the control of the Gompo town committee, formerly the Duncan Village community council.

Three residents who went missing after being taken away by the "greenflies" were found two days later. One of them, Thamsanqa MacKiben, was found in Frere Hospital by his brother, Anthony.

His mother, Olga MacKiben described how she was forced to watch her son being beaten up by the "greenflies". She was recently granted an urgent interdict against the municipal police restraining them from assaulting another son, Anthony, an employee at the Black Sash advice office.

Mrs MacKiben said Thamsanqa had been arrested twice in two days: The first time on Sunday when he was returning home from a soccer match.

When Thamsanqa denied any knowledge of the murder he was assaulted and the "greenflies" asked him where he had hidden the gun taken from the murdered policeman.

She said Thamsanqa was taken to the police station, but was told he was arrested for being in possession of dagga.

The following day he appeared in court and was released on R50 bail. The municipal police returned that evening.

"They kicked the door open and asked for Thamsanqa," she said. "They told him that they were arresting him again. He was assaulted and they asked him about the gun."

She said they had beaten him inside and in front of her house and had poured water over his wounds.

"They also assaulted his girlfriend saying she knew where the gun was. They took her wallet containing R48.

"It was very painful to watch my son being beaten, bleeding and crying," she said.

"I did not know his whereabouts. He was taken away by these police guards. I didn't know whether he was alive or dead. I went to the police station but could not find him."

Describing his assault from his hospital bed, Thamsanqa said: "After assaulting me they dumped me here. I should think I have been injured for the rest of my life."

Another man, Mdantsane resident Mbuyiselo Mabindiza, said he was sitting in the diningroom about 7pm when the "greenflies" came.

He said he had just returned from visiting his sister in Duncan Village.

"They asked me about a certain Williams who they alleged was a 'comrade' who had just arrived in the area. I said I did not know him.

They then asked him about the dead policeman but he denied any knowledge of the murder.

"They did not want to listen to me. They assaulted me. I escaped by running to a bedroom and locking the door.

"The doctor examined me and told me that I had fractured one of my left ribs," he said.

The officer commanding, Warrant Officer Willem Wolmarans, denied any knowledge of the assaults by the police guards, but said he would be investigating the matter.

He said his records showed no arrests made by them on the day in question. — Elnews.

UDF against violence Stofile tells court

Contents of secret letter revealed

Dispatch Reporter

BISHO — The secretary-general of the Border branch of the United Democratic Front (UDF), the Reverend Makhenkesi Stofile, told the Supreme Court here yesterday that the UDF did not advocate violence and was opposed to acts of violence.

Mr Stofile said this while giving evidence in the terrorism trial in which he, Mr Mzwakhe Ndlala, Mr Linda Stofile, Mr Mveleli Gqibitole and Miss Nomvuyiso Stofile are charged with terrorism, harbouring a terrorist, and possession of arms.

They have all pleaded not guilty to the charges.

Outlining the objectives of the UDF, Mr Stofile said the UDF was formed to oppose forced removals, to oppose the tricameral Parliament and to oppose the influx control measures introduced by the then Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Piet Koornhof.

He said the UDF did not intend overthrowing the government by force but rather wanted the present system of government changed by democratic means.

He said the methods that had been used by UDF to achieve this had been through utterances, statements and letters to the "powers that be".

It was not the aim of the UDF to fight the police to achieve a change of government in South Africa. He added that this would be naive.

He said all the homelands were part of one country and were to a large extent governed by South Africa.

Asked by Mr W. F. Jurgens for the state what he thought would be done to the independence of Ciskei if South Africa changed its pres-

ent system of government, he replied that the South African people would democratically decide about the homeland.

Ciskei was an extension of the South African Government, he said.

He said in South Africa, which included Ciskei, people were unfree.

Mr Stofile said the UDF did not sympathise with communists and the African National Congress (ANC).

He added that he had never heard Mr Oliver Tambo speak nor had he read literature written by him nor read his speeches since Mr Tambo was a banned person.

He agreed when asked by Mr Jurgens that there were flags at the Cradock funeral of the ANC and Russia.

The court burst into laughter when Mr Stofile said it was not the policy of the UDF to "chase away" any flag, even if it was that of the National Party.

He said it was a democratic right of the people at the funeral to carry whatever flag they liked.

Earlier Mr Stofile told the court under cross-examination that it was out of character for Mr Mziwonyana Jacobs to give him a Makarov pistol gift.

He said he had no dealings with Mr Jacobs except that he had helped get him a bur-

sary from their Zingisa Bursary Scheme and had written him a testimonial that earned him a job.

Mr Stofile said if he had opened the present on the day of the wedding anniversary in March, he would have been very surprised and disappointed to find it was a Makarov pistol as it was illegal to keep one.

When it was pointed out by court to Mr Stofile that Makarov pistols and AK47 rifles were used by terrorists, he replied that he did not believe so. He had read of these weapons used in faction fights in Natal and the police would confiscate them. Members of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) had also been arrested in Pretoria in possession of these types of weapons, he added.

The fact that the present was given a long time before his wedding anniversary was not strange because he had received presents in this fashion when he had gone to circumcision school.

Mr Stofile said he had two boxes, one at home, and the safety deposit box in the bank.

He said he had put inverted commas around the word box in the letter to his wife to refer to the cash box he kept at home for money.

The other box referred to the deed box in the bank.

He said the problem was that in Xhosa the boxes had two different names — the cash box would be called "inkonkxa" and the deed box "ibhokisi".

The deed box in court as an exhibit was "ibhokisi".

Mr Jurgens put it to Mr Stofile that when he wrote in the letter he had smuggled out of prison to his wife that she should keep the keys of the box safely, there was something "clandestine" in the message. Mr Stofile replied that that was "active imagination" on the part of the state.

He said if he lost the keys to the deed box, he would need a Supreme Court order to open it again.

Mr Jurgens then asked Mr Stofile why he did not go through the normal prison channels to deliver his letter to his wife if there was nothing secret in it.

Mr Stofile replied that writing secret letters while in prison did not necessarily mean there was a sinister motive, but was the way of communicating when one had been put away, which was in itself "inhuman".

He said all members of the UDF called each other "cadre" and when one was arrested, one was referred to as a "captured cadre".

The word "capture" for arrest was used because "arrest" implied criminality, he said.

Mr Stofile said that to the UDF the word "cadre" did not refer to one involved in combat. It was just the way every member of the UDF was addressed.

The UDF did not carry out reprisals against those who testified against UDF members. One's moral attitude determined one's behaviour in such circumstances, he said.

The trial was postponed until tomorrow.

Mr M. W. Friedman and Mr J. M. N. Poswa appeared for the defence.

11A DD
14/5/87

UDF opposed to violence — Stofile

BISHO — The United Democratic Front (UDF) did not advocate violence and was opposed to acts of violence, the Rev Arnold Stofile, the secretary-general of the Border branch of the UDF, told the Bisho Supreme Court yesterday.

He was giving evidence in the terrorism trial in which he, Mr Mzwakhe Ndelela, Mr Linda Stofile, Mr Mveleli Gqibitole and Miss Nomvuyiso Stofile are charged with terrorism, harbouring a terrorist, and possession of arms.

They have all pleaded not guilty to the charges.

Mr Stofile said the UDF did not intend to overthrow the Government by force but rather wanted the present system of government changed by democratic means.

He said the methods used by the UDF to achieve this had been utterances, statements and letters to the "powers that be".

He said it was not the aim of

the UDF to fight the police to achieve a change of government.

He said South Africa was one country and the UDF did not see itself overthrowing Ciskei, as all the homelands were part of South Africa.

Asked by Mr W F Jurgens, for the State, what he thought would be done to the independence of Ciskei, if South Africa changed its present system of government, he replied that the South African people would democratically decide about it.

FLAGS AT FUNERAL

Mr Stofile said the UDF did not sympathise with communists and the African National Congress (ANC).

He said he had never heard Mr Oliver Tambo, ANC president, speak nor had he read literature written by him nor read his speeches.

He agreed when asked by Mr

Jurgens that there were flags of the ANC and Soviet Union at a Cradock funeral.

There was laughter when Mr Stofile said it was not the policy of the UDF to "chase away" any flag, even if it was that of the National Party.

Earlier Mr Stofile told the court it was out of character for a Mr Mziwonyana Jacobs to give him a gift of a Makarov pistol.

He said he did not expect a present of that nature. He said he had no dealings with Mr Jacobs except that he helped get him a bursary from their Zingisa Bursary Scheme of which he was a committee member.

When it was pointed out to Mr Stofile that Makarov pistols and AK-47 rifles were used by terrorists, he replied that he did not believe so.

He had read of these weapons used in faction fights in Natal. The members of the AWB had

also been arrested in Pretoria in possession of those types of weapons, he added.

Referring to a letter Mr Stofile is said to have written to his wife and smuggled out of prison, Mr Jurgens put it to him that when he wrote in the letter that his wife should keep the keys of a box safely, there was something "clandestine" in that message.

Mr Stofile said if the keys of a deed box were lost, he would need a Supreme Court order to open it again. He had been told this by the bank management.

Mr Jurgens then asked Mr Stofile why he did not go through normal prison channels to deliver his letter to his wife if there was nothing secret in it.

Mr Stofile said it was a way of communicating when one had been put away incommunicado which was in itself "inhuman".

The trial was postponed until tomorrow. — Sapa.

11A

SME
14/5/87

Treason trial: 'Cosatu, UDF are conspirators'

By Jo-Anne Collinge

The Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) and the United Democratic Front (UDF) are named as conspirators in a bulky treason trial indictment served this week on lawyers representing eight young residents of Alexandra township.

The trialists, detained in the middle of last year, were originally accused of sedition and have been refused bail. One of the group is a 17-year-old youth, while the oldest accused is 28.

Lawyers say that when their clients appear in the Rand Supreme Court on Monday they will now face a main charge of high treason and alternative charges of sedition and subversion.

UNGOVERNABLE

The indictment states that the accused conspired:

- To render Alexandra ungovernable and to govern the area themselves or in association with others.
- To establish "organs of people's power" and to exercise control over the structures of authority — on a national or local basis — as well as over the army, the police, the courts, the media, the economy and educational institutions.
- To mobilise Alexandra residents

to achieve the above and to group residents into street and block committees.

● To cause the "organ's of people's power" to conduct the business of official structures "as in communist Cuba".

The trialists conspired that these "organs" would provide basic food-stuffs and medicines in times of "heightened confrontation" as well as first aid and similar services, the charge sheet said.

NO-GO AREAS

They would also undertake the "so-called defence of communities against the forces of the Republic of South Africa ... and create no-go areas for such forces".

The accused conspired to set up people's courts and to expand trade unions and youth groups to achieve the above aims, the document adds.

Between January and July last year the accused conspired with the African National Congress and/or Cosatu and/or the UDF and/or the Alexandra Youth Congress to conspire various acts which constituted high treason, the indictment says.

The accused are: Ashwell Mxolise Zwane (20), Vusi Andries Ngwenya (20), Andrew Mafutha (22), David Mafutha (19), Arthur Selby Vilakazi (24), Albert Ali Sebola (21), Piet Moganano (28) and a 17-year-old youth, who may not be named.

WINNIE TELLS OF HER BRUSH WITH DEATH

11A
Winnietown
10/15/82

Mrs WINNIE Mandela, wife of the jailed African National Congress leader, Nelson Mandela, yesterday described how two hooded men wearing tracksuits tried to kill her.

She said this was the closest she had come to losing her life.

This is the first account Mrs Mandela has given to the Press about the attack which took place at her posh new home in Soweto on Monday night.

Mrs Mandela said she would be meeting her husband at Pollsmoor Prison on Sunday to give



WINNIE Mandela

him details of the latest developments.

She said that about 9.30pm she drove behind a school bus that usually parked at her new home in Beverley Hills, Orlando West. She

wanted to check on her property.

After parking her car in front of the house, she asked the bus driver to follow her. He said he was afraid to go into the yard alone as he had seen a car with white men parked near the house.

She waited near the gate while the man parked the bus. She became worried when he took a long time to return.

"I got out of the car. Then I heard the sound of two guns being cocked behind me. I turned and saw two hooded men in tracksuits run away.

"They jumped over the back fence onto some rocks at the back of the yard. They carried what looked like rifles."

After a few minutes the

bus driver came back. He was panting. The youth, who had accompanied Mrs Mandela, also got back into the car. The two men pleaded with her to speed off.

As she drove off she saw a car with two whites in it parked near the corner.

"It seemed obvious that they were waiting for the gunmen. I stopped and flooded the car with my lights. I took down the registration number of this car and have given the details to my family lawyer.

"The men in my car again pleaded that we should drive off. I drove away very worried," she said.

"It was the first time that I have come so close to dying after the several attempts that have been made on my life in the past," she said.

Mrs Mandela refuted Soweto mayor Mr Nelson Botile's claims that she had paid her rent.

She said, as in 1976 when her family was accused of starting the trouble in Soweto, there was an orchestrated move to discredit her family and sow confusion in the townships.

Mrs Mandela said the last time she had paid rent was in May 1977 when she was sent into exile in Brandfort.

● Yesterday Mrs Mandela's lawyers said they had received reports that she was to be summonsed to appear in court for failing to pay her rent.

However, by late last night, Mrs Mandela had not received summonses, according to the lawyers.

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Ball slams 'inaccurate' Press reports

MR CHRIS Ball, managing director of the First National Bank group of Southern Africa, yesterday said comment in the Press concerning his

alleged reaction to the Munnik Commission's inquiry into his involvement in the funding of an advertisement calling for the unbanning of the

African National Congress was inaccurate and did not reflect his views.

He was reacting to a report on the front page of *Business Day* in which

he was quoted as saying that the Government used him as a "whipping boy" to score political points ahead of last week's general election.

"The headlines of *Business Day*, in particular, are misleading and confrontational," he said in a statement yesterday.

"The bank will make no further comments to the Press on the commission and we consider the matter closed." — Sapa.

Argus 15/5/87 (114) ~~244~~ ~~244~~

TV bomb 'meant for ANC man' in Zimbabwe

The Argus Africa News Service

HARARE. — The bomb which killed a young woman here this week was meant for the chief representative in Zimbabwe of the African National Congress, Mr Reddy Mazimba, according to a statement.

The bomb was concealed in a colour television set brought to the Zimbabwean capital from Maputo, the Minister of State for Security, Mr Emerson Mnangagwa, said in the statement to the Herald newspaper.

The newspaper said the TV set had been brought to Harare by Mr Frank Chiliza, whose wife, Tsitsi, was killed in the blast which wrecked their flat.

Mr Mnangagwa said the bomb was an electronically detonated device which blew up when the set was switched on for the first time.

Set was a gift

Mr Chiliza, who had gone to a funeral in Maputo, bought the set as a gift for Mr Mazimba.

The ANC would not confirm speculation that Mr Chiliza was an ANC member.

The statement said Mr Chiliza had placed the set in his Earl's Court flat and while he was out his wife had switched it on. Shortly afterwards the television set exploded, killing her and destroying the flat.

"It is quite clear that agents of the South African regime had devised a plot to kill the chief representative of the ANC, which misfired with disastrous results," it said.

Earlier the South African Defence Force dismissed as "absurd" claims that it was responsible for the blast in which Mrs Chiliza died.

Soweto leaders ordered to pay rent arrears

1978
IN ANOTHER move to end the R74m Soweto rent boycott, the Soweto City Council has served notices on prominent black anti-apartheid leaders to pay their rent in 30 days or face legal action.

The notices were served on Winnie Mandela, wife of jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela; UDF president Albertina Sisulu, wife of imprisoned activist Walter Sisulu; Dr Nthato Motlana, chairman of the Soweto Civic Association; and

SOPHIE TEMA
well-known community leader Ellen Khuzwayo.

The notices were served yesterday by a council township manager.

The council says Sisulu, whose electricity was disconnected about two months ago, owes R1 033,47 for rent and service charges.

Motlana, whom the council says owes R1 500, had his electricity disconnected

about three weeks ago.

Mandela and Sisulu said yesterday they would not pay a cent of their rent arrears.

Mandela said: "I have not been paying rent and I will not pay it."

She said the last time she had paid rent was in May 1977, when government banished her to Brandfort.

Sisulu said she would rather contest the matter in court than pay rent.

Cape Town 15/5/87

'Join UDF, end apartheid' call

11A
Staff Reporter

WHITES should join organisations such as the United Democratic Front because Parliament holds no possibility of real change towards democracy, according to UDF patron Mrs Amy Thornton.

She was speaking to the Institute of Citizenship on *The Election: A UDF Perspective*.

Mrs Thornton said the time had come for white people "to examine this Parliament which claims to be a democratic institution".

Parliament was "patently not representative".

"We call on white people to join the

extra-parliamentary forces and to join the organisations affiliated to the UDF," she said.

If the UDF and its affiliates were too radical for some people there were others which also stood for democratic change.

"(People) must join the ever-growing total community in South African which will bring about an end to apartheid."

Mrs Thornton warned of increased pressure on trade unions and "democratic organisations".

However, she also spoke of a "new generation" which would not accept not being free.

Maritzburg cancels 150-year celebrations

ARG 45 15/5/87 (200) 119
Maritzburg Bureau

MARITZBURG. — Maritzburg has abandoned its proposed R700 000 150th birthday celebration because of pressure from Indian, coloured and black communities who feel it would have been a "whites-only celebration."

A report from the local Chamber of Commerce which was handed to the Birthday Celebration committee yesterday has recommended low key celebrations instead, involving all sectors of the community.

The Mayor of Maritzburg, Mr Mark Cornell, said: "It is a great pity but we want to avoid upheaval and possible boycotts."

15/1/87
S.M.C.
1117

Anti-apartheid leaders warned to pay or face eviction

Soweto rent showdown nears

By Jo-Anne Collinge and Own Correspondent

The rents crisis in Soweto is approaching a showdown. The Soweto Council has made a dramatic move in its campaign to break the year-long rent boycott in the area by serving warning notices on leaders of anti-apartheid organisations who are believed to be among the thousands of householders withholding rent payments.

Mrs Winnie Mandela, United Democratic Front president Mrs Albertina Sisulu, Soweto Civic Association president Dr Nthato Motlana and author Mrs Ellen Khuzwayo are among those who have received warnings.

According to Mrs Sisulu they have seven days in which to decide whether to pay. If they fail to do so, they face eviction within 30 days.

Mrs Mandela's notice contradicts statements made some weeks ago by the Mayor of Soweto, Mr Nelson Botile, in which he said Mrs Mandela's rent payments had been made.

According to the notice, Mrs Mandela owes R652 which is said to have accumulated over nearly a year. Mrs Sisulu is said to owe the council R1 033.

Mrs Sisulu said she believed the council intended to try to make an example of the leaders of organisations which opposed it. But she welcomed the action.

"I'm happy they have started now with us instead of old people who are helpless and become confused when they face eviction."

Mrs Sisulu said she would defend the action in court.

No authorised council spokesman was available for comment early today.

Scores of rent defaulters have been evicted over the past two months in Soweto under court orders obtained against selected households. In most cases goods such as television sets and stereos have been attached by the messenger of the court.

Angry residents

The latest evictions took place yesterday in Pimville Zones 1 and 2. Furniture was piled high on the pavements outside the affected homes for some hours after the eviction squads left. Angry residents threatened to break the locks placed on the homes and help evicted families carry their belongings back inside.

The PFP's spokesman on black affairs, Mrs Helen Suzman, said today: "This is yet another instance of the Government's determination to show the toughest side it can as part of the mandate it claims to have received in the general election."

She said that, instead of going all out to demonstrate its determination to continue with a reform programme, however minimal, the Government was going in the opposite direction and, it appeared, was seeking confrontation.

"The rents crisis can be resolved only by the Government meeting representative leaders of the community of Soweto," Mrs Suzman said.

● See Page 4.

Cape Times

SATURDAY, MAY 16, 1987

Thoughts on necklacing

SOME useful insights into a gruesome subject have been provided by two University of Cape Town researchers, Professor Francis Wilson and Dr Mamphela Ramphele. They have been studying the impact of apartheid, destabilization and war on children.

Their study is a wide survey, covering Southern Africa, but one aspect is highly topical at the moment: necklacing by children. The South African public has been given loads of official propaganda about necklacing, complete with horrific pictures, statements about unnamed youngsters indulging in this form of killing, and plenty of eye-bulging election rhetoric designed to frighten whites into the Botha laager.

Yet there has been little analysis of *why* children, supposed to be still in their years of innocence, can do such things. For us, the shock of a necklace killing goes hand-in-hand with a sense of shock that a society can be so brutalized as to produce this. Wilson and Ramphele say that children who necklace people run the risk of permanently damaging their psyches, and warn of a human tragedy whose full cost has yet to be counted. They point to those who see shades of the Khmer Rouge in Kampuchea. The researchers say that it is within the context of state violence against children that they considered the horrifying spectacle of necklacing by children.

It would be useful if such insights could be debated with greater depth and maturity than up to now. No South African worth the name can, in any way, justify or defend the necklace. But all South Africans will ignore at their peril the root causes of adolescent horror. They lie in a society of unresolved politics and state repression.

Saturday Topic

So much so that the...
...the conservative Afri-
...switched their

Ban on UDF meeting overturned by court

CAPE TOWN — A full bench of the Cape Town Supreme Court yesterday evening overturned a ban on last night's United Democratic Front (UDF) meeting which had been imposed by the Divisional Commissioner of Police, Brigadier Ronald van der Westhuizen, last night.

Dr Allan Boesak, advocate Mr Dullah Omar, Mrs Helen Joseph and Mr Mou-lana Faried Essack were advertised as speakers at the meeting in the Cape Town City Hall.

The brigadier cited the emergency regulations in banning the meeting.

He told the court in an affidavit that he had imposed the ban after "properly weighing certain information, circumstances and factors" provided by secur-

ity police whose sources included informers "whose identity must remain secret".

Appearing for the UDF, advocate Mr J. J. Gauntlett, said the brigadier had failed to show lawful cause for banning the meeting.

He described the brigadier's affidavit as "bleating" which was "vague and unconvincing".

He also said the brigadier had offered no objective grounds for the validity of his decision that the ban was necessary.

The court will give reasons for its order later.

Mr Justice P. W. E. Baker presided with Mr Justice H. Berman and Mr Acting Justice J. G. Foxcroft.
— Sapa

The feud between Matanzima brothers escalates

11/16
17/12/87 C/1000

Report: STAN MZIMBA

PEOPLE in Umtata reacted in disbelief this week when the former President of Transkei, Kaizer Matanzima, was banished.

A man who has - in the past - signed countless banning orders, including that of his son-in-law, attorney Prince Madikizela, was banished to Western Tembuland. He may not come to Umtata without the permission of the Commissioner of Police.

A handful of his followers bade him farewell when he left his Umtata office.

The order was signed by President Tutor Ndamase and his Prime Minister brother, George Matanzima. Chief "KD", as he is known, may no longer set his foot in a city which granted him its freedom in 1979.

But Kaizer has vowed to take the matter to court. Matanzima told a Press conference: "I am today returning home with a pleasant conscience that I have not done anything treasonable."

He said his party, the Transkei National Party, would continue to oppose the government.

Little did he know that his two supporters, Simon Burhali, MP for Herschel, and De Villiers Qunta, MP for Nqamakhwe, would be detained hours later. Transkei's head of the security police, General LS Kawe, said Burhali was detained for security reasons while Qunta, a former Butterworth mayor, was detained by the commercial branch.

Kaizer said his brother, George, was under the control of a clique of leftists in his Cabinet who were communist-inspired.

"The radio is under his control but he does not control the Transkei people, who acknowledged my work while I was in power," he said.

This was another indirect challenge to George, who had earlier instructed

Radio Transkei not to broadcast anything said by his brother without his sanction.

KD Matanzima said that he also heard rumours that he was going to be detained, to which he replied: "Do it and let's see."

A firm of attorneys in Umtata confirmed that KD sought an amendment to the Constitution Act which led to his banning from the National Assembly and also to the banning order.

Soon after KD left the Assembly on Friday, MPs



Broedertwis ... brothers KD (bald head) and George in happier times.

had a field day attacking him. Finance Minister Kolisile Nota said that the corruption in the civil service KD was complaining of, had been present during his time.

Nota said had KD Matanzima been returned to the premiership, he would have received a salary of a prime minister and that of paramouncy and his pension would have been R18 000 a month.

Meanwhile, some people have expressed fear of a military takeover because KD allegedly has the back-

ing of the army.

He claimed earlier that he had prevented the detention of the Cabinet.

The chronology of events in Umtata in the past week are:

- Wednesday: KD Matanzima walks out of the ruling party congress and forms the TNP.
- Thursday: He calls for a vote of no confidence in the government. George opposes the move, saying KD's party was not registered yet and has not presented its constitution.
- Friday: A bill is rushed

through the Assembly in an hour and half, making it law that whoever has been a State President cannot return to active politics and cannot be represented in the Assembly.

KD Matanzima sought legal advice, intending to challenge the validity of the order in the Supreme Court.

● Monday: Shortly after KD has had breakfast, policemen knocked at his door, salute him according to tradition, and seconds later they served him with a banning order.

IIA (circled) 17/5/87

Labour 'under fire'



By REVELATION NTOULA

THE mysterious bombing of Casatu House, insinuations that the bombing was the work of the African National Congress and concerted efforts to link Cosatu with the ANC, violence and the Communist Party marked the beginning of massive action against the labour movement in South Africa, which could result in a show trial of leaders of black trade unions affiliated to Cosatu.

This was said by Cosatu general-secretary, Jay Naidoo, at a Press conference held in Johannesburg this week.

But a police spokesman in Pretoria and the SA Transport Services have denied that there was a concerted effort by the police to discredit unions.

However, Naidoo said the movement was convinced that

there was a concerted effort on the part of Sats, the police and the SABC to discredit the movement. The ultimate objective was to crush it completely.

"The evidence of the orchestrated propaganda campaign based on innuendos, untruths and half-truths which seek, among other things, to identify Cosatu with violence and the ANC, are apparently a prelude to further attacks on our organisation," said Naidoo.

"The clandestine acts of violence recently perpetrated against our members and our affiliates' members are disturbing vendettas against the labour movement," he said.

Naidoo said that a member of the National Union of Mineworkers had recently been killed in Vryheid, and that numerous incidents of intimidation and assault had taken place in East London, Kroonstad, Maritzburg, Kimberly, Germiston and Johannesburg this week.

Turning to the SABC, Naidoo said it was clear that the organisation was working in cahoots with "undemocratic forces" bent on discrediting and destroying Cosatu and the whole labour movement.

He said that the SABC had earlier reported that police had arrested three suspected "terrorists", but never cared to report that the alleged terrorists had recently been released without being charged.

He said the SABC had first reported that the Cosatu House bombing was minimal, but had later turned around to say that it was the first major explosion of its kind on the Witwatersrand.

"They also reported that the police were investigating the possibility that the explosives were of Russian origin, hastily adding that three ANC suspects had been arrested hiding in Cosatu House some weeks before. The implication was that Cosatu had allowed its members to bomb their own building," said Naidoo.

Naidoo said that Cosatu's operations had been seriously impaired because police were still sealing off the building. He said the organisation and its affiliates were experiencing difficulty finding accommodation in the city, because landlords turned them down as soon as they discovered their identity.

The organisation, however, had been able to find accommodation from sympathisers, he said.

Naidoo said that an initial estimate of the damage done to Cosatu House was R1-million, but added that engineers were still investigating. It was possible that the building would be declared inhabitable, he said.



Jay Naidoo ... campaign to destroy unions.

Grief and joy for Azasm

By MARTIN NTSOELNGOE

THERE were tears of joy and tears of grief in the corridors of the Johannesburg Regional Court this week as some members of the Azanian Student Movement were acquitted and some jailed.

Tears of joy came when Azasm's national organiser, Stanley Siqotyane, 21, Vusi Ben Nko and Kenneth Moshe Mampondo were found not guilty of sedition and public violence and discharged.

Azapo member Nicodimus Phake was also acquitted but won't enjoy his freedom as he is in detention.

Grief came after the magistrate sentenced Rubin Moliki, 21, Gugu Sosibo, 19 and Stephen Menoe, 21, to three years.

Moliki will effectively serve one year in jail. Sosibo and Menoe will each serve 18 months.

The three incriminated themselves after making statements to security police in July, 1985. Later they alleged that they were assaulted by police to make the statements.

The magistrate said public violence was a serious crime and punishment had to be meted out accordingly.

C/Press
17/1/87

11/11

11/11



Ma Mbele shows the wound in her younger son's side, allegedly caused by a rubber bullet fired by a vigilante.

Terror in Tumahole

TUMAHOLE vigilantes, near Parys in the Free State, have started a bloody reign of terror in the tiny township.

And people are afraid to report the brutalities to the authorities for fear of reprisals at the hands of the vigilantes.

On April 25, vigilantes brutally assaulted Petrus "My Lollie" Mbele, a bus driver with the Vaal Transport Company, who died on Tuesday in the Pelonomi Hospital in Bloemfontein.

His younger brother was wounded in the back by a rubber bullet when vigilantes fired on him the same night.

When approached, the police denied that there were vigilantes in Tumahole.

The spokesman added that the attack on Petrus and his friends was the work of thugs in the township.

The younger brother,

Vigilantes begin their brutal reign

er, who asked that his name not be used for fear that he may also be attacked, said he was coming home from the cinema when he was shot in the back by vigilantes.

Petrus' friends alleged that they were leaving a shebeen when they came face-to-face with the vigilante leader, Sehlabako Mosoge.

According to the friend, Mosoge started to insult and threaten them.

When they wanted to ask what the matter was, Mosoge retreated until he reached the point where the vigilantes were lying in wait for them.

After getting to where his men were, Mosoge allegedly fired two shots in the direction of Petrus and his friends, who fled in all directions.

"They caught up with Petrus and started attacking him with an assortment of weapons - even beer bottles. Later they threw him into a bakkie.

"The screams from the bakkie made us believe that Petrus was being assaulted by the vigilantes," said the friend.

A tearful Jane Mbele, Petrus' mother, said she was told that night that her two

sons were assaulted by a group of vigilantes.

When she went to the Tumahole Administration Board the following morning, she was shocked when told that Petrus had been taken to Parys Hospital.

At first she was refused permission to see her son, but after much pleading she was allowed to see him.

"When I saw him I could not believe he was my son. His face and eyes were badly swollen and he could not see or recognise us.

"He spoke with difficulty and he was listless," she said.

Petrus was so seriously beaten up that he was transferred to Kroonstad Hospital. However, the hospital could do nothing for him and he was transferred to Bloemfontein Hospital where he died on Tuesday.

Report:
**MARTIN
NTSOELENGOE**

11A
17/5/80

RENT? I haven't paid it for 10 years says Winnie

ST- 17/5/87
IIA

THE LIGHTS burned brightly in Winnie Mandela's home in Soweto this week as the wife of the jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela admitted she hadn't paid rent for a decade.

Mrs Mandela, who is currently building another house in Soweto — a R500 000 construction dubbed "Winnie's Palace" — told the Sunday Times:

"I'm not about to panic and run to pay ... the last time I paid rent was when I was banished to Brandfort in 1977." And she described claims that she had paid her rent as "smears".

Other people who haven't paid their rent have had their electricity cut off and are using candles to light their homes and paraffin stoves for cooking.

Mrs Mandela and three other members of the Soweto Civic Association were served with eviction notices this week for failing to meet rent arrears.

Mrs Albertina Sisulu, Dr Ellen Kuzwayo and Dr Nthato Motlana — along with Mrs Mandela — are among a number of people accused of not paying rent since last June.

Solution

Both Mrs Sisulu and Dr Motlana indicated they would consider dropping their non-payment stance if they could meet with Soweto town clerk, Mr Nico Malan, to discuss residents' grievances.

They do not recognise the authority of black Soweto councillors.

Said Mrs Sisulu: "With him we can reach a solution. If he keeps on referring us to the councillors, then nothing will change."

But a council spokesman, Mr L S Geldenhuys, speaking in the absence of Mr Malan who is overseas, ruled out such a meeting.

He said only councillors



"Winnie's Palace" — the 22-room house being built in the 'Beverly Hills' area of Soweto

By SAMKELO KUMALO

could discuss the "political issues" of Soweto.

Electricity supplies to the homes of Dr Motlana and Mrs Sisulu have been cut off for the past two months as part of the council's attempts to force them to pay.

Mrs Sisulu has resorted to using candles, lamps and gas stoves. She said: "I have to be an example to the people."

Dr Motlana said they were

for 10 years says Winnie

son Botile and some councillors that she had paid her rent.

Gunmen

Earlier this week, Mrs Mandela was accosted by unknown gunmen in Soweto while visiting the house she is building in the township area known as "Beverly Hills". She was unhurt.

She said: "The events of this week are nothing new. Now they have come out with

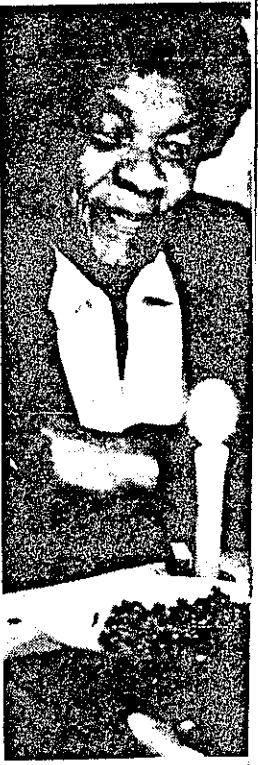
eviction notices and court action."

Meanwhile, Councillor Letsatsi Radebe, the Soweto Council's executive committee chairman, has invited the four Soweto leaders to meet them to discuss the rent issue.

"If they do not recognise us as councillors, I am extending an invitation to them to meet us in our private capacities as residents of Soweto. Perhaps we can solve the problem and avoid further evictions."



WINNIE MANDELA ... "Council tried to smear me"



MRS ALBERTINA SISULU Candles and gas lamps after power was cut off to her home

ANC
house
bombed

CAPC T171-5
18/5/87
119
222
244

HARARE. — A bomb exploded outside a house used by the African National Congress soon after 5am yesterday. No one was hurt.

The Minister of Security, Mr Emmerson Mungangwa, said South Africa was to blame.

The South African Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, denied that the Republic was responsible. However he added:

Governments who allow in their territory persons of violence who arm themselves with weapons and explosives must take into consideration that they are playing with fire and people who play with fire sometimes get burned.

Winnie has paid rent *B/T Day* Soweto mayor *11A*

WINNIE MANDELA, wife of the jailed ANC leader, had been paying rent, Soweto mayor Nelson Botile said yesterday.

However, he said, Mandela was in arrears with her service charges and had been given notice to pay within 30 days or face legal action.

Rent and service charges are paid separately in Soweto.

SOPHIE TEMA

Three other Soweto leaders, Albertina Sisulu, Dr Nthato Motlana and Ellen Kuzwayo, were served with notices on Thursday to pay rent and service charges.

Reacting to Botile's claim, Mandela yesterday denied she had made any payments to the Soweto

City Council and said the last time she had paid rent was in May 1977, when she was banished to Brandfort, in the Free State.

Although Botile said he could not say offhand the amount Mandela owed on her service charges, he said: "The council has full proof that Mandela has paid rent for both her houses in Soweto."

Zimbabwe govt blames SA

Harare blast leaves whites feeling edgy

B/Day

18/5/87

7/1A

HARARE — The blast from an explosion outside a house used by the ANC woke residents in the northern suburbs here shortly after 5am yesterday.

Although no one was hurt, the incident heightened the growing fear and tension among Zimbabwe's white community after a week of political murders in Matabeleland, abductions of whites from the Beira Corridor, and calls by government Ministers for Zimbabwe's nine-million blacks to be on the watch for possible SA sympathisers among their remaining 100 000 white countrymen.

Prime Minister Robert Mugabe was away on a visit to Ethiopia when the blast occurred less than 2km from his official residence. But his security supremo, Emmerson Munangagwa, was on the scene within an hour and immediately laid the blame on Pretoria.

Munangagwa said the explosion in Lincoln Road, Avondale, close to a major suburban shopping centre, was part of a calculated SA programme of intimidation and destabilisation of the Frontline states to be expected in the wake of President P W Botha's election victory.

A week ago, a woman was killed in an explosion at her flat. At an emotional funeral service in Harare on Saturday, Munangagwa said she had fallen victim to a plot by SA agents to assassinate Harare's ANC chief representative M

MICHAEL HARTNACK

Reddy Mazimba with a booby-trapped TV set, recently imported via Maputo.

The ANC is believed to have been using the Lincoln Road house as its office since its premises near Harare's central police station were blown up by an SADF raiding party on May 19, 1986.

The Avondale house was apparently unoccupied at the time of yesterday's explosion, but is understood to have been under armed Zimbabwean security forces guard.

Police sources believe at least one rocket was fired at the house from an open field opposite, but detonated harmlessly against a tree.

A large number of windows were broken in the neighbourhood, but when Pressmen were eventually allowed to inspect the site, they saw a framed portrait of ANC President Oliver Tambo hanging undamaged above the glass fragments in apparently uncontrived symbolism.

The suburb is still largely dominated by whites and most residents were too frightened to discuss the incident.

Prayers were said in many Zimbabwean churches yesterday for the families of four white farmers killed last weekend when anti-government dissidents attacked a country club in Matabeleland,

ANC's Harare offices hit in grenade attack

Argus Africa News Service

HARARE. — An office used by the African National Congress here has been hit by a rocket in an early-morning attack.

No one was hurt in the explosion, which echoed across the city at 5.10am yesterday as a rocket-propelled grenade exploded in the grounds of the house in Lincoln Road, only a few blocks away from embassies and high commissions in the capital's main area for diplomatic missions.

The grenade was launched from the edge of a grove of trees in open ground facing the property and about 200 metres away.

The Information Minister, Dr Nathan Shamuyar-

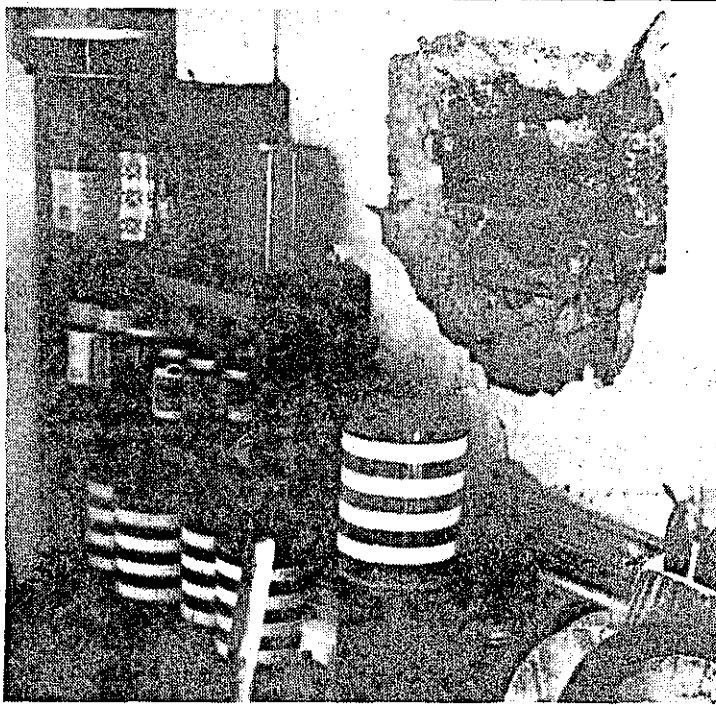
ira, said that South African agents were to blame.

The blast, which broke windows and blew a hole in the garden wall, came less than a week after a huge explosion wrecked a flat in a block five minutes away.

In that explosion, said to have been caused by a booby-trapped TV set, Mrs Tsitsi Chiliza, 25, wife of an ANC member, Mr Frank Chiliza, was killed.

Mrs Chiliza was buried yesterday.

The Lincoln Road house is understood to have been used as an office by the ANC's chief representative, Mr Reddy Mazimba, but according to neighbours is not occupied at night.



Plaster was knocked off this wall where a grenade landed after smashing through a window.

SMR 19/5/87

Governments which allowed insurgents to operate in their country were "playing with fire" and could get "burned themselves", Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha said yesterday in Pretoria in response to official allegations from Zimbabwe that South African agents were responsible for a rocket attack on an ANC house in Harare yesterday morning.

"Governments who allow in their territory persons of violence who arm themselves with

SA not responsible for explosions — Pik

weapons and explosives must take into consideration that they are playing with fire and people who play with fire sometimes get burned themselves," a statement issued by a spokesman for the Minister said.

The spokesman also referred

reporters to a statement made by the Minister last week in which he denied South Africa was involved in a blast that ripped through an apartment in Harare, killing a woman.

The spokesman said that denial applied to the allegations by a

Zimbabwe government official that South African agents were responsible for yesterday's attack on the house used by the ANC in Harare.

Nobody was injured in these attacks but the ANC house and neighbouring houses were damaged.

Zimbabwe security officials said last week's bomb was planted in a TV set intended as a gift for the ANC representative in Harare but exploded before it was delivered. — Sapa.

Pre-dawn rocket blast damages ANC office in Harare

Attack will heighten feelings against SA

SMR 19/5/87

By Robin Drew, The Star's Africa News Service



Police in Zimbabwe suspect a rocket-propelled grenade caused this damage to a house in Harare early yesterday. Police believe the grenade overshot its intended target, a neighbouring house occupied by the African National Congress.

HARARE — Anti-South African feelings, already running high in Zimbabwe, will be intensified following yesterday morning's pre-dawn rocket attack on a Harare suburban house which has been used as an office by the ANC.

No one was hurt in the explosion which echoed across the city at 5.10 am as a rocket-propelled grenade exploded in the grounds of the house in Lincoln Road, only a few blocks away from embassies and high commissions in the capital's main area for diplomatic missions.

Information Minister Dr Nathan Shamuyarira said South African agents were to blame.

The blast, which broke some windows and blew a hole in the garden wall, occurred less than a week after a massive explosion wrecked a flat in an apartment block five minutes away.

In that explosion — said to have been caused by a booby-trapped television set brought to Harare from Maputo as a gift for the ANC chief representative — the wife of an ANC member, Mr Frank Chiliza, was killed.

The grenade fired at the house in Lincoln Road was launched from the edge of a grove of trees in open ground facing the property, about 200 m away.

Pieces of shrapnel were found in neighbours' gardens and windows were broken in a number of nearby houses.

Police, who have been looking after other ANC properties as well, were guarding the house.

The Lincoln Road house is understood to have been used as an office by ANC chief representative Mr Reddy Mazimba but according to the neighbours was not occupied at night.

It was still dark when the attack took place. The Commissioner of Police and the Army Commander, Lieutenant-General Tapfumeneyi Mujuru, raced to the scene along with scores of police, paramilitary personnel and explosives experts.

Police are reported to be investigating the presence of a number of people seen hiding in the garden of the home of a doctor living nearby who was called to an emergency at the hospital.

ASSASSINS

Six years ago the then chief representative of the ANC in Harare, Mr Joe Gqabi, was shot to death by assassins.

A year ago, on May 19, South African commandos blew up the ANC's township office and a house in Ashdown Park.

A government spokesman said yesterday: "The government of Zimbabwe has no doubt that the perpetrators of this morning's act are South African agents sent by the Pretoria regime to harass South African refugees."

South Africa has twice recently warned Zimbabwe not to allow guerrillas to use its territory as a transit route. Zimbabwe denies that it does so or that it gives military support to the ANC.

A statement issued in Lusaka by ANC headquarters said a "terrorist unit of the apartheid army" attacked and damaged the diplomatic office of the ANC in Harare.

It said the action constituted a gross outrage not only against the ANC but the people of Zimbabwe as well.

By Jo-Anne Collinge

No talk of release as Sisulu marks 75th birthday

Jailed African National Congress leader Walter Sisulu marks his 75th birthday today in Pollsmoor Prison, Cape Town, and not the faintest echo of last year's furious rumours of his release can be heard.

Mr Sisulu was sentenced to life imprisonment in the Rivonia sabotage trial of 1964 with other members of the ANC, including Nelson Mandela.

Arguably South Africa's most renowned prisoner after Mandela, he is also the second oldest of the Rivonia group.

Walter Sisulu was born in 1912 — the year the ANC was founded — and has been associated with the movement for nearly 50 years.

He joined in 1940 and was elected secretary-general in 1949 as the militant Youth League made its presence felt in the national executive.

Born of a poor peasant family in the Engcobo district of Transkei, he had to forsake full-time education at 15 to begin his working life as a mineworker and labourer. Yet he held the key "nuts and bolts" position on an ANC executive committee replete with doctors, lawyers and teachers.

Sisulu cut an unusual figure, memorable even to many outside the ANC. He was stocky, and his heavily bespectacled and neatly bearded face often

peered out from under a Sotho-style grass hat. According to some accounts, his early political style was terse, guarded and polemical.

Historian Tom Lodge claims that Walter Sisulu showed a remarkable intellectual and emotional capacity for change.

"From being one of the most fervent exponents of racially exclusivist nationalism, (he) was one of the first former Youth Leaguers to advocate alliance with political groups drawn from other sections of the population."

He was one of two signatories to an ultimatum sent to the Prime Minister, Dr Malan,

in 1952 demanding the repeal of six "unjust laws" and threatening mass defiance to be mobilised by organisations in all racial communities.

Sisulu was jailed in the Defiance Campaign. A banning under the Suppression of Communism Act followed, although he was not a member of the Communist Party, and he was one of the 156 accused in the marathon treason trial of 1956-61, which ended in acquittals all round.

During this time his real estate business, based on selling property in Sophiatown, went under and his wife, Albertina, became the family's breadwin-

ner.

Detained under the first state of emergency in 1960, Sisulu was again tried during 1962 and jailed for six years for inciting people to stay at home in protest against the declaration of the Republic of South Africa. While on bail pending his appeal, he disappeared underground in April 1963.

On July 11 1963 he was caught in a police raid on Liliesleaf Farm, Rivonia, with 16 others. The raid was the prelude to a trial that saw him sentenced to a life in jail for sabotage.

In evidence under oath in April 1964, Sisulu acknow-

ledged that the ANC had used sabotage for the previous 18 months.

Asked why the time was not ripe for launching a plan for guerilla warfare, he answered: "Because there was still hope. Leading Afrikaner intellectuals began to meet leaders of the African people ... When freedom became closer to South Africa it was my view that well-conducted political action could bring about a changed situation in spite of difficulties."

Since the time of that evidence Walter Sisulu has remained in jail. In 1965 he and the other Rivonia veterans

made it clear in a statement read to a mass meeting in Soweto that they would not accept freedom if it meant unilaterally renouncing violence and agreeing to conditions set by Pretoria.

Political prisoners released in recent years describe Walter Sisulu as a warm person, deeply interested in new developments and a stranger to the notion of the generation gap.

They contrast his down-to-earth outlook with the more remote personality of Mandela, who has been described as "imposing" by foreign dignitaries and local activists alike.

The Sisulu family lawyer,

Mrs Priscilla Jana, says the ups-and-downs of anti-apartheid activism have been with Walter Sisulu throughout his time in jail. His wife and several of his children have been detained, arrested and tried, placed under house arrest and banned for their activities.

As Sisulu turns 75 today, his son, *New Nation* editor Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu, sits in Sandton police cells detained under the state of emergency. His wife, who is president of the United Democratic Front, faces the threat of eviction from their Soweto home as authorities crack down on the rent boycott. And the nephew who grew up in his home, Jon-gumuzi Sisulu, is in jail, having been sentenced to five years for treason.

11A

10/11/83

Police raids 'were not pleasant'

By MANDLA NDLAZI in Delmas

THE former chairman of Azanian People's Organisation in the Vaal denied an allegation that he conspired with the African National Congress, the South African Communist Party and the United Democratic Front to over-

throw the State.

Mr Oupa John Hlomuka was giving evidence in his defence. He is one of the 19 men appearing before Mr Justice K van Dijkhorst and an assessor

on high treason charges, alternatively terrorism, subversion and murder.

The State alleges that they committed the offence during the outbreak of unrest in the townships on the Vaal in September 1984. They have all pleaded not guilty.

Led by Advocate George Bizos, SC, Mr Hlomuka said he was chairman of Azapo in the Vaal before his arrest. He denied on Friday that he conspired with the ANC, SACP and the UDF to incite residents to riot and revolt against councillors and the payment of the rent increases in the Vaal Triangle townships.

Mr Hlomuka also denied that he conspired with the Vaal Civic Association (VCA) and the Congress of South African Students (Cosas) to incite the residents against the councillors not to pay the rent increases.

He said in his opinion it was not illegal to tell people not to vote for councillors. He had never attended a meeting.

Mr Hlomuka said he became aware of the rent

increases when he was given a notice stating this in August 1984. He also read in newspaper reports about the council's intention to increase the rents, he said.

Mr Hlomuka said he himself told residents at a meeting that the increased rents should not be paid and that councillors' shops and garages should be boycotted.

Mr Hlomuka (33) earlier told the court that he was born in Evaton and grew up in Boipatong. He

recalled the days of the Sharpeville events in 1960 when he heard the sound of machine-guns.

He also recalled the house to house night raids by police who were searching for people who did not have their names in the house permits and for those who were not employed.

Mr Hlomuka said the incidents were not "pleasant" and he formed an attitude and realised that black people were not justly treated under the law.

(Proceeding)

Bomb rocks 'ANC' house

19/7/87
Sundown

HARARE — An explosion rocked a Harare suburb early yesterday, the second in the city in the past week, residents said.

The blast occurred at a house in the northern suburb of Avondale at a house normally occupied by members of the African National Congress (ANC), they added.

First reports said there were no casualties and little damage. Last Monday, a woman was killed when an explosion officials said was caused by a bomb wrecked a city apartment.



Pik Botha ... warning.

Minister of state for security Emmerson Munangagwa said later the bomb was intended for the chief representative in Zimbabwe of the ANC.

South Africa has denied involvement in that blast, but last week Foreign Minister Pik Botha renewed repeated warnings to Zimbabwe not to assist ANC activities.

Zimbabwe says its support for the guerilla group is moral and diplomatic and that it does not allow its territory to be used as a springboard for acts of violence against its neighbours. — Sapa-
Reuter.

MESSAGE FROM JAIL

114
some fm
18/5/87

Support from jail

From Page 1

They have been threatened by the Soweto City Council with eviction from their homes if they do not pay their rent and service charge within seven days. They were given the notices last week.

Mrs Mandela said her electricity supply was disconnected two weeks ago. However, it was switched on by what she called "professional electricians".

Mrs Sisulu, whose family will be visiting her husband this afternoon said her electricity supply was cut off two months ago. She was not bothered by this action.

For the past 11 months, hundreds of thousands of tenants in about 50 black townships across the country have refused to pay rent to back a long list of demands. Scores of ordinary Sowetans have already been evicted for not paying rent.

Mrs Sisulu said the rent crisis could be resolved only if the Government met representatives of the people to discuss their demands.

Some political observers have speculated that a hard line on the rent issue is to be expected after the National Party swept to power in the whites-only election on May 6 which saw a swing to the right.

By ALI MPHAKI and JOSHUA RABOROKO

IMPRISONED African National Congress leaders, Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu, have sent a message of support to thousands of township residents who are facing rent evictions.

This was told to the *Sowetan* yesterday by Mrs Winnie Mandela who visited her husband, Nelson Mandela, at the Pollsmoor prison on Saturday.

She and Mrs Albertinah Sisulu are to be evicted from their homes if they do not pay their house rent.

Speaking from her old Soweto home yesterday, Mrs Mandela, said both leaders were concerned about the rent crisis and would be doing something from their side.

Lawyers

She said although Nelson was in the hospital section of the prison during her visit, he was in touch with the happenings in the country.

He had met other prisoners during the



WINNIE... prison visit.

Easter weekend. Winnie said she was instructed by her husband not to release any more Press statements about the rent issue because the matter was now in the hands of the lawyers.

Other Soweto leaders including Dr Nthato Motlana, president of the Soweto Civic Association and Dr Ellen Khuzwayo, are among hundreds of residents who are faced with eviction.

To Page 2

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WONNE "Fall" Nisela... shot dead

paganda campaign against ... (The campaign) alleges ...
 Mrs. head of the ...
 ter and security police ...
 A block away from the ...
 building in Kerk Street ...
 been surrounded following ...
 day Cosatu House had ...
 and officials, and ...
 employed in the country ...
 he said - Sapa

VICTIMS OF VIGILANTES

By SANDILE MEMELA and SELLO SERIPE

A NEW wave of terror surfaced in Soweto this week after armed balaclava-clad vigilantes raided four homes and abducted at least eight people in pre-dawn raids.

Fear pervades Mofolo South after the men - posing as policemen and travelling in two combis and a white Mercedes Benz - burst into homes picked at random and assaulted and stole from residents.

Sources said the men were dressed in khaki uniforms, were armed with shot-guns and iron bars and spoke among themselves in a language that reminded them of Portuguese.

In all four affected houses, the vigilantes demanded that the families

produce guns that they alleged were stored in their houses by ANC guerrillas.

Families claimed they were assaulted, robbed, had telephones ripped out and were harassed and tormented by the midnight raiders.

Those abducted said they were forced to lie on their bellies on the floor of the combis and their faces were covered so they could not see where they were being taken.

They added that they were forced out of moving vehicles and left for dead in the early hours of the morning.

Families visited and interviewed by a City Press news team told tales of terror, and victims showed bruises all over their bodies, face, thighs and arms.

The terror-stricken Mchlwana family of nine said the raiders had surrounded their house shortly after 8am and banged on the door, claiming to be policemen.

When the family opened the door, the balaclava-clad men demanded that the family produce a youth who was in possession of a gun.

The vigilantes then abducted three girls from the



Margaret Msengane displays the bullet left in her yard by the raiders. Her son Sandla (right) was abducted and assaulted by the vigilantes.

family, and their 63-year-old father, who was robbed off R12.

"We were put into different cars and covered with balaclavas before being ordered to lie on the floor of the car," said Phumla Mchlwana, 29, who suffered bruises on the thighs, arms and body.

"The men then drove around with us for over six hours and later pushed us out of moving vehicles around 2am.

"Whilst in the car they insulted us and beat, kicked and punched us," she said.

Another resident, Margaret Msengane, 54, said she heard a noise outside her yard at 2am. When she peeped through the window she saw a group of armed men inside her yard.

"They started kicking the door and banging on windows.

"When I switched on the front light they all disap-

peared into the dark and re-emerged covered in balaclavas and ransacked the house," she said.

Msengane said they arrested two of her sons, Sandla (32) and Andile (28).

The two men said that they were assaulted in the combi and ordered to lie on their bellies.

"After a while they threw us out of the car and left us there," said Sandla, who suffered a gash above his right eye.



Stofile found not guilty

THE CISKEI terrorism trial took a dramatic turn late on Wednesday when the defence produced a letter and asked the court to recall a 'Mr W' who had already given evidence.

The defence submitted in the Bisho Supreme Court that it had a letter from 'Mr W' whose contents were in conflict with the evidence he gave earlier in the trial.

WM Friedman for the defence, said the letter was found by the Reverend Arnold Stofile's wife at Fort Hare University.

After the State had objected to the request by the defence, saying 'Mr W's' evidence would be irrelevant, later agreed the court could subpoena the witness.

Earlier during the day, the judge discharged Stofile, 42, on two counts in the terrorism trial. The counts were that Stofile had been in possession of four limpet mines and an AK 47 rifle.

The court found Ndlela had been "unhappy" with 'Mr W' who wanted to be trained as a terrorist. Ndlela was discharged for possessing a pistol.

Application for the discharge of Linda Stofile and Gladwell Gqibitole were also refused by the court. The court said the evidence before it was that Gqibitole pointed out a cache of arms near Fort Hare.

The case continues on Monday. - Sapa

Mrs Msengane later found a bullet in her yard.

When she went to Moroka police station to report she says she was ignored.

Police at Moroka station were unable to confirm this allegation.

The Ngwenya family said that the men had burst into their home shortly after 2am and claimed they were looking for the eldest Ngwenya son, King.

After being told he was not at home they pushed the family into the house and pinned the head of the family, Aaron Ngwenya, onto the ground with a rifle.

"I was ordered not to make a move. They then ransacked the house and stole two gold watches, one silver watch, a tape recorder and two cases of beer," said Ngwenya.

Two brothers, Vusi (23) and Bongani (16) were taken by the men and later released after being assaulted.

Rajbansi loses; election on the cards?

AN ELECTION in the Indian House of Delegates is on the cards following the defeat yesterday of Mr Amichand Rajbansi's ruling National People's Party in two divisions.

The defeat followed the resignation in the morning of eight NPP MPs, including six members of the hierarchy, which put the NPP in the minority in the 45-member house and will make it virtually impossible for Mr Rajbansi's administration to continue effectively in the future.

Having lost control of the house, Mr Rajbansi said he would be guided by his caucus on the question of an election but he is thought to favour one.

The eight NPP members who resigned yesterday and helped Solidarity and the other minor parties and independents to twice defeat Mr Rajbansi were: Mr Samaroo Pachai, national chairman, Mr Bladeo Dookie, former Minister of Local Government and Agriculture, Mr Palanisamy Devan, national deputy chairman and Natal provincial leader, Mr Muthusam Thaver, national general secretary, Mr Narantuk Jumuna, national treasurer, Mr Salamuddi Abram, chairman of committees, and MPs Mr Ahomad Lambert and Mr I Dasoo.

They accused Mr Rajbansi of acting dictatorially in decision making and in running the party.

They hoped a new alliance of MPs could be put together to enhance the image of the House of Delegates and win a majority of support from the voters.

Mr Rajbansi denied the charge that he had been acting dictatorially and said people should not misinterpret strong leadership.

The first vote in which the NPP was defeated yesterday in the election of the Chairman of the House of Delegates. The NPP nominated Mr Boetie Abramjee, who lost by 18 votes to 23 to the Rev Edward Mannikam.

The second was the appointment of delegates to the electoral college for the election of the Speaker of Parliament. Here the NPP was defeated by 18 votes to 19.

action 19/5/87
**Man killed
in Mbekweni**

THE chairman of the Friends of Azanyu (Azanian National Youth Unity), Mr Taelo Ntlaba, 20, was shot dead in Mbekweni township, Paarl, on Friday night.

Police said his body was found with a wound in the back. A murder docket has been opened.

Mr Ntlaba was a matric pupil at St Francis Adult Education Centre, Langa. The funeral will be held on Thursday.

'The tough guys will push harder'

THE all-white elections, 1987 style, have come and gone.

Less than 10 percent of South Africans have cast their ballots, have chosen the party that will shape the future of the other 90 percent.

The elections as the UDF noted, were a "farce and side-show" in the face of the real issues.

But let us be clear on one thing. The results are profoundly disturbing for those interested in a democratic future for our country. Whites have not just been stampeded into the laager by threats of ANC and SA Communist Party domination, "terrorist" infiltration, and "foreign meddling" in internal affairs.

AS the tough get tougher after last week's election results, a UDF representative argues that the only viable alliance is the coalition against apartheid.

The shooting of SATS workers, raids into Frontline states, banning of May Day rallies,

beating of white and black students on the liberal campuses even the macho NP image could

not stop a lurch further right by white voters. The rise of the ultra-right Conservative Party spells

serious trouble for the democratic majority.

We can now expect the tough-guy image of the ruling party to be pushed even harder. The NP will try to show that it can clean things up.

It is our children, our students and youth, and the organisations that speak for us, who will be the immediate victims. The crackdown will be fierce and vicious.

Try as they might, the liberal and right-wing press could not keep the majority out of the elections. Slowly but surely, the resistance forced itself into the headlines.

Here in the Western Cape we saw the lauch of the S A Youth Congress, the National Education Crisis Committee and the UDF Women's Congress.

Nationally, there was the SATS strike, the Soweto stay-away against rent evictions, the two-day protest by a million workers and students on May 5 and 6.

Empty

The NP political programme is as empty as ever. It is a programme of war against South Africa's people. Behind the NP lurk the shadow generals and the JMC structures that reach into every township and street.

The elections also destroyed a number of myths. The PFP's "turbo-charged" campaign of publicity-hype collapsed under its own contradictions. In the face of the NP onslaught, the PFP offered its supporters the dream of an alliance-led government, Gatscha Buthelezi the "peacemaker" sunny skies and braai vleis. Hardly a word about the harsh events of the day.

Confusion

There were plenty of arguments to show that the vote is unnecessary for democracy. There was the old rehashed spectre of mindless mob rule as the only alternative to change through parliament. No wonder many PFP supporters abstained in confusion and disillusionment.

Majority

These actions involved many more South Africans than the number who voted Nat and all in the face of police repression and disruption! The only viable anti-apartheid force is the extra-parliamentary majority. No one can pretend the task will be easy. There are, however, no short-cuts. The only workable alliance is the coalition against apartheid led by Cosatu, the UDF and NECC. The only road is mass-based democratic organisation.

There is another sign of hope. There are some whites who have begun to hear this message. As UCT students showed, there are whites prepared to fight for this future. A tiny minority, perhaps, but after all, these are the patriots who will be remembered when we do eventually live in a non-racial, democratic and united South Africa. As undoubtedly we shall

LETTERS — Address all letters to PO Box 13094, Sir Lowry Road, 7900

Lessons 'lost on voters'

THE fixed "whites-only" elections of May 6 have produced predictable results.

Since 1910 the majority of voters have supported parties which, they feel, can provide security and protection of the wealth and privilege they alone enjoy in South Africa.

The eclipse of the other parties which could not fulfil this role underlines the determination of the vast majority of voters to secure a type of government that will not hesitate to crush the democratic freedom movement surging through the ranks of the oppressed people and their allies.

The lessons of 1984-86 have been lost upon voters. They are blinded by "race" and colour prejudice. They owe their wealth and privilege to 26 million disenfranchised, exploited poor who reject the policies of all these parties including those of the "official" government and opposition.

The voters' fear of losing all this has once again driven them to shelter inside military, mental and moral laagers.

The increased vote for fascist rule should come as no surprise. This trend has persisted for decades. Voters preferred the mailed fist of the National and Conservative parties.

Armed apartheid is what they were offered; armed apartheid is what they chose.

Before the elections the New Unity Movement declared that "the election is devised to place in power a government that will maintain the present order of society".

That is precisely what May 6 showed. And it is all done in the name of "extending democracy to all South Africans".

We in the New Unity Movement, reject this election with contempt.

The ranks of fascism have been closed. Democratic forces must likewise close their ranks and forge relentlessly forward to full and equal citizenship for all in South Africa. Then and only then, can peace and prosperity come to South Africa.

R O Dudley
President
New Unity Movement

Support for Wynberg 8

THIS letter is addressed to the pupils of Wynberg and Athlone high schools who have become known as the "Wynberg 8" and to their families and friends.

We endorse the plea of the 30 000 people who have asked the Chief Justice to grant you leave to appeal against the prison sentences imposed on you for action arising from the schools turmoil of 1985 when you were all still under 18 years of age.

We have followed your case through the past year and our monitors have come to know you as members of caring families in a supportive and responsible community — but a community now roused to anger at the harshness of the sentences imposed.

We feel concern for your families in the stress they have already suffered and that which may lie ahead. We feel deep concern too for you in your loss of education.

Nevertheless, we feel sure that the support of your families and your community and their faith in you will enable you to come strengthened through this experience, if your petition should fail.

We have to believe that this will not be the case, but that we will all be given "the confidence that we want to have in the courts of our country".

Muriel Crewe
Black Sash, Western Cape.

ICR 5/11/87

Eighth defendant testifies in Delmas

Azapo man denies 'grand conspiracy'

By Adele Baleta

DELMAS — The former Vaal chairman of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) has denied that a meeting in Evaton in 1984 was part of a grand conspiracy by anti-apartheid organisations to overthrow the State.

Mr Oupa John Hlomuka (33) is in the dock in the Delmas treason trial.

Yesterday he was the eighth of the remaining 19 accused to testify.

All have pleaded not guilty to the main charge of high treason and alternative charges of terror-

ism, subversion and murder arising from the Vaal Triangle unrest of September 1984.

Mr Hlomuka, an insurance salesman before his detention in December 1984, said the meeting on August 26 discussed the rent issue.

He denied it was called by Azapo, the United Democratic Front (UDF) the African National Congress (ANC) and South African Communist party to bring about bloody revolution.

He spoke at the meeting on a resolution urging a boycott of town councillors' businesses.

Co-accused, the Rev Tebogo Geoffrey Mose-lane, had told the meeting the youth should not involve themselves in the rent protest.

Nemzer case: mother gets custody of boys

By Don Holliday

Sarah Nemzer yesterday won a day action in the Rand Supreme Court to regain custody of two young sons from her ex-husband, the boys' father.

The father, Mr Terry Rendel, is ordered to pay the costs of the parties.

Mrs Nemzer tearfully hugged her new husband as judgment was pronounced in her favour. Mr Rendel fainted in the courtroom minutes after Mr Justice JP Roux returned.

DIVORCED

Mrs Nemzer and her husband, Victor Nemzer, travelled from England for the case.

Mr Rendel had brought the children, one aged seven, the other five, to South Africa in 1985 from London, promising his ex-wife he would return them. He did not.

The couple were divorced in a rabbinical court in Israel, where Mrs Nemzer had stayed on a kibbutz. Mrs Nemzer married her present husband and they moved to England.

Mr Justice Roux said he believed the interests of the children would best be served by their being placed in the custody of their mother and granted an order to this effect.

Lengthy affidavits were filed by both parties. In one, Mr Rendel alleged Mrs Nemzer and her husband had a dagga habit and that she was not a fit mother. This affidavit was described by the court as "a muck-raking endeavour".

Mrs Nemzer had impressed the court as a frank, mature and honest witness. She had admitted smoking dagga once as a student, which the court accepted as a single youthful experience.

Mr Nemzer was described by Mr Justice Roux as honest, truthful and "an impressive figure".

Mr Rendel's performance showed he was prepared to go to almost any lengths to gain custody.

His dishonouring his promise to return the children to their mother showed he had acted in his own interest without regard for the children, the court found.

Mr Hlomuka said Mr Mose-lane urged that a petition be drawn up calling on Lekoa Town councillors to resign.

He also spoke of applying for a court interdict to block threatened rent rises.

Mr Hlomuka denied the meeting resolved to hold a stayaway and a march to the council offices in Houtkop, Sebokeng.

Pamphlets were not distributed at the meeting and there were no stickers, Mr Hlomuka said.

He said he had not believed a stayaway would be effective.

Such a protest would have affected his wife and mother, who both had jobs, and his two children.

Mr Hlomuka said the first he knew of the stayaway was the morning of September 3 when he went to a shop near his Sebokeng home and realised a stayaway was in force.

The trial started in June 1985 and most accused have been in detention since 1984.

Last year three of the original "Delmas 22" — Mr Simon Villakazi, Mr Mohapi More and Mr Mkhambi Malindi — were discharged after the judge, Mr Justice van Dijkhorst, delivered judgment on an application for the release of all accused.

(Proceeding).

11A

POLICE said recent claims by Mrs Winnie Mandela about an attempt on her life could have been made merely "to get her name into the Press."

This was said by Brigadier J J Beeslaar, chief of the Soweto CID during a Press conference at Protea police station yesterday. He was referring to reports carried by the *Sowetan* last week.

According to the reports, Mrs Mandela said two hooded men wearing tracksuits tried to kill her at or near her

'Winnie seeks publicity'

**SOWETAN
Reporter**

new home in Orlando West last Monday night.

Brigadier Beeslaar said police have tried, since the article appeared to make contact with Mrs Mandela, but in vain.

"At this stage, it appears that she makes the allegations to get her name in the papers," the brigadier said.

He added that a senior police officer was

appointed to contact her and "investigate the matter fully" but a woman at Mrs Mandela's had been answering the phone saying Mrs Mandela would be available later.

He said all the attempts to reach Mrs Mandela failed and therefore led the police to doubt Mrs Mandela's allegations.

In reacting to the police allegations about seeking publicity, Mrs

Mandela said: "This would be the last arena for me to try and get publicity from. I have had so many confrontations with the security police that I would be silly to use such an arena to seek publicity."

Police

Mrs Mandela said she would not go to report to the police because she did not think anything would come of that. She claimed that the day

when she encountered the gunmen she had a youth with her, there was the driver of the bus and two nightwatchmen who could freely corroborate her story.

"It is a figment of their imagination to think I would make this up," Mrs Mandela said after claiming that her lawyers had since traced the owners of the two cars that were seen outside her new house on that day.



**BRIG Beeslaar . . .
Press conference.**

Chissano asks Thatcher to push for SA talks with ANC

May 1987

The Star Bureau
Mozambique has urged Britain to continue pressing the South African Government to open talks with the ANC in an effort to achieve a negotiated settlement.

"We believe this is also a form of struggle," President Joaquim Chissano said yesterday.

Speaking the day after talks with Mrs Thatcher and Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe, the Frelimo leader said he

shared with the British leader a desire for "democracy, peace and equality" in southern Africa.

He conceded there were "little differences" between himself and Mrs Thatcher over the best means to achieve this.

"I know she opposes violence," he said. "We would also prefer there to be no violence but the South African regime is violent and she would say sanctions do not work, while we say they

do work if they are applied under certain conditions.

"But these are slight differences so I urged her to persuade the Government of South Africa to talk with the ANC and other democratic forces to bring them to a negotiated solution.

"We believe South Africa is insensible to goodwill. All attempts at dialogue have failed and some kind of pressure has to be exerted. Mrs Thatcher believes she has to work through persuasion."

He added that the British leader "undertook" to urge Pretoria to cease acts of destabilisation in southern Africa.

President Chissano confirmed that a delegation of Mozambicans would attend the next Commonwealth summit in Vancouver later this year as observers.

Asked if Mozambique would favour a new Commonwealth diplomatic mission on South Africa, he said:

"I do not think the conditions have been created for a new attempt. There are many possibilities but a lot of work will have to be done before new steps are taken."

US clash over Maputo

The Star Bureau
WASHINGTON — Sharp differences between conservatives and the US State Department over American policy on Mozambique have held up the appointment of a new American ambassador to Maputo.

At the heart of the dispute is the Reagan Administration's attitude towards MNR rebels. Conservatives claim the MNR is the only major Third World anti-communist rebel movement not receiving US assistance — even though, they say, it is closer to victory than any US-supported group in Angola, Nicaragua, Afghanistan or Cambodia.

However Reagan policy, directed by Assistant Secretary of State Dr Chester Crocker, is that Washington deals only with Mozambique's internationally recognised government in Maputo and that MNR history raises serious questions about its commitment to peace.

"Renamo has proved that it can destroy — but there is no credible evidence it can build or that that it has any significant support within Mozambique," a Reagan official said.

Ethiopia (117)
will train
ANC men

HARARE — Ethiopia was prepared to train up to 10,000 fighters for the South African liberation movements, Zimbabwean Prime Minister Mr Robert Mugabe said yesterday.

Home from a four-day visit to Ethiopia which he described as one of the most important visits to an African country, Mr Mugabe said it was up to the liberation movements.

He said the Ethiopian leader, Colonel Mengistu Haile Mariam, had said he was prepared to stop training of his own soldiers overnight at the main base where 15,000 were being trained for a year and to make that available to the ANC. — The Star's Africa News Service.

Cape Times 20/5/87 11A

Confidence debate doubts

HOUSE OF DELEGATES. — The Leader of the Opposition, Dr J N Reddy, gave notice yesterday that he would move for a vote of no confidence in the Ministers' Council.

Today's no-confidence debate is seen as critical to the leadership of Mr Amichand Rajbansi following the defection of six senior members of his party to the opposition ranks this week.

Two independent members who had previously aligned themselves to the majority National People's Party also declared that they would be supporting the opposition in the debate.

However, rumours were circulating yesterday that three of the defectors — Mr N Jumuna, Mr G

Thaver and Mr I C Dasoo — would return to support the NPP. None of the three was prepared to comment on the rumours.

If the three defectors return to the NPP, the party will have 20 members and the probable support of five independents.

The combined opposition of Solidarity, the Progressive Reform Party and two independents would then be 19 members.

Should the NPP be defeated in the debate, the State President, Mr P W Botha, will have the option to dissolve the House and call for elections or to reconstitute the Ministers' Council.

In the House of Representatives, the leader of the Opposition, Mr Denis de la Cruz, gave

notice that he would present a motion of no confidence in the government today.

Mr De la Cruz, who is the leader of the Democratic Workers Party, also associated himself with a motion by the Chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House, Mr Allan Hendrickse, expressing regret at the death of the former Minister of Environment Affairs, Mr John Wiley.

The House also appointed Mr Arthur Stanley as the new chairman of committees and Mr Reginald O'Reilly as the new deputy chairman of committees. The vacancies arose when the former chairman of committees, Mr Jac Rabie, resigned from the Labour Party earlier this year. — Sapa

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Divided House of Delegates heads for chaos

By BRUCE CAMERON
Political Staff

11A

THE House of Delegates was heading for chaos today as members shifted allegiances against a background of claims and counter-claims of intimidation, including death threats.

As the political parties manoeuvred for advantage there was still no clear indication whether the majority of members would support a motion of no confidence in Mr Amichand Rajbansi's administration on Friday.

The leader of Solidarity, Mr J N Reddy, is to introduce the motion of no confidence later today and the three-day debate will end with a vote on Friday.

If Mr Rajbansi is defeated Mr Reddy could be asked by President Botha to form a new Ministers' Council or an election could be called for the House of Delegates.

Mr Rajbansi claimed that three of the members who left his National People's Party on Monday to help to defeat him in two important motions, including the election of the chairman, were back with his party.

However, there was no clarity on this move and it appeared that other members of his party could still defect to Solidarity, with some doing a "double bounce".

"IT'LL BE CLOSE"

No one was prepared to make firm predictions today about the vote on Friday, except to say it would be close.

Mr Yunus Moola, Solidarity's chief whip, today demanded that Mr Rajbansi resign.

"He has already suffered two defeats. He is morally obliged to resign. It is unseemly for all this seesawing in the House of Delegates."

Mr Salamuddi Abram-Mayat, a Labour Party member who supported Mr Rajbansi but who has joined the ranks of Solidarity, said today: "The sort of coercion and the tactics taking place are terrible.

"People are being threatened. Their families, even the children, are being threatened to prop up an individual who couldn't care about anyone but himself," he said.

Mr Mayat said he was not accusing Mr Rajbansi of being involved in the threats.

But he said that some people, including civil servants, were making threats and trying to intimidate members who had crossed the floor.

Anti-ANC petitioners 'harassed'

Members of the National Student Federation, which is collecting signatures at universities to petition the ANC to abandon terrorism, say their tables were overturned and posters destroyed yesterday.

The incidents took place on the Wits and Natal university campuses, said NSF executive member Mr Mark Heaton.

"Our table was surrounded by a crowd consisting mainly of Black Student Society and SRC members. Pamphlets, posters and copies of the petition forms were snatched from the table and burnt," said an NSF statement.

"Calls came from the mob that those manning the table should be necklaced. Wits security were present, but made no attempt to intervene.

"We demand to know from the respective administrations why they appear to be tacitly supporting these radicals — who have no less than utter contempt for basic freedoms — by taking no action against them?"

The Black Student Society and the Wits SRC could not be reached for comment at the time of going to Press this morning.

Belafonte pays tribute to Winnie Mandela

The Star Bureau
WASHINGTON — American singer and anti-apartheid activist Harry Belafonte has declared his love for Soweto's Mrs Winnie Mandela, in the latest edition of the respected men's magazine, *Esquire*.

Belafonte, one of 14 men who wrote about "The women we love" in a cover article of *Esquire's* June issue, said it was her spiritual presence which attracted — "I know I speak for the thousands of men who are in love with that spirit."

Mrs Mandela found herself included in a gallery of admired women such as actress Diane Keaton, vixen Joan Col-

lins, the singing Pointer Sisters, US vice-presidential wife Mrs Barbara Bush, and new-face Isabella Rossellini.

DIGNITY

Wrote Mr Belafonte: "The more that I learn about the dignity with which Winnie Mandela confronts the South African Government's cruel attempts to crush her spirit, the more I become convinced that she is among the most remarkable women of the century."

She was a woman of honesty, eloquence and warmth, he said.

From his earliest conversations with her, through letters sent secretly from South Africa,

"she gave me her sacred trust, she made me understand that her ability to endure is inextricably bound to her love for her husband, Nelson, a man who has been sentenced to life in jail and has been unavailable to her for 25 years.

"This love has transformed itself into the courage to confront an injustice that can only be compared to the pain inflicted by Nazi Germany," he said.

"... there's no question that the woman possesses great physical beauty, but it is her spiritual presence that commands our attention."

The tribute was accompanied by a full-page photographic portrait of Mrs Mandela.

11A
2/1/77

Son before dad on Sisulu's 75th

BY MONO BADELA

ALBERTINA Sisulu, president of the United Democratic Front, will not visit her husband, Walter, in Pollsmoor prison as he celebrates his 75th birthday on Monday.

Her son Zwelakhe, sitting in a Sandton police station cell, needs her more. She will be visiting him instead.

Zwelakhe, editor of *New Nation*, was detained six months ago.

However, Walter Sisulu, regarded as the kingpin of the banned African National Congress, will not be alone.

"Even if I will not be there Walter will celebrate his birthday in grand style," Sisulu told *Weekly Mail*.

With a husband, three sons and a 17-year-old grandson imprisoned, Sisulu carries on her work as the co-president of the UDF.

Mrs Sisulu has seen Zwelakhe once since he was detained on December 12 last year. She saw her husband for two hours during Easter.

One of South Africa's most important political prisoners, Walter Max Vuyisile Sisulu, is set to celebrate his 75th birthday in style.

"All his children as well as his daughter-in-law Eleanor, who is flying from London, will celebrate the event with him. They will all be with him — the grandchildren as well.

"My baby Nonkululeko (Freedom), who is now studying at the University of the Western Cape, has already ordered the special birthday cake for the old man.

"It has been iced with the words 'To our beloved father, Walter, from Mama and children'," she added.

(11A) in (Mg) |
229 15-21/5/87

Seeking a better tomorrow

By MIKE LOEWE, Port Elizabeth

SOUTH AFRICA would continue to endure senseless pain and violence until democratic white and black South Africans began to concur on the idea of a non-racial democracy, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert said at the weekend at the first conference of his Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa.

South Africa was governed by a profoundly undemocratic system which could not understand and hence feared the non-racial, democratic alternative. Idasa had to erode that fear among whites by showing them that the solution lay outside undemocratic structures.

Some 350 delegates from an array of South

African organisations and foreign groups participated in the conference. The real effect will lie in spin-offs, such as in-depth seminars on education, business and law.

Idasa, Slabbert noted, was not a mobilising organisation. Its conference was a first attempt for people who had no knowledge of events beyond parliament to identify the extra-parliamentary struggle for a non-racial democracy. After familiarising themselves with it, he hoped they would begin to take part in the debate. — East Cape News Agency

The UDF outlines its dream for democracy

IN one of its most explicit public policy statements to date, the United Democratic Front last weekend unveiled its vision of mass-participatory democracy in a post-apartheid South Africa.

This vision, insisted acting publicity secretary Murphy Morobe, was grounded on the grassroots organisations already operating in townships. "What is possible in the future depends on what we are able to create today," he said. "The creation of democratic means is for us as important as having democratic ends."

Morobe's speech — delivered on his behalf at the first conference of Frederik van Zyl Slabbert's extra-parliamentary Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa — came one day after the National Party's landslide election victory. He rejected parliament as a democratic forum, both in its present form and as a future model.

Parliament, argued Morobe, had become illegitimate "since the very first whites-only Union government of 1910 gave political shape to and confirmed the process of colonial conquest and land dispossession that had taken place over the three previous centuries". The subsequent banning of the African National Congress, clampdown on the UDF and State of Emergency had confirmed this illegitimacy.

Furthermore, he said, parliament had become irrelevant. Real power lay in the "executive and absolute powers vested in the state president, backed up by a national security system of joint management committees under the State Security Council (dominated by the police and army)". The security forces, given sweeping powers under the Emergency, "with vigilantes and impimpis (informers) at their disposal, are unelected, unmandated and unaccountable," Morobe said.

"There can be no democratic alternatives in this country as long as these forces continue to exist."

Majority rule, Morobe said, did not mean black faces would simply replace white faces in parliament. He spurned constitutional models which sought to make political representation more non-racial "without any real transference of power away from the small elite which has the present monopoly."

"Our democratic aim is control over every aspect of our lives," he explained. "The key to a democratic system lies in being able to say that the people in our country cannot only vote for a representative of their choice, but also feel that they have some direct control over where and how they live, eat, sleep, work, how they get to work, how they and their children are educated, what the content of that education is."

"We are talking about direct as opposed to indirect political representation, mass participation rather than passive docility and ignorance, a momentum where people feel that they can do the job themselves, rather than waiting for their local MP to intercede on their behalf."

He said the "rudimentary organs of people's power" such as street committees, defence committees, shop-steward structures, student represen-

Some 350 delegates from a variety of organisations met at the weekend under the umbrella of Frederik van Zyl Slabbert's new 'think tank' to discuss ideas for a future without discrimination. JO-ANN BEKKER reports

townships" by building parks, clearing rubble and even collecting rent to build new houses and facilities for township residents.

Morobe said the difficulties of "organising democratically at gunpoint" were obvious: with most meetings banned, most officials in jail or underground, "the need for tight security and secrecy obviously puts a strain on the development of a mass-based democratic practice".

However, he said the basic principles of organisational democracy remained intact — leaders had to be elected at periodic intervals and collective, consultative leadership, where leaders were strictly accountable to their membership, was striven for. Members had the right to differ, but once a decision had been voted on within an organisation all members were expected to abide by it.

"Democracy in South Africa can only survive if it tackles the existing unequal relations of power and privilege as well as the issue of political representation and individual freedom," Morobe said.

Thus, he added, many in the UDF supported the ideals of the Freedom Charter, adopted by the Congress of the People in 1955. The Charter, he said, had called for the nationalisation of the mines and major industries, as a way of asserting a "democratic solution" to the "gross inequalities" caused by the combination of political discrimination and economic exploitation, which had resulted in "one of the highest rates of profit in the world and one of the most skewed distributions of income and resources".

But while Morobe outlined the UDF's goals, he gave no indication of how it hoped to achieve them in the face of the security crackdown widely endorsed by the white electorate last week.

"Against these odds," he said, "it is important to remember that Davids have defeated Goliaths before and will do so again. Few weapons are more powerful than mass participation and unity in action against the common enemy."



Legal Resources Centre director Arthur Chaskalson — a real democracy would need a new legal system
Picture: STEVE HILTON-BARBER, Atrapix

A legal system that protects the poor

By JO-ANN BEKKER

A REAL democracy in South Africa would need a new legal system more responsive to the basic needs of the poor, according to Arthur Chaskalson SC, national director of the Legal Resources Centre.

Addressing the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa conference in Port Elizabeth last weekend, Chaskalson outlined the features he believed should be contained in a fairer legal system.

"The composition of the courts should be altered to reflect the composition of society. At present although there were some black magistrates, all Supreme Court judges were white."

"While apartheid exists black lawyers will be reluctant to accept judicial appointments. But in a truly democratic South Africa there should be no such reluctance," Chaskalson said.

"Black people could act as lay assessors to address the historical problem of a disproportionate number of white judicial officers. The reintroduction of juries in serious criminal trials could be considered. Simplified, possibly informal procedures could be used for small civil claims and minor criminal charges."

"The present influx of black lawyers into the overwhelmingly white legal profession should continue and be encouraged."

"Legal aid would be essential to ensure equal access to the courts. Funds would have to be provided for legal services on a wider basis than is available now, especially in criminal cases."

"Informal structures which would enable the legal profession to provide effective services to all sectors of the population could also be considered. For example, de-professionalisation — educating communities to decide for themselves when and how to take recourse to the law."

"But the court system, administered by trained, independent and competent lawyers, should not in my view be tampered with," Chaskalson stressed.

"It is the ultimate protection against a denial of freedom; it is the ultimate protection against bad government or overbearing bureaucrats. It is the most effective institution for the resolution of conflict within society, and it should be given the status and the

power to perform these functions effectively."

He stressed, however, that there could be no perfect justice. "The conflicting interests of those living in a modern society are such that it is not possible to reconcile these interests through laws which will satisfy all who are subject to them. The limited resources particularly of underdeveloped countries impose additional constraints upon what can be achieved by governments."

Chaskalson said the claim sometimes made that South Africa was a democratic country was "demonstrably false. Neither of the fundamental requirements of democracy are satisfied. The sovereign power of government does not vest in the people as a whole, and the people living in South Africa do not have equal rights."

"The laws of South Africa reflect the policies which have been pursued by white governments over the years in their attempt to impose and retain white domination. Those laws do not have the consent of the vast majority of people who are governed by them and this is the cause of the instability in the country."

But, Chaskalson added, the status quo could "easily perpetuate itself under any new system of government, and is likely to do so, if the laws of the country do not meet the needs of the people living within its borders."

He said his vision of a democratic society was one where the power of government was vested in the people as a whole, where residents had equal rights protected by the law. Freedoms would be protected, social and economic rights of the disadvantaged would be promoted through the law and legal system.

Courts would act as a bulwark between the individual and the state — regulating conflict, protecting freedoms and promoting justice. "It is a democracy in which the courts will administer a modern egalitarian legal system which guarantees and does not merely proclaim rights to all."

"If there is to be a different type of democracy," he concluded, "there may have to be a different type of legal system."

ON OTHER PAGES

Actually, the electorate has moved to the LEFT.

PAGE 8

The glum soul of the white liberal

PAGE 16



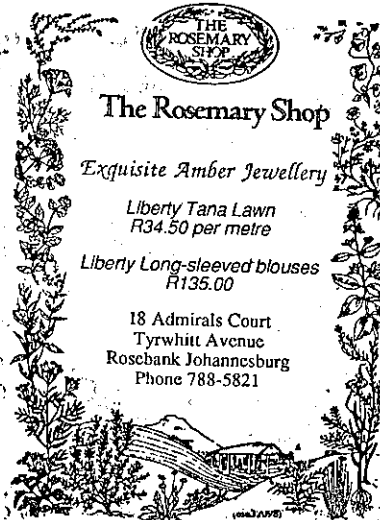
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15-21/5/87

~~11A~~ 11A

WJ Mail

Funds investigation into embattled paper

By GAYE DAVIS,
Cape Town

OUTDSHOORN'S grassroots community newspaper, *Saamstaan*, has been publishing for three years — despite the refusal of local concerns to print it, repeated raids on its offices, the detention of staffers and other harassment. Now it faces a new threat: it is one of several organisations under investigation for possible contravention of the fundraising act.

This week the newspaper was paid a visit by an inspector from the Department of National Health and Population Development, who arrived with a letter stating he had ministerial authorisation to investigate the newspaper's affairs.

"He wanted to know where we got our money from and wanted to see our books," *Saamstaan's* full-time organiser, Derek Jackson, told the *Weekly Mail*. "I gave him the names of the two Roman Catholic church organisations in the Netherlands who sponsor us and told him we weren't so sophisticated as to have a book-keeping system. He said he would be back.

"We don't know what will happen if they act against *Saamstaan*, but you can be sure of one thing: we will continue to publish," Jackson said.

The newspaper's history is short, but studded with a series of run-ins with the state, of which the visit by the man from the ministry is only the latest.

It was started in 1983 with the help of Cape Town journalists Rashid Seria and Mansoor Jaffer, who had earlier successfully launched the Western Cape community newspaper, *Grassroots*.

After extensive consultation with organisations operating in the region, the staff produced a pilot edition — a single tabloid sheet, printed in Afrikaans and called *Suidkaap Nuus*.

"There was overwhelming support for it, so it was decided to go ahead," Jackson said. The name *Saamstaan*

— Afrikaans for "stand together" — was chosen at a meeting of community representatives in Mossel Bay in late January, 1984. That year, six editions appeared, dealing with community opposition to the tri-cameral elections, housing and other grievances and non-racial sport, issues rarely if ever covered by the commercial newspapers in the region and destined to attract much attention from the state.

In December 1984, Jackson and staffer Humphrey Joseph were among 25 people charged with attending an illegal gathering. They were finally acquitted in November 1985.

Also in 1985 *Saamstaan's* offices in Oudtshoorn's coloured township, Bridgeton, were damaged by fire on three separate occasions. That September, Jackson, Joseph and treasurer Louis Noemdoe were all detained under section 29 of the Internal Security Act. Joseph and Noemdoe were charged with subversion; they were acquitted in February 1986.

The day after his acquittal, Joseph was re-arrested and charged with contravening the Police Act. The case was concluded earlier this month. Joseph was found guilty and fined R100 (or 25 days) suspended for three years. The court heard he had written an article, headlined "Children Cruelly Shot", which had stated incorrectly that three — instead of two — youths had been shot by police in Oudtshoorn's Bongoletu Township.

See the
WEEKLY MAIL
CLASSIFIEDS

New Lebowa party ^(11A)armed, say students

15-21/87 W/M/CA
THE South African Youth Congress is mobilising its members against the Venda Youth Organisation, feared by Sayco as a "military-trained vigilante organisation", and Lebowa's new party, Thari ya Sechaba Cultural and Liberation Movement.

Thari, whose president is Lebowa's Chief Minister Dr Cedric Phatudi, is said to have replaced the ruling Lebowa People's Party. The movement was launched two weeks ago at Lebowakgomo in the wake of a growing vigilante threat in the area.

A large contingent of Lebowa police

By THAMI MKHWANAZI

attended the launch of Thari. The name of the movement, whose stated objective is to "uplift and unite people of all races", translates as "cradle of the nation".

In a statement Sayco urged "people to defend themselves on all fronts" and "with everything" against the "legalised violence" of apartheid and the "collaborationist" regime. Sayco said this should be extended to President Patrick Mphedu's Youth Organisation and to Thari.

Sayco believes members of the Venda Youth Organisation are receiving military training at the Madimba Training Camp, Venda.

Sayco claims several people had been detained in Lebowa following Sayco's pamphleteering urging people not to attend Thari's launch. Throughout the opening the United Democratic Front was labelled a subversive organisation that had warned people not to go to the launch, an elaborate affair attended by civil servants and schoolchildren bused in free of charge. Schools and shops

were closed during the event.

Sayco, which has over 1 200 youth organisations under its banner, also claims that from April 23 to April 27 this year, a Venda youth training programme was arranged at Lepepe Holiday Resort in Venda. Recruits comprised one teacher and seven pupils from each school, in a structure encompassing five zones, the Sayco statement says.

Anti-African National Congress films were shown during the programme, depicting the suffering of "terrorists" outside the country.

VACANCIES

Ebrahim set free — then charged

By MONO BADELA

SENIOR African National Congress member Ebrahim Ismael Ebrahim has won his application for release from detention — only to be charged with high treason.

Ebrahim will be charged with treason and other offences relating to the Internal Security Act, the State Attorney announced yesterday after Mr Justice van Zyl heard argument on Wednesday in the Pretoria Supreme Court.

Ebrahim was abducted from Swaziland at gun-point by the South African police last December.

He has been in solitary confinement since December.

The application for his release was brought to court by Ebrahim's brother, Essop, and was piloted by civil rights lawyers, Ismail Mohammed, SC, and S Naidoo, instructed by Priscilla Jana.

The state also agreed to pay legal costs.

Another application will be lodged challenging the right of the state to charge Ebrahim in a South African court in the light of the fact that he was abducted and detained in violation of international law.

During a hearing in March Ebrahim was granted the right to speak to his lawyer and to have access to affidavits presented to the court pertaining to the application.

The application also called upon the court to restrain the South African police from assaulting or interrogating him.

The ruling, the first in South African history according to civil rights lawyers, was made by Mr Justice J Kriegler.

Huge council funds for 'unconventional' tactics

2000/11A W/Mail 15-21/87

By MONO BADELA

THE Tokoza Town Council on the East Rand has been using large sums of funding — as much as R700 000 — to pay agents to fight campaigns such as stayaways, rent and school boycotts.

This information is contained in a confidential report written for the attention of the administrator of the Transvaal in Pretoria.

The report is also meant for the attention of Constitutional Development and Planning Minister, Chris Heunis.

The money was used to try to combat the influence of the ANC, UDF and other political bodies within the black community.

The report was compiled by Tokoza mayor Gerald Mamabolo and acting town clerk Doris Thinane, apparently in response to a December 17 request from the administrator asking the mayor to submit representations in connection with alleged maladministration in the Tokoza Town Council.

It also reveals the mayor's actions, reacting to a threatened rent boycott and stayaway, were taken pursuant to a meeting held in Pretoria. The meeting was attended by a special security council committee appointed by Urban Councils Assn of SA and former Cooperation and Development Minister Dr P Koornhof. At that meeting, local authorities were urged to take

"appropriate steps" to counter the unrest situation by employing "extraordinary security measures".

"Security in Tokoza requires highly professional planning which can only be implemented by strategic and unconventional means," Mamabolo said.

He said it was imperative that the efforts of "dissidents and campaigners" be thwarted by trained personnel.

A sum of R210 000, plus registration fees amounting to R12 000, was used to purchase two houses in the name of the Tokoza Town Council and under a nominee. The houses were meant as venues to house senior police and security personnel whenever the need arose.

For the past six months, meetings have been held in these houses to plan strategies against groups fighting the council and allegedly creating unrest in the communities.

Large sums of money were spent to pay, accommodate, transport and feed personnel recruited to counteract any politically-motivated efforts allegedly aimed at causing the collapse

of the council.

In January police investigations revealed that, in fact, R1,3-million, almost double the original amount of R700 000, had allegedly gone astray. During that period, both the mayor and acting town clerk were picked up by Johannesburg Commercial Branch police and have been charged with theft. They subsequently appeared in the Johannesburg Regional Court charged in connection with the missing council funds. Both are out on bail.

Mamabolo said in the report that with regard to allegations of misappropriation of the R700 000, "we must advise that it is not possible to give detailed and accurate answers in this matter. We have, however, been trying to arrange an appointment with you (the administrator) to discuss this. At any time we are available to explain all payments and to furnish proof of such payments but this must be done personally and in confidence so as to ensure the safety of the persons involved."

He explained that the "unrest situation" had severely threatened national security in general and black township stability in particular.

Bombs probably brought from Botswana, says brigadier

Court blast may have been remote-controlled



Constable Weyers Botha (20) and his girlfriend, Creshanda Austen.

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By Mike Cohen and
Craig Kotze

Security Police experts believe the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court car bombs that killed three policemen and injured 15 people may have been brought by the ANC from Botswana.

Brigadier Hermann Stadler of Security Police headquarters in Pretoria, who is an expert on the banned African National Congress, said today: "Although investigations are at an early stage, I think it safe to say the bombs were brought from that country."

He did not elaborate on his reasons for believing this.

He said that because of the nature of the blast and the devastation it had caused, it was not yet possible to say whether the second blast was triggered by remote control.

A small-limpet mine exploded at about 12.30 pm outside the court building yesterday was followed by a second, massive blast.

"Because the first bomb had obviously been placed as a decoy to lure policemen to the scene, there is a strong possibility the second may have been detonated from a distance," the brigadier said.

On the lookout

"We have had this type of thing before ... but we will be on the lookout for something like this in future."

Police have launched a huge manhunt for the bombers.

Detectives are probing a possible link to Tuesday's Carlton Centre blast.

Critically injured Constable Cristoffel Botha (22), hurt in the magistrate's court blasts, is fighting for his life in the Johannesburg Hospital intensive care unit. Sergeant M Mello and Constables F Ernst (26) and W Kutsuwana are still in a serious condition.

The first explosive device was planted in a blue Renault 9 car; the second apparently inside a Volkswagen Jetta.

Those killed were Constables Kobus Wilkens (26), Weyers Botha (20) and Andre Duvenhage (26).

Constable Wilkens died on the scene, while the others died in hospital.

Still in hospital but out of danger are Mrs Clarissa Torro (30) and Miss Naomi Hoffman.

Those treated and discharged are Constable C Esterhuizen, Mr F Cronje (55), Mrs Mashadi Magubane, who is pregnant, Mrs Kata Chetty (28), Mr Terrence Sismey (58), Mr Thembe Dlamini (27), Mr David Montes (29) and Mr Johannes Moleke.



Police and firemen cordon off the blast area at the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court after the two lunch-hour bombs.

ANC says it knew nothing about attack

The Star's Africa News Service
LUSAKA — The African National Congress (ANC) said today it was not responsible for yesterday's double bomb blast which killed three policemen outside the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court.

A spokesman said the ANC "knew nothing about those bombs".

It was not the intention of the ANC to issue a formal statement on the bomb blasts because "they have nothing to do with us".

For more reports
and pictures see
Page 11.

Act of violence is condemned

The Johannesburg bomb blasts which killed three policemen were widely condemned by political parties today.

The Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok called the blasts "an unscrupulous deed in which the public became the victims of the ANC".

Mrs Helen Suzman, the Progressive Federal Party spokesman on Law and Order said it was "an appalling incident of violence and I can't condemn it strongly enough".

Botswana, says brigadier

Girlfriend sees policeman dying

By Toni Younghusband

A policewoman, called to assist at the scene of yesterday's bomb blast outside the Johannesburg Magistrates' Courts, arrived in time to see her critically injured boyfriend being carried away on a stretcher. He died later.

When Constable Creshanda Austen (20), who is attached to John Vorster Square, was called to the scene of the blast she did not realise her boyfriend, Constable Weyers Botha (20), had been injured in the explosion.

"I had just arrived when I saw them carrying Weyers past on a stretcher. I went with him to the ambulance then followed in a patrol van to the hospital," the heartbroken Miss Austen said.

Constable Botha did not regain consciousness. They had been going out for six months.

The pretty, blonde policewoman was at the home of Constable Botha's parents last night, holding on to his sister Michelle (17) for comfort.

"We were supposed to meet for lunch yesterday," Miss Austen said, sobbing.



Constable Weyers Botha (20) and his girlfriend, Creshanda Austen.

Controlled



if the blast area at the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court after the two lunch-hour bomb blasts yesterday.

'Harassed — say students



STUDENTS at display tables at three South African universities, set up to collect signatures for a petition to the ANC calling on it to abandon the use of "terrorism" as a means for achieving change in South Africa were attacked by students in what appears to have been "an orchestrated campaign" to prevent the petition from being signed.

A statement issued by the National Student Federation said the

21/5/87
incidents took place at Durban, Maritzburg and at the University of the Witwatersrand.

The Durban Students' Alliance (DSA) table was turned over, posters were torn down, and pamphlets were destroyed. DSA members were threatened with bodily harm, the statement claimed.

At Maritzburg, pamphlets, posters and copies of the petition forms were torn up and burnt, the statement said.

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Move against ANC at Rhodes

Post Reporter

A RIGHT-WING organ-
 isation at Rhodes Univer-
 sity in Grahamstown has
 launched a signature
 campaign against "the
 ANC and its terror cam-
 paign".

The Moderate Students'
 Organisation, an affiliate
 of the National Students'
 Federation (NSF), col-
 lected signatures yester-
 day in a shopping arcade
 in the central business
 district, opposite the
 Security Police offices.

MSO members also
 handed out pamphlets and
 stickers reading "I reject
 ANC terror".

An organiser said: "We
 have had quite a good re-
 sponse to our call and
 there have even been a
 number of blacks sign-
 ing."

He said the campaign
 was being organised
 countrywide by the NSF.

A spokesman for the
 Rhodes Students' Repre-
 sentative Council said the
 campaign was apparently
 timed to coincide with the
 fourth anniversary of the
 Pretoria car-bomb car-
 nage.

Representatives of the
 NSF had taken part in the
 wreath-laying ceremony
 during a commemorative
 service, he said.

● Launched on Rhodes
 campus last year, the
 MSO claims to be a non-
 party political organisa-
 tion which rejects social-
 ism in favour of a free
 market economic system.

The MSO is one of six
 university organisations
 affiliated to the National
 Students' Federation.

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CAPE TOWN 22/3/87 (11A)

MP 'kidnapped, brainwashed'

Political Staff

INDIAN politics were in turmoil again last night with allegations of intimidation and "kidnapping" as the National People's Party and Solidarity battled for control of the House of Delegates before today's vote of no confidence.

A weeping Mr Narantuk Jumuna crossed the floor for the third time in three days to side with Solidarity only a short while after Mr Amichand Rajbansi, Chairman of the Ministers' Council and leader of the NPP, issued a statement effectively suggesting that Mr Jumuna had been kidnapped and was being brainwashed.

But Mr Jumuna told the House he had been subjected to unbearable pressures by Mr Rajbansi over the past three years and he had nearly committed suicide.

Mr Salaam Abram Mayet later asked for the appointment of a select committee to establish whether Mr Rajbansi had breached parliamentary privilege.

He accused Mr Rajbansi of abusing his political power and said opposition MPs were getting "threatening telephone calls that their wives will be harmed".

He also claimed that a senior civil servant in the Depart-

ment of Education in Durban had been lobbying support for Mr Rajbansi in the battle for control of the delicately-balanced House of Delegates.

Mr Mayet was later accused of double-dealing by the Minister of the Budget, who said he should not have spoken about 'back-stabbing' because Mr Mayet was better at it than anyone else.

Mr Jumuna told the House he had been under tremendous pressure for some time because of suggestions by Mr Rajbansi that legislation was to be introduced to remove him from Parliament because

of a foreign court record.

Mr Rajbansi issued a statement yesterday that Mr Jumuna had "disappeared" from his home about 10pm on Wednesday.

He had been a conscientious NPP worker, who was being prevented from getting to his parliamentary office.

"It is clear that Mr Jumuna is being brainwashed by some people who are determined at any cost to occupy ministerial positions," he said.

"The very fact that Mr Jumuna has been prevented from coming to the Parliamentary building this morning indi-

cates that he is being held in captivity and people may be working on his mind to vote for Solidarity against the NPP.

"Such tactics make a mockery of the House of Delegates as energy and time is being used by position-seekers to the detriment of the community.

"Ever since we arrived in Cape Town, NPP members are being spirited away and kept in quarantine-type situations only to be released five minutes before Parliamentary sittings.

"They are then shepherded to particular positions in the House by escorts of the Opposition."



Mr Rajbansi

held in custody.

CAPL Times 22/5/87

Appeal dismissed

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BLOEMFONTEIN. — The Appeal Court here has dismissed the appeals of the two Sebokeng men convicted of culpable homicide for the death of three-week-old Blair Gordon, who died when his mother's car was stoned in Sebokeng on October 12, 1984. Themba Alfred Lata and Piet Mntambo were convicted by Mr Acting Justice W J Human in the Transvaal Supreme Court on June 7, 1985.

Inkatha claim dismissed

CAPL Times 22/5/87

NA

DURBAN. — A R20 000 damages claim made by the secretary-general of Inkatha, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, against Natal Newspapers after a report published in the Sunday Tribune last year was dismissed yesterday in the Supreme Court here. Inkatha was ordered to pay legal costs. Dr Dhlomo said a story headlined, "Two killed as violence flares — Inkatha clash with conference delegates" was understood by readers to be defamatory to Inkatha.

US to cut frontline aid after bomb?

CAR Times 22/5/87 (117) (22/5/87)

From SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON. — The US Senate yesterday voted overwhelmingly to ban economic aid to Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) members who harbour ANC terrorists.

The measure, which was adopted by an extraordinary 77-to-15 margin, reflected profound bipartisan ambivalence about the ANC's tactics in the wake of Wednesday's bombings in Johannesburg.

The proposal was offered by Senator Larry Pressler, a conservative Republican, who was among the tiny minority who opposed the comprehensive Anti-apartheid Act last year.

Even he was stunned by the support his motion received in the Democrat-controlled chamber, according to his press adviser, Mr Tim Hurd.

The measure bars economic aid to any SADCC nation judged by the president not to be "making its best effort" to stop ANC terrorists launching attacks on South Africa from its territory.

The countries must also openly denounce the practice of necklacing to be eligible for American assistance.



RECOVERY ... Bomb blast victim Constable Frederick Ernst is visited in hospital yesterday by Lieutenant General de Witt.

The proposal was adopted as an amendment to foreign-aid legislation that would give SADCC \$50 million (R100 million) in the current fiscal year.

The version of the legislation approved by the House of Representatives contains no similar anti-ANC proviso, so it is unclear whether the amendment will become law.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, was not available for comment last night.

Michael Hartnack reports from Harare that comment is not expected from the Zimbabwean government on the US

vote.

The Prime Minister, Mr Robert Mugabe, has consistently denied harbouring guerilla military cadres, although he permits the ANC and PAC to maintain offices.

It may be up to the American Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) to report to Congress on which frontline states are transgressing on the guerilla-aid rule.

Botswana also denies giving the ANC any military guerilla operational aid or harbouring its cadres. Zambia and Tanzania are likely to be the first frontline states of the SADCC to find their US aid imperilled.

□ Meanwhile, police confirmed yesterday they were working on the possibility of a remote-controlled device being used to detonate the bomb at the Johannesburg Magistrate's Courts which killed three policemen and injured civilians.

The spokesman also confirmed that they were looking into the possibility of certain members of the press being forewarned of the imminent blast.

He also stated that experts were still tied up in intensive investigations into what explosives had been used and could not say when investigations would be completed.

The ANC initially denied its involvement in the blasts, but later said it would not confirm or deny it till it had more details.

"As far as yesterday's bombings are concerned, we still have not yet received information from commanders of Umkhonto We Sizwe (the ANC's military wing) inside the country," an ANC spokesman said from the movement's Lusaka headquarters.

The spokesman said his office was "not in a position to confirm whether it was ours or not".

The spokesman could not say when this information might reach him.

"We have said that we are going to intensify the struggle. This will be on all fronts, including armed

From page 1

CAR Times 22/5/87 (117) (22/5/87)
struggle. It is clear even from the election and the views of the government as represented by P W Botha that the government is quite adamant that there cannot be anything positive. The struggle will hot up," he said.

Police have said they believe the bombs could have been brought from Botswana, but this has been strongly denied by the Botswana government.

The wife of Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok and high-ranking police officers toured both hospitals yesterday to visit the injured.

Constable Christoffel Botha, one of the policemen injured in the blasts who underwent an emergency operation and had a foot amputated, was still in a critical but stable condition, police said.

Constable F Ernst, Sergeant M S Mellow and Const W Kutuswana were out of danger while Ms Clarissa Torro, the only civilian still in hospital, is reported to be out of danger.

Mr Leon Mellet, spokesman for Mr Vlok, said there was an extensive manhunt on for the "murderers".

He said the minister did not doubt the blasts were the work of the ANC, as they were "typical of the kind of tactic the ANC would use and they show the cowardice and callousness typical of the ANC".

He said they were designed to be detonated in the same way as the car bomb that killed 22 people and injured more than 200 in Pretoria four years ago.

□ While the ANC is no longer the only organization responsible for explosions, this week's blasts were entirely consistent with the ANC's modus operandi, said Mr Tom Lodge of the University of the Witwatersrand.

To page 3

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press
May 1987

Editor fined for shaky story

THE editor of an Oudtshoorn community newspaper was this week convicted in the Mitchells Plain Regional Court of contravening the Police Act by publishing untrue statements concerning an incident in which two 11-year-old boys were shot dead by police.

Humphrey Joseph, 30, of New Extension Bridgeton, Oudtshoorn, the editor of Saamstaan, was fined R100 (or 25 days), suspended for three years.

The court heard that Joseph had written an article headlined "Children cruelly shot" based on the account of Norman Mooi, who had been a co-accused in the matter, but was discharged at the end of the State's case.

Mooi said he had seen two children approach the house empty-handed and were shot by the police. He had seen a policeman emerge from the house with a container of petrol and later saw the container next to the body of one child.

Mooi went to the newspaper office and told Joseph what he had seen. Constable Barend Cilliers said the police were moving WO Mngoma's possessions when some children had stoned the house.

Two boys approached the front door and one sprinkled petrol on the carpet and while the other was about to strike a match, the police shot him. The other boy was shot running away.

The police denied they had placed a container of petrol next to one of the bodies.

The Magistrate, JD Beyers, said there was no doubt that there were untruths about police action published in the story. - Sapa.

NR6US 22/5/87

Sick members called in for crucial vote

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Political Staff

THE fight for control of the House of Delegates reached new levels today when even sick members were called in to take part in the key no-confidence debate as the crisis in Indian politics moved to a climax.

Mr Gopie Munsook, who this week crossed the floor from the Solidarity Party to the beleagured National Peoples Party, and who is recovering from heart illness, arrived soon after the debate started.

To cancel out his vote, Solidarity said were trying to establish whether Dr M S Padayachee, a former NPP Minister and now a Solidarity supporter, could be brought to Parliament from his hospital bed in Cape Town.

He is recovering from a heart bypass operation.

Meanwhile, the chairman of the House of Delegates, Mr Edward Manikkum, said today he would permit a motion asking for a select committee to investigate an alleged breach of privilege by NPP leader Amichand Rajbansi for claiming that Mr Narantuk Jumuna had been abducted and brainwashed by Solidarity.

Mr Rajbansi's NPP could be defeated in a vote of no-confidence after unprecedented intrigue and political manoeuvring both in and out of Parliament.

The police have been called in to give Indian MPs extra protection after claims of threats and intimidation, and allegations of abduction and "brainwashing".

Members have been changing sides almost daily.

If a vote of no-confidence is approved, President P W Botha is likely to intervene, either to appoint a new administration under Solidarity or to call an election.

A spokesman for the State President's Office said President Botha had no comment to make.

There have been accusations by members that the happenings in the House are harming its standing and giving strength to such extra-parliamentary groupings as the Natal Indian Congress, which backed a boycott of the tricameral system.

Key to the outcome of today's no-confidence debate vote was the position of the four-member Progressive Reform Party.

Party secretary Mamoo Rajab MP said they were likely to support Solidarity but were awaiting a commitment that there would be a commission of inquiry into claims of



Mr Narantuk Jumuna outside Parliament today.

corruption and misuse of power, particularly in education and housing.

Solidarity Chief Whip, Mr Yuus Moolla, today firmly rejected claims by Mr Rajbansi that Solidarity had kidnapped anyone, spirited them away or "kept them in a quarantine-type situation only to be released five minutes before parliamentary sessions".

Earlier, Mr Narantuk Jumuna MP claimed that a killing he committed 24 years ago was being used to pressure him into remaining loyal to the beleagured NPP.

Mr Jumuna, who was alleged earlier to have "disappeared" and been "brainwashed", was in hiding early today in a Cape Town hotel.

Clearly upset, Mr Jumuna, who was in tears yesterday in the House of Delegates when he reacted angrily to insinuations made by Mr Rajbansi, rejected claims that he had been kidnapped or brainwashed by the Solidarity Party to make him switch sides.

He said he had told Parliament yesterday that he had nearly been driven to suicide because of pressure on him by the use of "the tragedy in my life".

Referring to his conviction on a charge of manslaughter for killing his Irish girlfriend and chopping up her body, Mr Jumuna said he had been "in my weakest spot".

Mr Rajbansi has rejected demands for a judicial investigation into the flood of accusations of misadministration in the House of Delegates and the amazing battle for the control of the House.

In a brief interview following four days of mounting pressure, he said: "The only way for this to be sorted out is for the House of Delegates to be dissolved."

US to end aid for ANC's supporters?

18/5/82
11/11

Dispatch Correspondent

WASHINGTON — The US Senate yesterday voted overwhelmingly to ban economic aid to Southern African Development Co-ordinating Conference (SADCC) members who harbour African National Congress terrorists.

The measure, which was adopted by an extraordinary 77 to 15 margin, reflected profound bipartisan ambivalence about the ANC's tactics in the wake of Wednesday's bombing in Johannesburg.

The proposal was offered a conservative Republican who was among the tiny minority who opposed the comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act last year.

However, even he was stunned by the support his motion received in the Democrat controlled chamber, according to his press adviser.

The measure bars economic aid to any SADCC nation judged by the US President not to be "making its best effort" to stop ANC terrorists launching attacks on South Africa from its territory.

The countries are also required to openly denounce the practice of necklacing to be eligible for American assistance.

The proposal was adopted as an amendment to foreign aid legislation that would give the SADCC \$50 million in aid in the current fiscal year.

The version of the legislation approved by the House of Representatives contains no similar anti-ANC proviso, so it is unclear whether the amendment will become law.

It may be up to the American Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) to report to Congress on which Frontline states are transgressing on the guerilla aid rule.

● The Daily Dispatch's correspondent in Harare reports that comment on the US vote is not expected from the Zimbabwean Government.

The Prime Minister, Mr Robert Mugabe, has consistently denied harbouring guerilla military cadres although he permits the ANC and Pan-African Congress to maintain offices in the country.

Botswana also denies giving the ANC any military guerilla operational aid or harbouring its cadres.

Zambia and Tanzania are likely to be the first Frontline states of the SADCC to find their US aid imperilled.

22/10/77 BIDC
Winnie Mandela threatened with eviction

THE Soweto City Council's acting town clerk, Louis Geldehuys, said yesterday the council would seek court orders to evict four prominent residents after the expiry date of rent demand notices.

He said after a council meeting that the four, Winnie Mandela, Albertina Sisulu, Ellen Khuzwayo and Nthato Motlana, had been served with notices last week to bring their rent, services, water and electricity payments up-to-date or face court action.

The four would be treated in the the

same way as other rent-boycotting Sowetans, he said.

Under no circumstances would the council evict people unless it had obtained court orders.

He said Mandela's last rent payment had been paid by family lawyer, Ishmael Ayob, four months ago.

Since the rent boycott started almost a year ago, several evictions have been made under court order and threats made to cancel rights to occupation. — Sapa.

22/5/87 (11A) [Signature]

Winnie's Brandfort home set alight again

WINNIE MANDELA, wife of imprisoned ANC leader Nelson Mandela, said a house where she had spent eight years in internal exile was gutted by fire early yesterday — the second time since 1985.

Mandela said she believed the house, in Brandfort, Free State, had been attacked in retaliation for the

two car bombs which ripped through Johannesburg on Wednesday, killing three policemen and injuring 15 people.

SA has blamed the blast on the ANC.

Mandela's secretary, Mbali Mtshali, said her house in Brandfort, and an adjoining clinic, had

been gutted. She said Mandela had driven to Brandfort to assess the damage.

A police spokesman in Pretoria confirmed the clinic had been set alight and said police suspected arson.

Mandela built the clinic from donations. — Sapa-Reuter.

A burial, then death strikes Harare again

By STEVE ASKIN, Harare

LESS than a day after bomb-blast victim Tsitsi Chiliza, wife of African National Congress activist Frank Chiliza, was buried in the ANC cemetery in Harare, death nearly struck the organisation again.

Several rocket-propelled grenades zipped past the ANC's new offices in Avondale on Sunday exploding in mid-air and lodging remains in a home some 500m from the launching site. The sole damage to the ANC office was one concrete block knocked from an unfinished wall.

In spite of this apparent bad aiming, the powerful 5.10am blast was heard up to five kilometres away, shattering windows, severing an electrical cable and cracking walls in houses in the predominantly white, upper income, Avondale residential neighbourhood. "We are Christians and we thought it was the end of the world," said a woman living next door.

The ANC had moved its offices to Avondale after their previous office in downtown Harare was destroyed in 1983 in a raid openly acknowledged by South Africa. The offices are now guarded around the clock by armed police forcing the attackers in this instance to fire from a distance.

At a press conference on Tuesday, Zimbabwean Prime Minister Robert Mugabe referred to both incidents as South African "acts of destabilisation." Mugabe also said that investigators are making progress on the first attack last week and promised revelations later on "the interesting manner in which South Africa is operating against us."

Zimbabweans see the recent violence as botched re-runs of past, secretive, terrorist-style attacks against ANC officials and activists, such as the 1981 shooting of former ANC representative Joe Gqabi or the 1982 letter bomb which killed exiled South African writer Ruth First at the Center of African Studies in Maputo.

South African attacks had been predicted here since May 6, when the Foreign Ministry received a note from Pretoria charging that Zimbabwe had let its territory serve as a staging ground for the planting of landmines in the Transvaal. "Similar accusations have been made in the past and have been the flimsy pretext upon which Pretoria has launched its external military operations against neighbouring states," the Zimbabwean Foreign Ministry noted in a strongly worded public response.

South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha denied responsibility for the May 11 explosion, and said Zimbabwe was blaming South Africa "to hide the fact that terrorists are moving through Zimbabwe to South Africa".

After the second incident, he said governments which let "insurgents" operate on their territory are "playing games with fire and could get burned themselves", but failed to offer a direct denial.

Yet another Soweto eviction note: Pay up or get out. But wait, the recipient is a certain Nelson Mandela

MONO BADELA reports on the rents crisis

IN a bid to break the 11-month-old Soweto rent boycott, the government is facing a bizarre prospect: going to court to evict a man it jailed for life almost 23 years ago.

For among the four anti-apartheid activists targeted for eviction in Soweto last week was Winnie Mandela, whose Orlando West bungalow was rented in the name of her husband, jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela. The house is still registered in his name, according to Julius Mdlalose, chairman of the Soweto Town Council Housing Committee.

A final demand from the Soweto Town Council issued last week was addressed to "NR Mandela". If the four months' worth of rent arrears is not paid this week, the council has threatened to take to the courts for an eviction order.

Others served with final notices were United Democratic Front co-president Albertina Sisulu, Soweto Civic Association president Dr Nthato Motlana and author and community leader, Dr Ellen Kuzwayo.

Mandela owes the council R652,69; R117,39 for four months' rent and R535,30 for electricity and site rent.

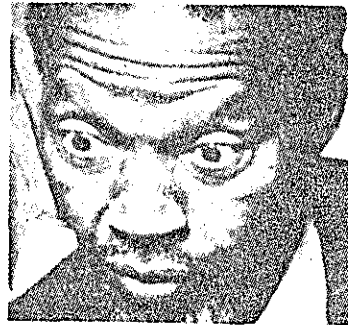
"We can't defend the action without the official tenant," Mandela's lawyer, Ismail Ayob, said this week. "If the council issues a summons, Nelson Mandela will have to come from Pollsmoor Prison outside Cape Town to defend.

"We are awaiting for the council to take action. It is going to be a problem."

Asked to comment, Mdlalose said: "We'll have to see." But he also told WM that "Nobody is going to be treated differently. People want homes. There are 26 000 of them on the waiting list. If they do not pay they go to court."

He said more than R80-million was owed by Soweto residents. There are 75 000 houses in Soweto and about 50 had been evicted so far.

Mdlalose said this week the council had "blanketed" the township with final warnings.



Final notice for Motlana?

Yesterday was the deadline for the four community leaders to pay their arrear rentals.

Civil rights lawyer Priscilla Jana said this week both Sisulu and Kuzwayo had obtained 99-year leasehold on their properties and each had paid the full purchase price.

Jana said the Soweto Council was not competent to cancel the certificates of occupation of any resident, nor was failure to pay site rent or service charges grounds for cancellation. Her clients had occupied the dwellings for decades.

Jana claimed electricity meters have not been read on a regular basis in Soweto generally. In a letter written to the council, she said the council was "not entitled to make charges for electricity on any basis other than regular and proper meter readings to determine the actual consumption".

Jana warned the ejection of her clients would be vigorously opposed in court.

The current spate of rent boycotts began in the Vaal Triangle in September 1984. Late in 1985 it spread to Mamelodi and on November 18, police fired on a crowd of rent-hike protesters, many of them pensioners, killing 18.

By November last year the boycott had spread to at least 57 townships. It began in Soweto in June, mainly as a protest against the State of Emergency and troops in the townships, but demands also included the resig-



Albertina Sisulu, one of hundreds who have had their electricity cut during the rent boycott, cooks by candlelight

nation of the Soweto Council. Nationwide, the boycott has cost an estimated R500-million in lost revenue and affected more than 500 000 dwellings.

Although sporadic attempts have been made to break the boycott by evicting dozens of families, it has largely held firm.

Mdlalose confirmed that at least 50 Soweto families had been evicted so far, most of them pensioners.

The mother of Solomon Mahlangu and 29 other Mamelodi families face eviction unless they pay their rent, reports VUSI GUNENE.

The threat to evict the Mamelodi families follows a ruling in the Pretoria North Magistrate's Court on Wednesday.

Martha Mahlangu owes R848. A United Democratic Front patron, executive member of the Federation of Transvaal Women and the mother of

the first ANC guerrilla to be executed (he died in 1980), she has been in detention since the declaration of the State of Emergency.

Louis Khumalo, former chairman of the Mamelodi Civic Association, owes R1 348 in back rent. At the height of the unrest, Khumalo's house was petrol-bombed and extensively damaged.

The 30 respondents received eviction orders two months ago and were told the council would cancel their residence permits. Their court challenge failed this week.

The rent boycott "has been one of the most sustained, well organised and most effective anti-apartheid protest weapon in recent years," Wits academic Mark Swilling said this week. "We can expect new legislation in parliament this session to give the town councils absolute powers to bring the rent boycott to an end."

Dalling to face probe

●From PAGE 1

dened" that a political dispute between Botha and an opponent had been used to depreciate the tradition of judicial independence.

Munnik should have recused himself, he said. "From the very outset, it was clear that this was not a judicial issue involving criminal or civil liability of any sort."

The commission was "meant to achieve the advantageous resolution of a political dispute, at the time of an election, involving the head of the National Party and one who did not agree with the party".

The dispute was one which might "possibly have affected the electoral fortunes of the National Party, certainly within the business community".

The commissioner was "undeniably a strong supporter of the governing party" and "a longstanding personal friend of Mr Botha".

Finally, said Dalling, Munnik, "following defaults of thousands of rands", had had "an unhappy relationship with Barclays Bank" and as a result "had no right to sit on the commission at all".

The Munnik report was "laced with unsolicited, gratuitous insults as to Mr Ball's prudence as a banker, as to the inflated view the commissioner took of his own banking expertise and finally to Mr Ball's personal integrity".

The minister of justice, Kobie Coet-see, said after Dalling sat down that his speech had been scandalous. He accused the PFP of indulging in "gutter politics of the worst sort".

THE

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WEEKLY MAIL

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THE PAPER FOR A CHANGING SOUTH AFRICA

INSIDE YOUR WEEKLY MAIL TODAY

MP Dalling meets his own inquiry

DAVID DALLING faces possible suspension from the House of Assembly if a select committee finds he breached parliamentary privilege with his allegations about the Munnik Commission.

By JEAN LE MAY, Cape Town

Justice Munnik, and Barclays Bank (now First National Bank).

If he is found to have breached parliamentary privilege he could be suspended or ordered to apologise.

On the second day of this week's censure debate Dalling told parliament Munnik had on more than one occasion had his account "unilaterally" closed by the-then Barclays Bank "for reasons relating to overdrawn

accounts and debt defaults". For this and other reasons, Munnik should have recused himself from the special commission appointed by President PW Botha to investigate the funding of advertisements which called for the unbanning of the ANC.

Munnik found that Barclays MD Chris Ball, who authorised an overdraft, had known it would be used to pay for the ANC advertisements.

Amid a chorus of interjections from government bench-

es, Dalling said the Munnik Commission's report was "a travesty of justice initiated by the state president".

The speaker, Louis le Grange, at this point refused to allow him to continue. Several times during Dalling's speech the speaker called him to order, saying he would not allow parliament to be used to "smear" the state president and the judge president.

Earlier in his speech, Dalling said he was "shocked and sad-

●To PAGE 2

Tambo to meet Britain's business leaders

MA
22/5/87
SMC



Mr Oliver Tambo ... to tell UK businessmen about the ANC's objectives and policies.

By Michael Morris, The Star Bureau

LONDON — African National Congress leader Mr Oliver Tambo will meet Britain's top business leaders next week to discuss their future role in the South African economy under a black government.

It will be a unique opportunity for the ANC leader to discuss informally his organisation's tactical objectives and future policies with the businessmen who control billions of rands of investments in South Africa.

It will also be an opportunity for the businessmen, 60 executives from Britain's biggest multinationals, to explain their plans and hopes and to try to influence the leader of one of Pretoria's most virulent critics.

Mr Tambo and Sir Leslie Smith, chairman of the British Industry Committee on South Africa, will be two of the main speakers at the one-day conference on May 27.

Called "South Africa: Strategic Options for International Companies", the conference has been arranged by Business International, a global business research and information company.

The meeting will be attended only by invited delegates and will be closed to the Press. Among the delegates will be the South Africa Foundation's London representative, Mr David Willers.

Director of Business International's South African services, Mr Graham Hatton, said: "We want to give delegates an opportunity to discuss South Africa informally and behind closed doors so they will feel able to speak freely and possibly say things they would not wish to be made public.

"The discussion will focus initially on the question of sanctions, foreign investment and disinvestment and then on the ANC's future strategies — its attitude to nationalisation and the political and economic system it would create if it came to power.

"Of course, it is also a forum that will allow companies to influence the ANC and make suggestions."

No South African Government representative will attend nor will any foreign diplomats or representatives of other interest groups.

'Blacks denied their full rights'

By MANDLA
NDLAZI

IN a campaign against the election of councilors in the Vaal, Azapo distributed stickers stating "Don't Vote for Apartheid" and "Don't Vote For Oppression," the Delmas treason trial heard yesterday.

The people who stood for such elections were termed "sellouts, collaborators" and "oppressors," said Mr Oupa John Hlomuka, former chairman of Azapo in the Vaal. He was being cross-examined by the prosecutor, Mr P H Fick.

Vote

He said when Azapo campaigned against the elections its members were told to discourage residents from voting. Several meetings were where residents were told not to vote he said.

Mr Hlomuka said he did not instil hatred in the hearts of residents when he used the term "sellouts" at the meeting.

Mr Hlomuka (33) is one of the 19 men appearing before Mr Justice K van Dijkhorst and an assessor on high treason charges, terrorism, subversion and murder.

Meetings

The State alleges they committed the offences during the outbreak of unrest in the Vaal complex in September 1984. They have all pleaded not guilty.

Mr Hlomuka said Azapo was opposed to the Black Local Authorities Act because blacks were denied their full rights.

He said one meeting was held in Boipatong and another in Sharpeville.

At both meetings, he said, speakers denounced people who stood in the elections and discouraged residents from voting. These meetings were addressed by people from Soweto who were also Azapo members.

(Proceeding)

PELE TIPS
23/5/82

Pele calls for Mandela's release

RIO DE JANEIRO. — Soccer "King" Pele and Archbishop Desmond Tutu joined forces yesterday to call for the release of jailed Mr Nelson Mandela.

But Archbishop Tutu — concluding a five-day official visit to Brazil — said he believed Mr Mandela was further from freedom now than last year and predicted South Africa was "in for a rough time".

He met Pele at an airport ceremony, during which the 46-year-old former soccer player urged the release of Mr Mandela.

"I ask you to take this message and ask President Pieter Botha to review Mr Mandela's case," Pele said.

Archbishop Tutu, laughing, said he would "try to deliver the message".

"Pele is a tremendous personality and everything must be used in the hope that we may be able to persuade some crazy people to be sensible," he said.

Archbishop Tutu said the soccer player had provided great inspiration for blacks in South Africa. "When they told us we could not achieve (anything), that we are inferior, we can see the achievements of a tremendous person, he has shown that black people can make it."

The archbishop renewed a call for Brazil, the nation with the largest population of African origin outside of the continent, to sever diplomatic relations with Pretoria.

Rajbansi survives day of drama

PULP 1

Partie

Area

Footnote

1. Overl

Votes sold for R10 000 — minister

1114

CAPE TIMES 23/5/87

Political Staff

MR AMICHAND RAJBANSI, who survived a no-confidence motion in the House of Delegates by one vote yesterday, alleged afterwards that opposition members had tried to "buy" votes for R10 000 and that some had promised to support him if he cooperated in certain land deals.

Carry on crossing

HOUSE OF DELEGATES. — In a hectic week of political powerplay in the House of Delegates, there were 14 instances of MPs crossing the floor during the no-confidence debate.

On Monday eight MPs — six senior members of the NPP and two NPP aligned independents — changed to the opposition benches.

On Tuesday three of them — Mr Narantuk Jumuna, Mr I C Dasoo and Mr George Thaver — withdrew their resignations from the NPP.

On Thursday Mr Jumuna again changed his mind and returned to Solidarity.

Yesterday Mr Gopi Munsook of Solidarity took his seat with the NPP and Dr Doat Cader (Progressive Reform Party) made a last-minute switch to the NPP for the crucial no-confidence debate vote. — Sapa

Yesterday's dramatic 22-21 victory followed a week of drama and turmoil in which several members crossed the floor, some of them more than once. And Indian MPs were given police protection after allegations that one of them had been "kidnapped" and "brainwashed" in the battle to gain majority control of the chamber.

Two MPs were brought from their hospital beds to vote and an independent MP aligned to the liberal Progressive Reform Party sided at the last moment with Mr Rajbansi's NPP.

Mr Gopi Munsook, an indirectly elected member of Solidarity, voted with the NPP after being brought from his hospital bed and Dr M S Padayachy, former Minister of Health Services and Welfare, voted with the combined opposition.

Mr Munsook said afterwards that he had been a supporter of the leader of Solidarity, Dr J N Reddy, for 15 years, but had lost respect for him when he signed a pact with the majority NPP.

Mr Rajbansi's National Peoples Party lost two divisions earlier in the week and defeat yesterday could have led to the State President, Mr P W Botha, reconstituting the Ministers' Council from opposition ranks, or calling an election, which Mr Rajbansi now favours.

Shaky majority

The shaky majority was achieved with the votes of Dr Padayachy, Mr Munsook, and Dr Doat Cader, Independent, who joined the NPP benches amid loud jeers and cries of "traitor" and "turncoat". Dr Cader said at the press conference afterwards that he had crossed to the NPP side because Solidarity's members were "position seekers".

The Rev Edward Manikkam, chairman of the House and a Solidarity MP, did not vote.

Mr Reddy, Leader of the Opposition Solidarity, said during the debate that Mr Rajbansi should accept a commission of inquiry into the allegations of maladministration which had been made, because if there was nothing wrong, he had nothing to fear.

Asked why he was not prepared to do this, Mr Rajbansi said he had told the opposition to give him details of just one case to substantiate their charges, but they had not provided this.

Mr Rajbansi said at a press conference that one of the members who crossed the floor to the opposition, Mr I C Dasoo, had broken down and cried, telling him his business problems would be aggravated if he did not vote with Solidarity.

Offers of up to R10 000 had been made by Solidarity members to lure defectors.

He denied his party had asked members of Solidarity to join him.

Mr Rajbansi said he favoured the dissolution of the House and a general election because of the serious situation which had been reached.

CAG Traps 23/5/87

(SPL) 11A

UWC to probe clash at meeting

Education Reporter

THE disruption of an Azanian Students' Movement (Azasm) meeting at the University of the Western Cape (UWC) on Wednesday was "receiving urgent attention", according to UWC rector Professor Jakes Gerwel.

About 100 UWC students disrupted the meeting, which was to have been addressed by the Western Cape president of the Azanian Peoples' Organization (Azapo), Mr Peter Jones, regional vice-president Mr Lyban Mabasa and the national president of Azasm, Mr Monde Ntwasa.

The incident follows the banning of two black-consciousness (BC) organizations, Azasm and the Black Students' Study Project, from operating at the university.

According to an SRC spokesman, the organizations were refused permission to register as student bodies, following a unanimous decision taken by the university's 54 societies and clubs, which felt BC organizations were "not acceptable" as "they do not adhere to non-racial principals".

Prof Gerwel said: "The incident involving two different political groups did occur and the matter is receiving urgent attention."

CAPT. TIMS 23/5/87

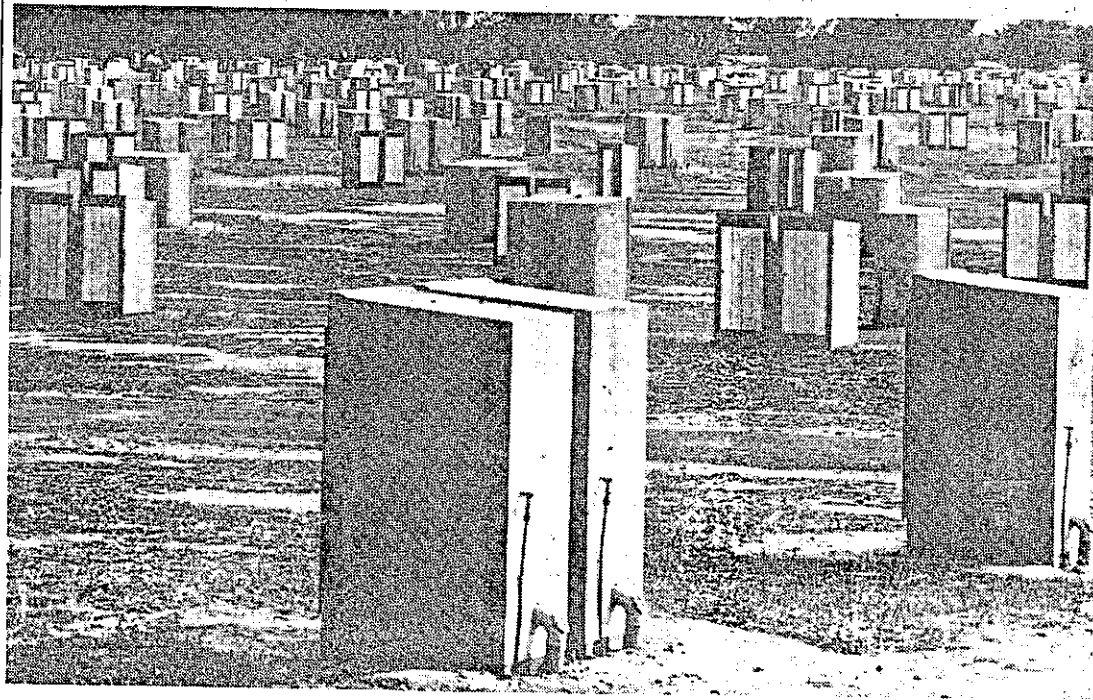
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11A



SOWETO PARADE... 21 Battalion passes the saluting base in Soweto yesterday. The mayor of Soweto granted the battalion the freedom of the township.

Picture: REUTERS



Vacant sites at Crossroads ... row over who will move in.

Crossroads: Dispute holds up occupation

w/k 12/26/45
23/5/87
~~502~~
~~370~~
114

by DICK USHER
Weekend Argus Reporter

THE first phase of a R30-million Crossroads redevelopment plan is complete but occupation is being delayed by a dispute over who should occupy the area.

Fourteen hundred sites have been prepared at a cost of about R9.5-million in the area devastated in last year's fighting.

The area has been declared a local authority and the leader of the Crossroads squatters, Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana, was elected chairman of a committee selected at a township meeting.

Squatters who were forced out of the area by witdoek supporters of Mr Ngxobongwana in a series of battles last year say the territory is theirs and they should be given occupation.

Leaders of the Nyanga Bush, Nyanga Extension and Portland Ce-

ment squatter groups have said that they plan to reoccupy their old areas and would not allow Crossroads residents to have the sites.

Mr Christopher Toise, chairman of Nyanga Extension, and Mr Alfred Siphika, secretary of the KTC squatter committee, said that they wanted their land back.

"We have said over and over again that we want our land that was burnt out last year.

"We want our land and we want to be paid for the houses and property that were damaged in May-June last year," they said in a statement.

But Mr Ngxobongwana has rejected their claims and made it plain that they would not be welcome in Crossroads.

Earlier this year Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development, said former residents of Crossroads would be allowed back "on a priority basis".

It is understood that the delicacy of the situation has delayed plans to occupy the developed area, but discussions are continuing.

Carnations greet 13 ANC convicts

error prints 23/5/87 *11/11* *8/11/87*

By SHAUNA WESTCOTT
Supreme Court Reporter

RED carnations showered down to the dock from the public gallery yesterday morning after the 13 accused in the ANC trial were convicted in terms of the Internal Security Act.

Relatives and friends of the accused, who have remained seated throughout the trial for the entry and exit of the Bench but stand up for the accused, then joined the 13 in singing Nkosi Sikelele Afrika.

"The whole world is crying for you!" they sang next as security police Lieutenant William Liebenberg tried to hasten the pace of the 13 down to the cells by pushing them in the back.

The Western Cape commander of Umkhonto we Sizwe, Lizo Ngqungwana, and five others — Thembinkosi Mzukwa, Joseph Ngoma, Sazi Veldtman, Quentin Michels and Cecil Esau — were convicted of terrorism in terms of Section 54(1) of the Act.

The Act specifies the same penalties for this as for treason, which can carry the death sentence.

The other seven — Mthetho Myamya, Joseph Mkhulhwa, Anderson Ncivata, Reed Macozoma, Gladwin Mabengeza, Cyril Ntabeni and Norman Macanda —

were convicted of a lesser charge under Section 54(4) of the same Act.

This section makes it an offence to harbour or help or fail to report to the police any person there is reason to suspect may be planning or may have committed terrorism, subversion or sabotage as defined by the Act.

Mr Justice H C Nel convicted the 13 on the basis of a list compiled by agreement between the State and the defence, condensing admissions made by the 13 in individual statements handed in earlier when they changed their pleas.

Limpet mine

Lizo Ngqungwana, 26, was convicted on the basis that he underwent military training, recruited and trained others, commanded Umkhonto we Sizwe in the Western Cape, secured hiding-places for arms and safe houses for guerillas, organized the importing and distributing of arms in the region and was found in possession of an automatic rifle, hand-grenade, limpet-mine, detonators and TNT.

Thembinkosi Mzukwa, 26, a former Langa High pupil, underwent military training in Lesotho in 1983. He planted a limpet mine and threw a hand-grenade at the

Langa police station on June 12, 1985, threw a grenade at a police Casspir three months later and was found in possession of two limpet mines.

Joseph Ngoma, a 28-year-old community worker, underwent military training in 1985 and planted two limpet-mines at the Mowbray railway station in April last year.

Post office worker Sazi Veldtman, 32, helped Lizo Ngqungwana import arms and was found in possession of eight detonators, a pistol and ammunition for an automatic rifle.

Silverstream High school-teacher Quentin Michels helped find places to cache arms, learnt how to operate a limpet mine and in April last year received "two bags containing a variety of arms" which he passed on for storage.

Cecil Esau, a 35-year-old UWC law student, received two limpet mines and later two bags of arms from Quentin Michels which he passed on for storage.

The trial was adjourned to June 2 when evidence in mitigation of sentence will be led. "This may take several days," defence team leader Mr Denis Kuny SC told the court.

Mr L P Francis and Mr W R Vivier were assessors. Mr W C Viljoen appeared for the State with Mr M Stowe. Mr Kuny appeared with Mr J R Whitehead, Mr A M Omar and Mr S Desai and was instructed by E Moosa and Associates and R Vassen and Co.

Senate challenge to Frontline states could become law

US ultimatum could put ANC on the spot

1/1A
SMR
23/1/82

ALAN DUNN

WASHINGTON — The hard-hitting ultimatum by the United States Senate calling on the Frontline states to renounce terrorism — and in particular necklacing — stands a good chance of becoming law.

Observers note that such a large Senate vote in favour of the amendment lends powerful impetus to it and may well carry it through to the final Bill.

South Dakota Senator Larry Pressler presented his amendment clearly, in such a way that it was tough for his colleagues to reject it, according to Congressional observers.

Said one analyst: "When people have to vote like that on the public record, they only go one way. It is very difficult to discuss burning people alive in a calm, collected, unemotional environment. I'm sure Pressler knew that and decided this was time to strike."

Condemnation urged

The Capitol Hill observer said the African National Congress would now be wise to come out and condemn necklacing unequivocally "instead of this business of 'we don't approve it but we do understand it'."

The new moves drew angry comment yesterday here as a thinly disguised effort to hurt South Africa's black neighbouring states.

An associate of Congressman William Gray, a Pennsylvania Democrat and leader of efforts to aid Southern Africa states, denounced the Pressler attempt as "unnecessary, irrelevant and simply an attempt to frustrate the anti-apartheid effort generally".

The catch-all Bill contains \$50 million in economic assistance for the Southern Africa Development Co-ordination Conference — the so-called Frontline States — as a way to help break their economic dependence on South Africa.

Gray and other members of the Congressional Black Caucus — which also denounced the Pressler amendment — have proposed a sweeping, \$700 million economic-assistance package to the frontline states, starting next year.

'2 500 deaths'

Senator Pressler said: "Zimbabwe, for example, is essentially the headquarters for the African National Congress which began the practice of necklacing and has encouraged this practice, particularly among young black South Africans."

He said about 2 500 people had died by necklacing since late 1984.

"A vote against my amendment would send the signal that the US Senate does not care if SADCC nations condone, encourage, or harbour terrorists who commit the crime of necklacing."

Senators could not leave the impression with SADCC nations that the US would condone "their collaboration in this evil business of necklacing".

"If the five who are most suspect in this regard — Angola, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Tanzania and Botswana — cannot see the wisdom of denouncing necklacing in South Africa against black South Africans, then they do not deserve to receive contributions from American taxpayers," said Senator Pressler.

⑥ In Cape Town, the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, welcomed the Senate decision.

He said in a statement that the "truth about the ANC's goals and cruel methods" was beginning to sink in.

Shots fired at police — Zinzi

by MUDINI MAIVHA

Soweto council policemen who were cutting the electricity supply to houses in Orlando West yesterday were fired on near the home of jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela, it was reported. But police deny the shooting took place.

Mr Mandela's daughter, Zinzi, who was at home when the policemen cut the electricity supply, said many shots were fired.

Lieutenant R W Olivier, a spokesman at the police Directorate of Public Relations in Pretoria, said investigations proved the shooting had not taken place and there would be no investigation unless a charge was laid.

Miss Mandela said the policemen arrived at her home "then we heard a number of shots being fired from the direction of a nearby hillock and school."

Mrs Winnie Mandela, Mrs Albertina Sisulu, Mrs Ellen Kuzwayo and Dr Nthato Motlana were last week threatened with eviction from their Soweto homes if they continued not paying rent.

POLICE last night issued an identikit picture of the callous bomber who blasted four policemen to death at the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court this week.

They refused to name the suspected black terrorist who was spotted at the scene of the blast "under suspect circumstances" as their investigations had reached a "delicate stage".

But Lieutenant Pierre Louw said at John Vorster Square that they were following "important leads" which could lead to an arrest very soon.

He appealed for more help from the public — and offered a R10 000 reward for information leading to the conviction of the "alleged terrorist".

The suspect, in his thirties, was possibly using an early model 1980 or 1981 light blue Volkswagen Golf.

"He is approximately six feet tall and very well built," said Lieutenant Louw.

The man has "a medium to dark complexion" with a scraggly beard, moustache and oily permed hair.

He was last seen wearing a knitted light grey woven T shirt with a v-neck, with a grey jersey casually slung over his shoulder.

Lieutenant Louw said his name could not be released.

"I can't say where he comes from because this would harm our investigation," he said.

Last night's developments came after intelligence experts said they believed the cold-blooded bomber probably watched from a high vantage point — possibly even the court building itself — as policemen and civilians were lured by a decoy car bomb.

Deadly trap

Then, when he thought enough victims had been enticed into his deadly trap, he flicked the switch on a mini-radio transmitter wrapped in newspaper.

In the street below, a massive car bomb was detonated.

Amid the chaos and carnage that followed, he calmly melted into the lunchtime crowd and escaped.

This is how intelligence sources have reconstructed this week's bomb outrage in Johannesburg.

Four policemen were killed and 14 injured.

The killer had set his trap with a pre-primed, mini-limpet mine planted in a Renault 9 outside the Bezuidenhout Street entrance of the court building.

It exploded at 12.30pm, causing minimal damage... but effectively drawing curious spectators to the scene.

Several policemen, knowing that the bomb might be a trap, rushed to evacuate the area.

Somewhere high above them, the cool-headed killer watched.

He waited almost a full two minutes for his victims to assemble.

After triggering the massive explosive charge which was planted only metres away in a stolen Volkswagen Golf, he joined the panicking crowds fleeing from the building.

Four blocks away, on the corner of Fox and Sauer streets, he hid the transmitter — still wrapped in newspaper — among shrubs in a marble plant holder.

Then he walked away.

Adverse

An intelligence source said yesterday that there seemed little doubt that the explosives had been planted by bombers working for the ANC, which was also responsible for the Black Friday car bombing in Pretoria on May 20 1983 — four years to the day before this week's bombing.

He believed the ANC's reluctance to admit responsibility was a result of the adverse reaction, particularly from America, and the fact that innocent civilians, including a pregnant black woman, had been injured.

At a Press conference this week a security police explosives and electronics expert, Major Peter McKellar, said the second bomb would have been triggered by someone in full view of the bomb area.

"It was also an advantage for the man to transmit from a high point so that there would be no interference with the signal," he said.

The only tall buildings in the area from which there is a direct, line-of-sight view of the Bezuidenhout Street entrance, are the court building itself and the Witwatersrand po-

☐ To Page 2

P.T.O.

BOMBERS: IDENTIKIT THIS MAN!

Identikit clue to cold-blooded killer as police offer R10 000 reward

● FACE of terror suspect: Identikit picture issued by police last night

Handwritten notes: "MR" with a circle around it, "ST 24/5/87" with a vertical line through it, and a signature.



'I don't know how my son died, and cannot bury him,' says grieving ma

24/5/87

CP/MS

11A

GRIEF-STRICKEN by the death of her son under mysterious circumstances, a Duncan Village woman was told she cannot bury him as she is not a permanent resident of the township.

Nosingile Sambatho, of Nokwelo Street, said that she did not know how her son, Thembisile, had died.

Sambatho said that, on the night of April 26, she heard "kitskonstabels" firing shots in the street after Thembisile had left the house.

She said a few days later the Cambridge Security Police in East London came to her house and asked her whether she was Thembisile's mother.

"They told me I should go to court because Thembisile had committed a crime and had been arrested," she said.

"They then came back and asked how long Thembisile had been missing. I told

them that I last saw him on the evening of the previous Sunday, and had not heard of him since.

"They told me that Thembisile had been shot dead the previous day because he committed a crime. I was then taken to the Cambridge Police Mortuary to identify him.

"I identified him. The police told me he was shot dead while breaking into a shop in the city.

"His whole body was covered with grass - and that is surprising for a person who is said to have been shot while breaking into a shop," said Sambatho.

"I was told to go home and wait for the police to inform me what would happen next. While I was waiting I decided to go on with funeral arrangements," she said.

Sambatho said she went to a firm of undertakers so that they could allocate her a plot for burial.

She said she was told by the undertakers that, since she was not a permanent resident of Duncan Village, they could not allocate her a plot for burial.

The funeral undertakers also told her that, since residents of Duncan Village have not been paying rent since 1985, it would be difficult for her to be allocated a plot until she paid her rent.

"I was referred to the Gompo Town Committee which

ations Skin Lotion
Vaseline
400ml
189

11A 2

The grieving mums

By CHARMAIN NAIDOO
TWO mothers — one weeping quietly, one dry-eyed and grim — watched from opposite ends of the courtroom as South Africa's first white necklace murderer was sentenced to death.

Later they passed each other on the steps outside the Pretoria Supreme Court, neither acknowledging the other.

One lost her son in a gruesome necklace killing. The other will lose her son because of it.

Forgive

"I believe in his innocence. I'll stand by him," said Mrs Gwen (Pikkie) Naude, 64, mother of the condemned Henry Burt, who was found guilty of murdering a young black policeman in June last year.

"I don't want Burt to die. I forgive him," said Mrs Josephina Ndimande, 60, mother of Mr Johannes Ndimande, victim of the grisly necklace

AND THE FIRST WHITE NECKLACE MURDERER

One lost her son in an evil killing

killing. Both mothers have suffered in the past year, and one has been left destitute with the exorbitant legal costs paid out for her son's defence.

Their nightmare began in mid-June, 1986, when 26-year-old Johannes was murdered.

This week, condemning 34-year-old Burt to "hang from his neck until he is dead", Mr Acting Justice Human called the murder a "barbaric act"

that called for the ultimate penalty, a "heinous crime", "a deed of staggering wickedness".

He said Burt had chosen the necklace method to cast suspicion on black people. After he'd stabbed Mr Ndimande, he set alight a tyre round the policeman's body.

The judge found no extenuating circumstances.

Conscience

Throughout the trial, Burt consistently denied having anything to do with the necklace murder which occurred on a remote plot in Laezonia.

Allowed to speak before sentence was passed, Burt told the court he thought there "was a lot of framing by the police".

"I am innocent. If the court

Other will lose hers because of it

wishes me to die, I will do so as an honest man. My conscience is clear."

Mrs Ndimande, who is the mother of eight, spoke softly of her wish to see justice done.

"All I wanted was to see him punished. I forgive him for what he did to my son, and have no desire to see him die. Johannes was the breadwinner in the family — a loving child who was very good to his parents."

Speaking from her Pretor-

ia flat, Mrs Naude said: "Henry is a good, kind boy. He's so gentle, he wouldn't hurt anyone."

"He's always helping people. I know and the Lord knows that Henry didn't commit that dreadful murder. And that's all that counts."

"His conscience is clear. It is his belief in God that has helped him through this ordeal."

Love

Burt's fiancée, attractive paraplegic Springbok Moekie Grobbelaar spoke of her dashed hopes of marriage to the man of her dreams.

"I love that man. We met in Windhoek in 1981 when I was working in the state hospital. He'd been admitted to the psychiatric ward because

he had tried to commit suicide.

"We fell in love, moved to Pretoria and got engaged in 1983. We'd set the wedding date for December 19 last year."

"I'd bought the material for my dress, made all the arrangements. It nearly broke my heart when Henry was arrested. But I believe in his innocence."

Temper

This was the portrait of the killer that emerged in evidence before the court.

● He had twice been admitted to mental institutions — once after the suicide attempt.

● He lied, displayed an emotional shallowness and showed no signs of being depressed or worried about his sentence, according to a psychiatric report.

● He admitted to having a violent temper — he once assaulted his former wife to the extent that she was in hospital for two weeks.

● He also severely assaulted his father-in-law and assaulted an officer while doing his national service.

● The psychiatric evaluation of Burt also showed that, while he was not a psychopath, there were traces of traits of an anti-social personality disorder during his early years. But these had not been present during the past four years.

Dagga

● He was arrested for illegal possession of a firearm, though the charges were later dropped.

● He admitted having smoked dagga while at school and on occasion while in the army. He said he also used to abuse alcohol especially during his unhappy marriage.

But, since meeting Miss Grobbelaar — they moved to

Chair

Pretoria, where he had bought a plot and was employed at UCOR — Burt's life appeared to be more stable the court heard.

Speaking from the bundu home she shared with Burt, Moekie said he had been nothing but kind to her.

"I've taken part in paraplegic games and have won many gold medals. Henry helped me — he even built me a special wheelchair to suit my needs for the track events," she said.



Mrs Naude ... "God knows my son didn't do it"



MOEKIE GROBBELAAR "I'll stand by him"

Giving evidence, Burt said he was coming home from a civil defence meeting when he saw a car which was sus-

pected of being linked to several housebreakings in the area.

He followed the car. It turned into a well-lit property, and a policeman who'd been a passenger alighted and began walking along the road.

He gave the young policeman a lift and dropped him off farther along the road. Traces of blood belonging to the same group as the dead policeman's were found in Burt's fiancée's car.

Burt has been granted leave to appeal against sentence.

11A
Sun. Times

Two held in Sats necklace probe

By ANN PALMER

TWO men have been arrested by police investigating the death of four railway workers who were allegedly tortured at Cosatu House, Johannesburg, before being set alight.

The police liaison officer for the Witwatersrand, Lieutenant Pierre Louw, described the arrests as a breakthrough into the atrocities allegedly committed at the union's headquarters.

Chairman

One of the men arrested was the chairman of the so-called 'People's Court', which, we believe, sentenced the four workers to death," he said.

The charred bodies of the workers — Jerry Goodman, John Sebopela, Joseph Mulaudzi and Molatero Moremane — were found dumped in a wood near Kaserne about a month ago, shortly after 16 000 South African Transport Services workers were dismissed for striking.

They had been hacked and stabbed and were found with smouldering tyres around their bodies.

Election looms

The Queen's Life Guards. London's most senior regim



The 1.82m...
that when she was a teen...
...self-conscious about

PPP finance spokesman Harry
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SIT 24/5/87

Black churches

in NGK launch group to back ANC fight

A NEW black church movement which supports "liberation movements" such as the ANC is to be launched next week within the ranks of the congregations of the black, coloured and Indian daughter churches of the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk (NGK).

Members joining the new movement believe they could be spiritually censured by their mother church, the white NGK.

The founding meeting of the National Assembly of Confessing Christians is to be held next weekend at Broederstroom under the auspices of the Dutch Reformed "Belydende Kring" movement, established by UDF patron Dr Allan Boesak.

Invitations have been sent to all local congregations of the three black arms of the NGK — the black NGK in Africa, the Coloured NG Mission Church and the Indian Reformed Church in Africa.

The General Secretary of the Belydende Kring, the Rev Shun Govender, said individual invitations had been sent to selected members of the white NGK, such as the retiring general secretary of the SA Council of Churches (SACC), Dr Beyers Naude.

Significant

The chief executive of the NGK, Dr Pierre Rossouw, said yesterday that he was aware that such a meeting was to be held shortly, but had not been informed when. He said it was significant that white congregations had not been invited to attend.

Dr Rossouw added that the liberation theology movements which supported organisations, such as the ANC, were in direct contradiction of the Bible, which preached peace and reconciliation, while they preached the theology of confrontation.

In a circular distributed by Belydende Kring in September, 1985, the movement's attitude to the teachings of the Bible are clearly spelt out and its belief in the duty of the Church to ally itself with

the "just struggle for the oppressed".

The organising secretary of Belydende Kring, Mr Mokgoebo Zacharia, said yesterday that invitations had also been sent to members of the affiliated Institute of Contextual Theology, as well as members of the Baptist, Anglican and Methodist churches, student movements and para-church bodies.

Support

The institute of Contextual Theology — whose general secretary, the Rev Frank Chikane was recently elected to succeed Dr Naude as general secretary of the SACC — held its annual meeting in Soweto this week.

Among the resolutions passed was one endorsing "The Lusaka Statement", which expresses support for the liberation struggle and calls on churches and the international community to give practical support to the struggle.

Meanwhile, the ANC is reported to have expressed interest in converting churches into sites of resistance.

By NEIL HOOPER

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Students go against ANC

THE Moderate Students' Organisation at Rhodes University has started a petition against "the ANC and its terror campaign".

The organisation, an affiliate of the National Students' Federation, collected signatures in a shopping arcade in the CBD, opposite the security police offices.

"We have had quite a good response to our call and there have even been a number of blacks signing," said one of the

campaign organisers. He said it was a national campaign organised by the National Students' Federation.

Many Rhodes students, however, expressed outrage at the collection of signatures in the city.

"If Nusas were to collect signatures in the same place, they would be arrested within a very short time," said one of them. - Alnews.

Henry Burt to hang

11A 24/5/87 CPres

HENRY George Burt was this week sentenced to death for the necklaced murder of a black policeman.

'I go to the gallows honest'

"If the court wishes me to hang I will go to the gallows as an honest man with a clear conscience," Burt told a silent Pretoria Supreme Court just before becoming the first white man to be sentenced to death for necklacing a black.

In passing the death sentence, Acting Judge Human found no extenuating circumstances and said Burt had committed a "barbaric act" that called for the ultimate penalty. He said it was a "heinous crime" and a "deed of staggering wickedness".

Burt, 34, was convicted on a charge of necklacing Sgt Johannes Boti Ndimande in Laezonia in June last year. Ndimande sustained a hard blow to the head and was wounded in the stomach before being taken to a quiet road where he was necklaced while unconscious.

Before the death sentence was passed Burt suggested the police had framed him, saying "there

NEATLY dressed in a dark grey suit, Henry George Burt, 34, the white man who necklaced a black police sergeant, listened impassively as Acting Judge Human sentenced him to death this week.

"My son is innocent," said Burt's remarkably composed mother, Gwendoline Naudé.

"There's no way he could have done this terrible thing," she told reporters.

Looking on from her wheelchair (made for her by Burt) as the judge

was framing (involved).

Referring to an alleged assault by the police he said: "After the brutal way I was treated I found it strange there was no proper investigation against the policeman involved."

Human said Burt had chosen the necklaced method to cast suspicion on black people, and two black men had in fact been arrested for the crime.

The court found that Burt was not a psychopath and that though there were traces of an anti-social personality disorder during his

spoke was Burt's fiancée, Springbok paraplegic athlete Moekie Grobbelaar.

"Henry didn't do it. Tell me I'm right," she pleaded later.

Burt, however, believed he had been "framed" by the police, whom he alleged had beaten him savagely after his arrest.

Asked whether he had anything to say before the death sentence was passed, the tough-looking former Rhodesian bushfighter said he found

it "very, very strange" that one of the police officers investigating the case "had a criminal record".

"If the court demands that I die, I will do so with a clean conscience. I will go to the gallows an honest man," he told a silent court.

Also present in court were a grim-faced Lieutenant-Colonel Karel "Suiker" Britz, head of the Pretoria Murder and Robbery Squad, and several members of the squad. — Sapa.

earlier years these were not present during the past four years.

The court was of the opinion that Burt was helped by Roger North, but rejected that Burt was influenced by North.

Human said that, after the assault had taken place, the tyre and petrol had been obtained and the accused was driven to the place where he was burnt. He added that — according to the medical evidence — Ndimande was alive at the time of burning.

The court also found that, although the accused

had consumed alcohol on the day of the murder, this had played no part in the crime.

After his conviction Burt still professed to be innocent.

According to, psychologist Dr Louise Olivier, Burt was not a certifiable psychopath but did have strong traits of an anti-social personality disorder.

He had constantly displayed strong anti-social tendencies such as aggression, alcohol abuse and the use of drugs. He was twice admitted to mental institutions — once after attempt-

and an officer while doing his national service. He conceded he had led a tranquil life since his divorce.

Giving evidence during the trial, Burt said he was coming home from a civil defence meeting when he saw a car which was suspected of being linked to several housebreakings in the area.

He followed the car which turned into a well-lit property. He saw a policeman, who had been in the car, walking along the road and gave him a lift in order to question him about the car's occupants.

Burt said the policeman told him he did not know the people and he dropped the policemen off further along the road.

He then went home briefly before going to see Roger North in connection with a meeting North had failed to attend.

William Masipe and Johannes Makgoko, who were in the car, said Burt drove the policemen directly to North's house. Traces of blood, belonging to the same blood group as the policemen's, were found in Burt's fiancée's car. — Sapa.



Henry Burt and his fiancée, Moekie Grobbelaar outside court earlier this year.

Sentence was just - Ndimandes

By SOL MORATHI
SERGEANT Johannes Buti Ndimande may not have died in a brutal way had he listened to his parents' plea not to trust all white people.

always warned him not to trust all white people. "I tried to warn him about the danger posed by certain white people on many occasions.

"But he would not listen. He loved them so much, thinking that they were good. Unfortunately he learnt too late and in a most brutal way.

"If only he would have listened to me, he would

still be alive," said Ndimande.

She pointed out that she had told the deceased on the night he was killed to leave early for work in case he did not find transport.

But the deceased refused, saying he would be picked up by whites along the road if there was no transport.

Ndimande said she was glad that Burt had been

sentenced to death.

"I know he is not going to feel the pain my son felt, but I am happy," she said.

"My heart has been bleeding and aching since my son was killed and we have been praying that his killers be brought to book," she said.

Ndimande's father, George, said hanging was not enough for Burt.

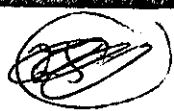
"He needs a necklace

toe. He must feel the pain my son felt," he said.

"The way Johannes was killed was uncalled for, and I hope and pray that the Appeal Court does not overrule this sentence.

"Today's decision will at least restore the peace we have been looking for since the death of Johannes," said Ndimande.

● See page 2



Botha advertises for black leaders

CAPE TIMES 25/6/77
11A

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT P W Botha yesterday issued an impassioned plea to "representative leaders of our black communities and groups" to join him in talks that "must and will produce solutions to our problems".

In an apparent bid to draw popular black leaders on to the government's National Council, Mr Botha appealed to black leaders who "reject violence" to "join me in talks and negotiations".

However, the plea was immediately shot down by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, a key player in the government's attempts to get its floundering negotiation initiatives with moderate black leaders on track.

The Inkatha leader emphasized that his "bottom line" before he would even consider "talks about talks" was the release of Mr Nelson Mandela, the unbanning of political organizations and the freeing of all political prisoners.

Leaders from the UDF and Azapo have emphasized repeatedly that they would not even consider negotiations with the government before the state of emergency was lifted, troops were removed from the townships and leaders released from detention without trial.

The PFP spokesman on black affairs, Mr Ken Andrew, said Mr Botha's appeal would "get him nowhere as long as he continues to cling to race and apartheid".

President Botha's latest call, contained in personally signed full-page advertisements in certain Sunday newspapers, follows his announce-

ment to Parliament last week that he would in future become more directly involved in negotiations with blacks.

The announcement immediately raised questions in parliamentary circles about the political future of constitutional supremo Mr Chris Heunis, who has until now been entrusted with the job of chief government negotiator with blacks.

Government sources have indicated that Mr Pik Botha could be shifted from foreign affairs to head a revamped constitutional development department, with Mr Heunis taking up a position within President Botha's office.

NP rising star Mr Barend du Plessis could be moved from finance to take over foreign affairs, with Mr Kent Durr being promoted to finance minister.

Mr P W Botha said in his signed newspaper advertisement — that appeared in all major Sunday newspapers except City Press which is targeted mainly at blacks — that there were people regarded the recent all-whites election as irrelevant to "our Black peoples".

"It was not. In this election the white electorate gave me an overwhelming mandate to negotiate with representative leaders of our black communities and groups about our common future."

Mr Botha predicted that that "these negotiations will not be a struggle for domination and power".

"It will be an honest meeting of men of peace and goodwill — a meeting that must and will produce solutions to our problems."

Zambia rejects US 'blackmail'

11/11 2000
25/1/87
Cpob

LUSAKA. — Zambia and Zimbabwe, threatened with cuts in aid by the United States, have reaffirmed their support for the African National Congress.

burg, the US Senate voted overwhelmingly to cut off economic aid to the frontline states if they harboured ANC guerillas.

Zambia and Zimbabwe said at the weekend that they would not sacrifice their principles to avoid a threatened end to US aid.

Yesterday the ANC dismissed the Senate proposal as unreasonable while the Zambian Foreign Minister, Mr Luke Mwananshiku, said the Senate vote was sheer blackmail.

"People in the region cannot sacrifice their rights because they want aid from a few whites," he told reporters.

Necklace killings

The 77-15 Senate vote on a Money Bill on Thursday also sought to make US aid conditional on those states denouncing necklace killings in South Africa's black townships.

But Mr Mwananshiku said: "Zambia cannot sacrifice her principles on those lines and will not agree to anything like that."

Although Zambia has no common frontier with South Africa, the ANC headquarters are in Lusaka.

Mr Mwananshiku called on the US to analyse the causes of conflict in Southern Africa before looking at their effects.

"Necklacing has not always been there. Those people should first ask why it has come up and in doing so they will be looking at the cause of their problem and not the effect," he said.

An ANC spokesman in Lusaka told Reuters his organization did not consider necklacing to be an "appropriate" punishment. But he added that the ANC had no control over the township youths who practised it.

Denouncing the US Senate vote and urging Congress to squash the amendment before it became law, Zimbabwe's Foreign Minister, Mr Witness Mangwende, said the ban had been received by his government with utmost dismay.

"It's a well-known fact that Southern African states which share a common border with South Africa have stated on numerous occasions that, although they wholeheartedly support the universal struggle against apartheid, they are in no position to allow their territory to be used as bases for armed attacks on South Africa."

He added that there were no guerilla bases in the territory of any of SA's neighbours.

The US was seen by South Africa as an ally because of its aid to right-wing Unita rebels in Angola.

"The Senate vote, if adopted by the US Congress, will be seen to have consummated the US-SA alliance in Southern Africa."

Swapo also called on the American people to reject the recent move by the US Senate.

In an interview with Zimbabwe's semi-official Ziana news agency, Swapo's chief representative in Zimbabwe, Mr Nauyala Kapuka, said SA's attacks on "peace-loving frontline states" should be condemned. — Sapa-Reuters-AP



Bishop Tutu

Tutu: Violence might become necessary

PORT OF SPAIN, Trinidad. — Archbishop Desmond Tutu said yesterday that while he continues working for a peaceful end to apartheid, the day might come when violence would be necessary.

Archbishop Tutu said the situation in South Africa was already violent and that "the primary violence is the

violence of the government, the violence of apartheid".

"Because I am not a pacifist I recognize that there could come a time when it would be justifiable to overthrow an unjust system by violence," he said.

"At the moment I am saying that I believe we have not exhausted all the non-violent options."

He said the recent election showed some elements of the white community were "digging in their heels".

In spite of this setback for the anti-apartheid movement, the white community in South Africa was "no longer a monolith".

He pointed to the anti-conscription movement among whites and the existence of such groups as the United Democratic Front which he termed a "rainbow coalition".

Archbishop Tutu, invited by the Anglican Church, arrived here on Saturday night from Caracas, Venezuela, where he made a brief stopover following a four-day visit to Brazil.

He was greeted by hundreds of applauding spectators, and was escorted from the airport to Port of Spain by police motorcyclists.

About 40% of Trinidad's 1.8 million people are black, and earlier this year, the state-run television network banned the movie "Shaka Zulu" when it learnt that the film had been produced in South Africa. — Sapa-Reuter and UPI

Police search for nine rail workers

11645 25/8/77
The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Police are still searching for at least nine missing South African Transport Services workers who are feared dead.

Five people were arrested last week in connection with the murder of four workers in Kaserne, a spokesman said.

One of those arrested is a student detained in police swoops last Wednesday.

Police also claimed another was the president of the alleged "people's court" which they said "sentenced" the four murdered workers to death.

12-YEAR-OLD BOY

At least two of the five are Cosatu members, the spokesman said.

The 12-year-old boy arrested by police at Cosatu House after the four bodies were found was also allegedly a member of the "court", police said.

The workers still missing apparently disappeared after the recent South African Railway and Harbour Union (Sarhwu) strike and police have appealed to their relatives to contact them.

In another claim police said earlier the missing workers could allegedly have been murdered in Cosatu House.

The union's publicity secretary, Mr Frank Meintjies, said Cosatu abhorred any violence which had happened in the dispute with Sats.

"We have no knowledge of the alleged incidents," he said.

Cosatu legal representative Mr Peter Harris said the union had disassociated itself from any assaults or violence which allegedly took place at its headquarters.

the "white voters" and start talking seriously about the red about their future."

great affection by Hedley and Ann Salmon.

Cape Times 25/5/87
AZASM to defy ban on meetings

11/1
Staff Reporter

THE Azanian Students' Movement (AZASM) said at the weekend that it would defy a ban on its meetings on the University of the Western Cape campus.

The AZASM said last week's ban from the campus by the Students' Representative Council was "a gross and deliberate violation of democratic principles".

An AZASM meeting on the campus was disrupted last week after allegations that the organization did not adhere to the university's non-racial policies.

AZASM has rejected the allegations as "politically dishonest and factually without base". It said that as an integral part of the black-consciousness movement, it was committed to anti-racism — a philosophy that went beyond merely accommodating other races actively to fighting racism.

Cape Times 25/5/87
3 'ANC members' shot dead

MBABANE. — Three people believed to be ANC members were shot dead and a Swazi national was injured by unknown gunmen in a suburb here on Friday night, according to reliable sources.

The sources said the four were driving through Tembelihle suburb when shots were fired from an overtaking car.

One of those killed was believed to be a senior member of the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

The Swazi national, Miss Thabsile Mngadi, was receiving treatment in hospital for her injuries, the sources said. — Sapa

Cape Times 25/5/87
Man shot in Langa

PRETORIA. — Police reported yesterday that a man was shot dead and two others wounded in Langa, Port Elizabeth, when police fired at a fleeing group allegedly in possession of petrol bombs.

Police said two men, under 18 years, were wounded and were arrested.

In the unrest report yesterday morning police also said they fired teargas to disperse an illegal gathering in Kwamashu, Durban.

"The group became unruly when police arrived on the scene and they stoned the police vehicle. They were dispersed by tearsmoke. Two males were arrested." — Sapa

Cape Times 25/5/87
Students expelled, college closes

PORT ELIZABETH. — The Masibulele College of Education at Sada, near Queenstown, has been closed after the entire student body was expelled by the rector.

The Ciskei Director-General of Education, Mr K B Tabata, said all 450 students at the college were expelled after leaving the school premises last Thursday. — Own Correspondent

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DIANNA GAMES

Bombs 'fit the ANC mould'

WHILE the ANC is no longer the only organisation responsible for explosions, this week's blasts were entirely consistent with the ANC's *modus operandi*, said Tom Lodge of the University of the Witwatersrand's department of political science.

The ANC has not claimed responsibility for the attack. But, said Lodge, the ANC argument would be that the blasts were intended to inflict casualties on policemen as the military is one of their prime targets. Three policemen were killed in the blasts and four were injured.

Lodge said the blasts were part of a carefully planned and professional exercise, factors that put them into the category of an ANC exercise.

He said it was unlikely the Carlton Centre explosion fell into the same category. "We do know that there are Umkhonto (We Sizwe) personnel with limpet mines who are not paying very much attention to the ANC leadership's views".

But, SA's cross-border raids did not have the capacity to disrupt ANC operations in SA, he said.

Craig Williamson, former security police major, said the car bombs were a "cold and calculated" exercise which looked like the work of the ANC's special operations unit. And, he claimed, it was probable those involved were watching the scene to set the second one off at the right moment to ensure their targets were hit.

Many of the explosions around SA could be attributed to the various ways in which the ANC operated, he said.

Zonal attack groups

They would be included in more low-level zonal attack groups who would be instructed only on the types of targets to hit and possible situations in which to hit them. The Amanzimtoti bomb would most likely fall within this, he said.

But, he said, the Cosatu House bomb was not in line with any ANC tactics and it was most unlikely they were involved in any way.

This week's blasts bring to 11 the number that have taken place in Johannesburg including five this month alone. There have been 27 countrywide.

Williamson said the ANC's special operations unit was highly trained which made it difficult to prevent or detect them. If it stepped up its operation, the State's only response would be in kind which would lead to a spiralling cycle of violence which terrorism was designed to achieve.

Leaders must be freed — Sisulu

Political Reporter

The continued imprisonment of black leaders such as ANC head Nelson Mandela will make it impossible for the Government to have successful negotiations with blacks, black spokesmen said today.

They were reacting to yesterday's newspaper advertisements placed by President Botha calling on black leaders to join him in talks and negotiations.

In the full-page advertisement Mr Botha said whites had given the Government an overwhelming mandate to negotiate with representative black leaders.

United Democratic Front president Mrs Albertina Sisulu said blacks did not understand what the President meant by negotiations. "If he wants to negotiate, he should start by releasing our leaders," she said.

Inkatha leader and Chief Minister of kwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said yesterday that as long as leaders like Mandela remained in jail, blacks were not free to choose their own destiny.

ANC men shot down in Mbabane

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11A
25/1/87

MBABANE — Three people believed to be members of the African National Congress were shot dead and a Swazi national injured by unknown gunmen in an Mbabane suburb on Friday night, according to reliable sources.

The sources said the four were driving through Tembelihle suburb when shots were fired from an overtaking car.

One of those killed was believed to be a senior member of the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Miss Thabsile Mngadi, a Swazi national, was taken to hospital. — Sapa.

Fort Hare lecturer guilty of terrorism, arms possession

Dispatch Reporter
BISHO — The former Fort Hare lecturer and secretary-general of the United Democratic Front, the Reverend Makhenkesi Stofile and three others were found guilty in Supreme Court here yesterday of terrorism and possession of arms.

The fifth accused, Miss Nomvuyiso Stofile was acquitted of the sole charge she faced, harbouring a terrorist.

The three others found guilty are Mr Mzwakhe Ndlela, Mr Linda Stofile and Mr Mveleli Gqibitole.

The five had pleaded not guilty to charges of terrorism, possession of arms and harbouring a terrorist.

In his judgment, Mr Justice Pickard remarked that the trial had been a difficult one.

He said the basis of the state case was the

evidence given by the police and the first version of the evidence given by Mr W.

He said he accepted Mr W's first evidence which incriminated Mr Ndlela and Mr Makhenkesi Stofile.

Mr Justice Pickard said Mr W had told the truth in his first evidence, to a limited extent.

He said Mr W came back to court to retract his earlier evidence. This could be because when Mr W was released from custody, he had read in newspapers or had been informed that other state witnesses had refused to testify.

Dealing with the evidence of all the accused, Mr Justice Pickard said Mr Makhenkesi Stofile and Mr Ndlela had been implicated by Mr W's evidence.

He said Mr Makhenkesi Stofile had made an

unusual story by saying that a man who owed him great gratitude and who had given him Christmas presents in 1984 and 1985, could all of a sudden in 1986 give him a Makarov pistol as a gift for his wedding anniversary.

He said Mr Stofile could have felt that the wrapped parcel was a firearm even if he had not opened it.

Mr Stofile's explanation of the letter he smuggled out of prison was improbable and contradictory, he said.

He dismissed Mr Stofile's evidence as unacceptable. He said Mr Stofile was evasive and argumentative during cross-examination.

When the court adjourned, Mr W. F. Jurgens for the State, handed in a notice of disposal of exhibits.

Mr M. W. Friedman and Mr J. M. N. Poswa appeared for the defence.

(11A) STaw 25/5/87

UDF not pure - accused

THE Azanian People's Organisation and the United Democratic Front were organisations opposed to apartheid, but how they proposed to fight this was another matter, the Delmas treason trial heard on Friday.

Mr Oupa John Hlomuka, former chairman of Azapo in the Vaal said the organisations differed in matters of policy and for that reason it was "not practical" that they could work together in their fight against apartheid.

Mr Hlomuka said his organisation did not work with the Vaal Civic Association.

He said the UDF and Azapo were against the Black Local Authorities Act and the tricameral parliament. How the organisations proposed to fight against

By **MANDLA NDLAZI**

these laws, he said, was another matter.

Answering a question by the judge, Mr Hlomuka said the UDF was regarded as an organisation fighting for liberation. But, he added, the UDF was not "pure" because it had white members.

Mr Hlomuka (33) is one of the 19 men appearing before Mr Justice K van Dijkhorst and an assessor on high treason charges, alternatively terrorism, subversion and murder. The State alleges they committed the offences during the outbreak of unrest in the Vaal townships in September 1984. They have all pleaded not guilty.

(Proceeding)

Woman tells of attack in which top ANC man died

Argus Africa News Service

MBABANE. — One of three people shot dead in Swaziland last week was a top African National Congress member, Police Commissioner Sandile Mdziniso said here today.

The police chief said that the man named earlier only as "Viva" was Mr Theophilus Dlodlo, one of hundreds of ANC members sent out of the country when Swazi police began a clear-out about two years ago.

Commissioner Mdziniso said that Mr Dlodlo had been sent to Zambia and was illegally in the country at the time of the shooting.

The other victims were Mr Tutu Nkwanyane and Miss Muriel Msomi.

Both were law students at the University of Swaziland. Mr Nkwanyane

was a South African and Miss Msomi was a Swazi national.

They were shot dead in their car after leaving the party.

Miss Lungie Zwane, also a law student, survived the attack although she was seriously wounded.

She said in an interview in hospital that they had met another car on a lonely stretch of road. This car had slowed down, and Mr Dlodlo, who was driving their car, also slowed down.

As he did so people leapt out of the other car and started firing.

When the shooting stopped, the fifth passenger, schoolgirl Candy Ntshontsho, found a house and asked the owner to call an ambulance.

According to Miss Zwane, Miss Ntshontsho then walked off into the night and has not been seen since.

11A 3000

No talks till Mandela is free, blacks tell P W

JOHANNESBURG. — The continued imprisonment of black leaders such as Mr Nelson Mandela would make it impossible for negotiations to take place with blacks, prominent community leaders said yesterday.

This was in response to a full-page advert placed in Sunday newspapers by President P W Botha which called on black leaders to join him in talks.

In the advert Mr Botha said whites had given the government an overwhelming mandate to negotiate with representative black leaders.

Commenting yesterday, the president of the United Democratic Front, Mrs Albertina Sisulu, said blacks did not understand what Mr Botha meant by negotiations.

"If he wants to negotiate he should start by releasing our

leaders," she said.

The leader of Inkatha and Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, also rejected the offer, saying that as long as leaders like Mr Mandela remained in jail blacks were not free to choose their own destiny.

The Urban Councils Association of SA (Ucasa) issued a "firm" demand that all political prison-

COMMENT — Page 14

ers be released, but reiterated that it would take part in the proposed National Statutory Council (NSC) anyway.

The chairman of Ucasa's Transvaal region, Mr P D M Nhlapho, said it would "fight from within" and "pave the way for the real leaders".

Bishop Isaac Mokoena, president of the United Christian Conciliation Party (UCCP) and who was recently awarded a Decora-

tion for Meritorious Service by Mr Botha, said he would not participate in the proposed council.

"I'm a spiritual leader who is interested in reconciliation," he said.

"I helped found the party to show that there are moderates in this country. The government has made a mistake by ignoring them. The country faces sanctions because a wrong picture is painted overseas."

He said he had gone overseas to raise funds for his theological college in Bronkhorstspuit, not funds for the party.

The State President awarded him the Decoration for Meritorious Service in recognition of his reconciliation efforts.

The president of the Soweto Civic Association, Dr Nthato Motlana, said the government plan was "useless and hopeless" and not worth participating in. — Sapa and Own Correspondent

ARGUS 26/5/87

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Bury-the-hatchet appeal to Cosatu

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — The Inkatha-linked United Workers' Union of SA (Uwusa) says it wants to bury the hatchet on "shop floor issues" with its arch-rival, the UDF-affiliated Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu).

The general secretary of Uwusa, Mr G Hadebe, said today that there had been several bitter clashes between the two ideologically opposed unions, and he was appealing to Cosatu in the "name of worker unity" to bury their

differences.

Most of the clashes, in which several people have died, were on the East Rand and Natal.

Mr Hadebe said: "This is not a plea, as we are in a position of strength. Rather it is a sincere appeal to Cosatu that we stop this violence... we should not fight each other but concentrate on shop floor issues."

He said the two organisations could not agree on issues such as sanctions and disinvestment — of which Cosatu is an ardent propo-

nent — but that these should not be allowed to influence the "workers' struggle".

He blamed clashes between the two organisations on Cosatu's concern that many of their members were joining Uwusa — which had 132 000 members. Also, he said, the "intimidation" of workers during the Sats strike had upset many people.

Mr Jay Naidoo, secretary of Cosatu which has a paid-up membership of 750 000 workers, could not be contacted for comment.

ANC rejects bomb claims

26/5/87
SMC The Star Bureau

LONDON — An ANC spokesman has discounted reports that one of the bombs which exploded outside the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court last week was manufactured in London, or that the attack was planned here.

The reports appeared in a Johannesburg morning paper.

The spokesman said the ANC had not even claimed responsibility for the attack.

"We have nothing to say about the incident. This is another attempt by Pretoria to try and get the British government to close down our offices here.

"Pretoria is looking for outside causes for problems that are inside the country."

Action to unite women against apartheid grows

Action to unite South African women in the fight for peace and justice in South Africa is growing.

About 500 women delegates attended the launch in Cape Town recently of the United Democratic Front's Women's Congress Alliance, the first of its kind since the birth of the UDF five years ago.

Splinter women's community and political groups have been working in isolation despite all being affiliated to the UDF and all addressing the same issues, said an organiser.

With the growing repression and deepening crisis in the country during the last two years, women have been meeting behind closed doors to find a solution to the country's problems.

They now feel that a solution lies in strength of their numbers and a united effort in the fight for peace and democracy in South Africa.

The launch was attended by delegates from the Federation of Transvaal Women, the United Women's Congress, Port Elizabeth Women's Organisation, Free State Women's Organisation, Natal Organisation of Women, Southern Cape Women, Northern Cape Women's Organisation, and women from Uitenhage and East London.

From now on, the alliance will be known as the UDFWCA in all regions where the UDF exists.

Each group will be identified by its region.

The women resolved to adopt the Freedom Charter as their guiding document and to undertake the following campaigns: housing at affordable rentals; equal education for all; the end to the state of emergency; free and adequate hospital services; women workers' rights; to oppose racist identity books and the high cost of living; and the unbanning of the African National Congress and all political bodies, including the unconditional return of all South African exiles.

It was also resolved:

- That women leadership within existing democratic structures should be strengthened.
- To fight for a truly democratic South Africa.
- To defend children against any form of brutality levelled against them by the minority apartheid regime.
- To work with the Congress of South African Trade Unions in their campaigns against unfair labour practices, against unemployment, and for a living wage for all workers irrespective of sex.

SPAR 2/8/5/92 NLS

UWC SRC bans Azasm

TWO Black Consciousness organisations have been banned from operating at the University of the Western Cape.

The Azanian Students Movement and its educational project, the Black Students Study Project, have been refused permission to register as student bodies, a spokesman for the Students Representative Council has confirmed.

The SRC spokesperson said the decision was unanimously taken by UWC's 54 societies and clubs.

"They felt BC organisations were not acceptable. They do not adhere to the non-racial principles and do not work with other organisations involved in the struggle."

11/11

South
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UDF man jailed

ARNOLD Stofile, secretary of the Border branch of the UDF, was yesterday sentenced to an effective 11 years' imprisonment by the Bisho Supreme Court after being found guilty of terrorism and the possession of Soviet arms.

Stofile was given 11 years for the main count of promoting the

activities of the ANC and another one year to run concurrently for another two counts of possessing a pistol and bullets.

His co-accused, Nelson Ndlela, was jailed for 15 years on the main charge of terrorism and received another three years to run concurrently for three other counts of possessing Soviet arms and ammunition.

Linda Michael Stofile, the brother of Arnold Stofile, was sentenced to eight years for the main count and Gladwell Gqibitole received eight years for terrorism and another four years to run concurrently for charges of possessing arms.

STAN 26/5/87

Dramatic turn in ANC trial

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21-24/5/87

"YES, I'm the Western Cape Commander of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe."

This was the dramatic admission made in the Supreme Court this week by Lizo Bright Ngqungwana when he changed his plea to guilty on terrorism charges.

Two of the 15 men were discharged while the 13 others changed their pleas to guilty on various charges.

Lizo and five others, Mr Thembinkosi Theophilus

Mzukwa, Mr Joseph Malusi Ngoma, Mr Sazi Livingstone Veldtman, Mr Quentin Deon Michels and Mr Cecil Esau, pleaded guilty to the main charge of terrorism as defined by the Internal Security Act.

The other seven - Mr Mthetho Douglas Myama, Mr Joseph Susele Mkhulhwa, Mr Anderson Zingisele Ncivata, Mr Reed Zwelethu Macozoma, Mr Gladwin Mthethehihi Mabengeza, Mr Cyril Moyisi Ntabeni and Mr

Norman Siseko Macanda - pleaded guilty to a lesser charge under the same Act - harbouring or assisting a person they had reason to suspect had committed or was planning terrorism, subversion or sabotage.

Statements of admission made by all 13 were read out this week by defence team leader Mr Denis Kuny SC.

In his capacity as Western Cape Commander of Umkhonto we Sizwe, Lizo said he was responsible for organising the importing and distributing of arms in the region.

He also said he trained several of his co-accused.

Among other dramatic admissions were:

- Mzukwa, 22, admitted throwing a hand-grenade at the Langa Police Station charge office and planting a limpet mine on the stoep.

The mine was deactivated by police before it exploded.

He also said he threw a hand-grenade at a police Casspir which missed.

- Ngoma, 28, a community worker, admitted planting a limpet mine in a toilet at Mowbray railway station.

He said in a statement that before planting the bomb he checked the train timetable and the nearby waiting room to make sure that no trains would be passing and no people would be in the area when the bomb exploded.

He said he planted the mine not to harm anyone but to put psychological pressure on the government and to celebrate May Day.

Judgment is expected this week.

Bid to free UDF five

THE Grahamstown Supreme court is to hear an urgent application for the release of five Border United Democratic Front (UDF) detainees this week.

In a court hearing last week, Justice Kannemeyer ruled that the Minister of Law and Order, and the Commissioners of Police and of Prisons furnish reasons for the group's continued detention to their lawyer.

Lawyers representing Ntombizana Gertrude Botha, Joe Mati, Alfred Metele, Sandla Bishop Mtintsilana and William Sincayi, applied to the Supreme Court for a ruling after they had not received answers to many telexes they sent to the Minister of Law and Order requesting reasons for the detentions.

The five, all executive members of the Border and East London branches of the United Democratic Front, were detained under emergency regulations on March 18.

In an affidavit to the court, all five say

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they have done nothing illegal, nor have they been involved in anything unlawful and their continued detention should therefore be declared unlawful.

The fifth applicant, William Sincayi, of Mdantsane, says in an affidavit that he was arrested at his work in East London and was taken to the Cambridge police station.

He was later transported to the East London prison, where he is still being held.

During his detention at the prison, he was taken to the Cambridge police station on several occasions where he was questioned about his activities in the UDF, as well as his activities as a trade unionist.

During one of the interrogations a policeman harassed him and threatened to shoot him. While the policeman said this, he held a gun to Sincayi's temple.
ANA



Neville van der Rheede with Carol and his son, Jody, at his home in Mitchells Plain this week

Picture: RASHID LOMBARD

Songs, tears for freed prisoners

11A
South
21-26/5/87

THERE were tears of joy and spontaneous bursts of song at the Supreme Court this week when two men accused of being ANC guerillas were freed after more than a year in custody.

Mr Neville van der Rheede, Mr Themba Tshibuka and 13 co-accused were charged with terrorism, furthering the aims of the ANC and possession of banned literature.

Van der Rheede, 32, and Tshibuka, 38, walked out of Court 1 into the arms of wives and relatives after being acquitted on all charges.

Their 13 fellow accused changed their pleas to guilty on various charges.

When the acquittal of Van der Rheede and Tshibuka was announced, jubilant people in the gallery broke out in a chorus of "Amandla".

The hearing had to be adjourned as the attempts of court orderlies to calm the

people failed.

In an interview Mr Van der Rheede said he had mixed feeling about his release.

"I am glad to be out but I also feel bitter about leaving my comrades behind."

Relaxing at his house in Mitchells Plain and holding his 10-month-old baby, Jody, for the first time, Van der Rheede appeared in fine spirits and good humour.

"It's always exciting to be near to your family. My wife was seven months pregnant when I was detained on May 2 last year. This is a great moment for me to touch my baby," he said.

A Bonteheuwel teacher with eight years' experience, Van der Rheede said he would like to return to teaching.

Tshibuka, briefly interviewed outside the court, said he was bitter about leaving behind the other trialists as they "had developed into a family".

Dramatic turn in trial, page 3

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SA group and ANC to attend business meeting

Post Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — The director-general of the South African Foundation, Mr Kurt von Schirnding, says the foundation is to attend a meeting in London tomorrow between ANC leader Mr Oliver Tambo and international businessmen.

He said the foundation would be represented by its London director, Mr David Willers, at the meeting, which had been arranged by Business International, a multinational research and information company.

The chairman of the British Industry Committee on South Africa, Sir Leslie Smith, will address about 70 business executives from the United States, Britain and Europe. All the companies represented have business links with South Africa.

Items on the agenda include the goals and tactics of the ANC, sanctions, alternatives to disinvestment and possible future political and economic scenarios.

Mr Von Schirnding, former South African Ambassador to the United Nations, said Mr Willers would present the "moderate, middle-of-the-road viewpoint" and he would stress that violence, car-bombs and necklacings were unacceptable to moderate South Africans.

He did not believe the foundation was "making waves" by talking to the ANC leader. The Government had not reacted to the foundation's participation.

The director of Business International's Southern African services, Mr Graham Hatton, said the aim of the conference was to help the executives of international companies gain a better understanding of the environment in which they operated.

SA Foundation denies it plans to meet ANC

11/19
SAP
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The South Africa Foundation had no intention of meeting the banned African National Congress (ANC) anywhere, director-general Mr Kurt von Schirnding said in Johannesburg yesterday.

Mr von Schirnding was reacting to reports that the foundation was to meet members of the ANC in London today, despite Government warnings against such meetings.

He said the London meeting had been planned by Britain's Industrial Committee on South Africa and would be attended by business executives whose companies had links with South Africa.

The foundation's London director, Mr David de Vil

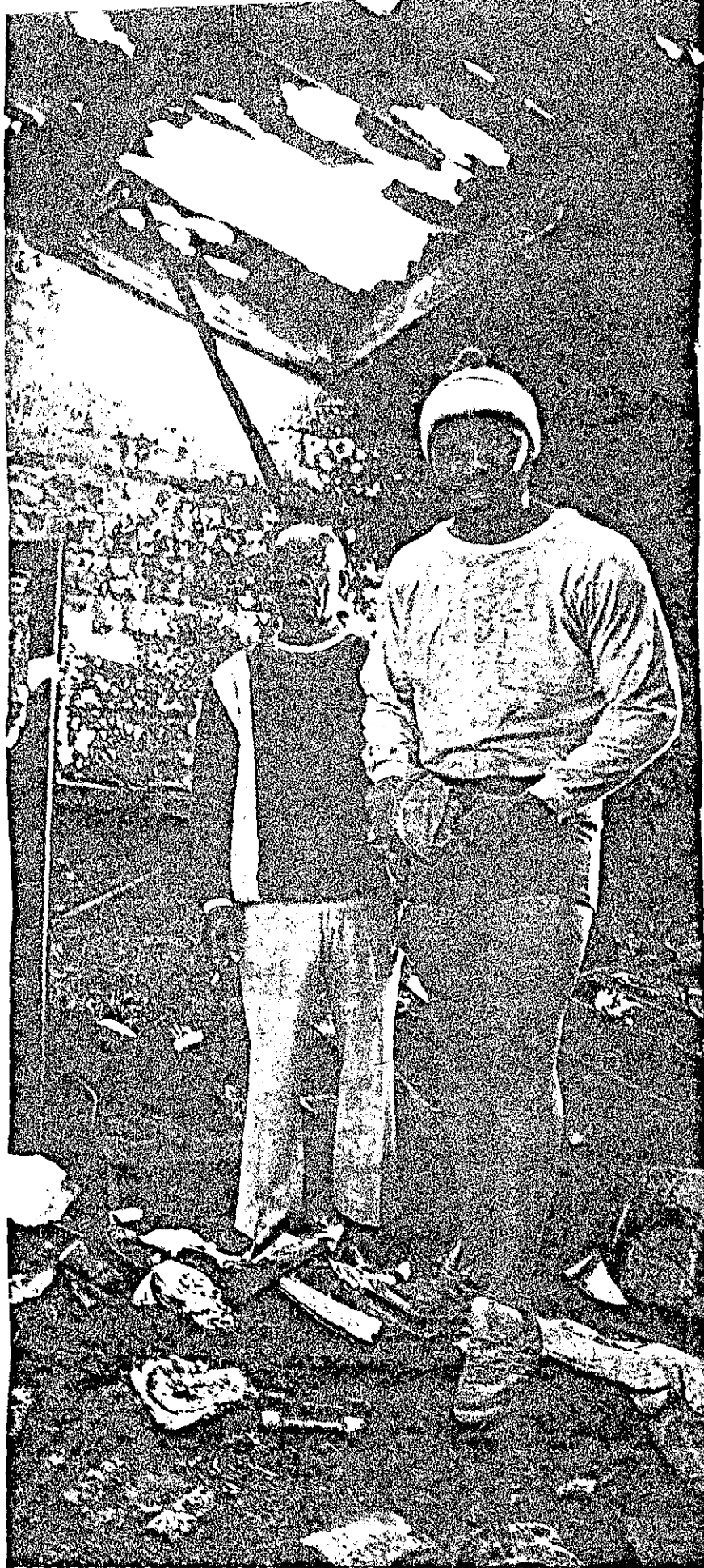
liers said the foundation would be present solely to inform businessmen about latest developments in South Africa.

In London a demonstration will be held today at Mayfair Intercontinental Hotel to protest at the presence of Mr Tambo at the meeting.

And in Pretoria the National Student Federation will join a demonstration today. — Sapa and The Star Bureau.

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HOMELESS . . . Guguletu teacher Mr Soli Mngxekele (right), with his father, Mr Bethwel Mngxekele, in the ruins of his home yesterday. The contents were also destroyed. Police have opened an arson docket. Mr Soli Mngxekeze believes the burning may have been in retribution for his punishment of a pupil at Guguletu's Zimasa Higher Primary School after the pupil allegedly swore at a school inspector, but police were not able to confirm this.

Picture: OBED ZILWA,

0

CAP 16 Times 27/8/77

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Langa pupils hurt in fights

By CLARE HARPER

WHILE classes resumed normally at Langa High School yesterday, at least four pupils — three of them athletes — were injured in fights allegedly between Langa pupils who went on a recent DET athletics tour to Durban and those opposed to the tour.

The fights took place outside the school grounds.

The athletes were treated for knife and panga wounds at Conradie Hospital yesterday, following an incident in NY57, Guguletu, in the afternoon.

One of the youths had a panga wound on his head and another suffered a knife wound to his chest. A third youth with a minor injury to his back was discharged after treatment.

It is believed that the fourth injured person was taken to Langa hospital for observation.

One of the youths was identified as

Mzolisi Damane, of the Joint SRC, the student body opposed to participation in the Durban tour.

A police spokesman for the Western Cape, Captain Jan Calitz, said the police were unaware of any stabbings between pupils.

A senior DET official confirmed yesterday that the headmaster, Mr Duke Ngcukana, was back at school, but that the DET investigation into disruptions at the school was continuing.

He declined to say whether Mr G S Niehaus, the temporary white principal appointed to take over till the situation normalized, had been removed as a result of the stoning of the headmaster's office on Monday.

The Western Cape National Education Crisis Committee said last night it would be seeking legal advice "to protect our students and progressive teachers".

Tutu suggests US should give backing to ANC

SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON — Archbishop Desmond Tutu is suggesting that Washington give the ANC the same backing it does the Contras fighting the Sandinista regime in Nicaragua.

Asked at a Press conference on Monday what advice he would give US President Ronald Reagan, the 1984 Nobel Peace Prize winner replied: "I would tell him do what you're doing in Nicaragua."

Pressed to clarify whether he meant providing weapons to the ANC and other opposition movements, he continued:

"When the West decided there was something called Nazism, most of the West and the churches adopted the cause of war against Hitler."

He added: "And I have said many times I hold the traditional, conservative position of the church that there can come a time when it would be justifiable, as the lesser of two evils, to overthrow an unjust system by force."

Mum's miracle baby



Mrs Carol Marais with her 'miracle' test tube baby boy, Joshua, at their home in Athlone this week. Mrs Marais tells her poignant story to readers on page 7.

Picture: RASHID LOMBARD

UDF, Azanyu pair killed

11A

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By VUYO BAVUMA and
AYESHA ISMAIL
FEAR stalks Mbekweni township in Paarl following the mystery killing of two young political activists in the area.

The first to die was Taelo Ntlabo, 20, an Azanian National Youth Unity (Azanyu) member. He was shot outside his home on May 14.

Ntlabo, a Standard 10 pupil at the St Francis High School, Paarl, was buried on May 21.

Last week, Vuyiswa Portia Xhola, 17, a Paarl Youth Congress (Payco) member was killed after being hit by a bullet in the back.

Payco is an affiliate of the UDF.

According to Joseph Mbalo, a youth member, he and Vuyiswa were talking when the shooting took place.

"I heard a shot and I ran away. Later I saw Vuyiswa clutching her shoulder in agony. I did not see who shot her or from where the shot came. I then rushed to her and organised transport to hospital where she died," Joseph Mbalo said.

The girl's mother, Mrs Rosie Xhola, a domestic worker, said she was deeply distressed at the killing and would approach lawyers for advice.

"Security forces patrol the area day

and night," Mrs Xhola said.

"I went to Paarl police station after the shooting and asked for the bullet that killed my daughter but I was told that it had been sent to Pretoria for tests," she said.

Her daughter, a Standard 8 pupil at Sosebenza High School, Khayelitsha, will be buried this Friday.

SAP Public Relations Division confirmed that the Paarl police had opened murder dockets for both killings but no arrests had yet been made.

Residents interviewed could not say whether the killings were linked.

They expressed fear of another wave of violence between the rival political factions in the area.

Mrs Ntlabo said: "Initially our parish priest withdrew from attending night vigils. This upset me. On the day of the funeral, groups of people stoned our house. Some were jumping for joy as the procession was on the way to the cemetery," she said.

"Others threatened the mourners from other areas. Later my house was petrol bombed but minimal damage was caused. We are now living in fear with my three children," she added.



Vuyiswa Xhola, a Paarl Youth Congress member, was killed in mysterious circumstances on May 19

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south SPEAKS

Stop this madness

AN UGLY situation is developing in the Paarl township of Mbekweni. A situation which could seriously divert us from our march for justice and peace — and an end to exploitation.

Paarl youth groupings of the United Democratic Front and the black consciousness movement are again gearing themselves to settle their political differences violently.

Two lives have been tragically lost. And although there's no proof whatsoever that either UDF or Azapo members were involved, battle lines are being drawn.

At the University of the Western Cape in Bellville South, the Student Representative Council (SRC) has banned the black consciousness Azanian Students Movement from operating on the campus.

The issue is not whether one agrees or disagrees with the politics of black consciousness. Or which political movement commands the popular support.

Let us state it quite unequivocally that SOUTH stands for a unitary, democratic and nonracial South Africa. And we have no illusions about the support nationally for this vision.

Organisations like the Azanian Peoples' Organisation (Azapo), the Azanian Students Movement (Azasm) and the Azanian National Youth Unity (Azanyu) exist whether we like it or not. They form part of the progressive movement whether we care to admit this or not. They cannot be wished away. In fact, they have every right to exist.

Differences within the progressive movement cannot be solved through violence, or "necklaces", or petrol bombing opponent's homes, or banning organisations. These are politically immature and naive actions. It is understandable that emotions run high at times but in the end reason has to prevail.

It is through organisational work in the field that political and ideological dominance will be achieved — not through bannings and battles.

We all know who will gain from these violent confrontations. It will definitely not be the people. In fact, the people stand to lose.

UDF and Azapo leaders have a responsibility to ensure that problems are resolved in a mature manner. We urge them to take the lead. We urge tolerance and political maturity. Let us put a stop to this madness.

Walter Sisulu misses out on birthday cake

A BIRTHDAY cake for ANC chief Walter Sisulu, specially ordered for the occasion and iced with the words: "To our beloved father, Walter, from Mama and the children", never reached its destination.

Prison authorities did not allow him to even see his cake, his daughter Nonkul-

uleko said.

Birthday cards and telegrams, including one from a Hungarian liberation group sent to Sisulu to mark his 75th birthday, were also refused.

The telegram greeting, sent to the Johannesburg home of Mrs Sisulu, congratulated Sisulu for turn-

ing 75 in the same year as the ANC's 75th anniversary.

Sisulu celebrated his birthday in grand style with visits from two daughters-in-law. One, the wife of his son Max, travelled all the way from Harare for the occasion, and the other came from

Johannesburg.

Mrs Albertina Sisulu was not with her husband on his birthday. She chose instead to visit her son, Zwelakhe, the editor of New Nation, who has been in detention for almost 170 days.

A spokesperson from the SA Prisons Services said:

"For obvious reasons prisoners cannot be allowed to receive food and other perishable items from outside prison.

"Families can deposit money for a prisoner to buy from the prison tuck shop."

He said prisoners were allowed 12 cards a year.

Calls to lift ban on ANC

BONN — The West German Foreign Minister, Mr Hans-Dietrich Genscher, urged South Africa's white rulers yesterday to lift the ban on the African National Congress and start a national dialogue with black leaders.

Mr Genscher, in a speech to African ambassadors on the 24th anniversary of the Organisation of African Unity, said a national dialogue in South Africa had to begin with the release of jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela. — Sapa-RNS

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DD

Nats, ANC for talks?

MASERU — The West German government will invite representatives of the National Party, the African National Congress and other organisations to special talks in West Germany in October to help solve South Africa's racial problems, West Germany's Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, Mr Helmut Schaefer, said in Maseru yesterday.

Speaking at a Press conference at the end of an official visit to Lesotho, Mr Schaefer said the planned talks would be held under the auspices of the Committee of Foreign Affairs of the German Bundestag.

Germany wanted to enter into dialogue with all bodies representing the black majority in South Africa. — Sapa.

SMA
2/1/82

group
Solidarity may go to AG *28/5/87 11A*

DURBAN. — Solidarity will go to the Advocate-General with allegations of irregularities in the House of Delegates Ministers' Council if a commission of inquiry is not held, Mr Dookie said at a press conference here yesterday. Mr Dookie backed reports on the existence of a blacklist of teaching students believed to have links with extra-parliamentary organizations and who were to be posted to "out of the way" places.

Wronofront

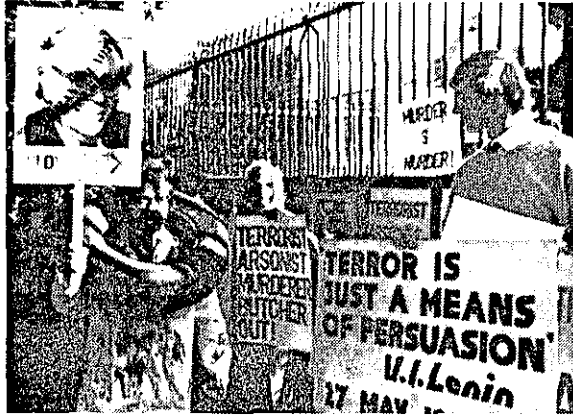
Anti-Tambo demos in London and Pretoria

LONDON. — Demonstrators picketed a hotel here yesterday demanding the expulsion from Britain of Mr Oliver Tambo, president of the African National Congress.

Mr Tambo was inside the Mayfair Intercontinental Hotel, one of several speakers addressing a conference attended by 60 businessmen discussing trade with South Africa.

The man behind the new movement, Mr Marc Gordon, describes himself as a "conservative activist" and said his organization was right-wing, anti-apartheid and particularly anti-ANC.

□ Meanwhile in Pretoria about 25 right-wing students, some with rubber tyres round their necks, demonstrated



NECKLACE DEMO . . .The demonstration at the British Embassy in Pretoria yesterday.

outside the British Embassy yesterday to protest at the visit to Britain by Mr Tambo.

Police ordered the demonstrators to restrict their number to 20.

PW Botha to receive Sharpeville honour

JOHANNESBURG. — The State President, Mr P W Botha, is to be made an honorary citizen of Sharpeville by the Lekoa Town Council.

A ceremony is scheduled to take place next Thursday, when he visits the Vaal Triangle townships — including Sharpeville, where police opened fire on protesters in 1960, killing 69 people.

He will also visit nearby Sebokeng, where protests against rent increases in September 1984 sparked nationwide unrest.

SABC radio news quoted the area's mayor, Mr Esau Mahlatsi, as saying Mr Botha would be made an honorary citizen for dedication to his office.

Vaal triangle townships have been at the forefront of a year-long rent and rates boycott to back various demands, including the withdrawal of security forces from the townships and the release of political prisoners.

The Sowetan newspaper said the local council would spend about R12 000 to entertain some 1 200 guests during Mr Botha's visit.

It said Mr Botha would hand over a flag to the mayor. Pigeons and balloons will be set free when the flag is hoisted.

Mr Botha became the first South African government head to visit the country's biggest black township, Soweto, soon after becoming prime minister in 1978.

His office declined to confirm the report of next week's tour, saying that on security grounds it did not disclose his future movements.

Aides declined to discuss Mr Botha's itinerary for the ceremonies, but SABC reported the scheduled ceremonies.

"We never discuss the State President's movements, for security reasons," a spokeswoman said in Cape Town.

A spokesman for the Lekoa Town Council yesterday confirmed that Mr Botha is to be given "the freedom of the city".

"It was not supposed to come out yet, so I cannot say any more at this stage," the council official said.

"The mayor will make an announcement on Tuesday with all the details." — Reuter and UPI

Think British, buy Japanese

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Young winners of a competition organized by the Think British Campaign to promote home-produced goods have received Japanese radios as prizes.

The faux pas arose after children in Cornwall were asked for ideas on encouraging British purchases and job creation.

The Think British Campaign asked the sponsors, the South-Western Electricity Board, to provide British-made prizes for the dozen or so school winners.

A board spokesman said: "There were no British equivalents available."

ALTHOUGH neither the African National Congress nor the Pan Africanist Congress has accepted responsibility for Wednesday's car bomb explosions, the incident was practically a text-book example of the ANC's policy of hitting only "hard targets".

Three policemen were the only people killed in the apparently well-synchronised blasts outside the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court.

Four policemen and six civilians of all races, one a pregnant black woman, were wounded in the blasts which shattered windows of the nearby John Vorster Square police headquarters at about 12,30pm.

An ANC representative in Lusaka said the exiled organisation knew nothing about the bombs which "have nothing to do with us". Speaking from Dar es Salaam, a PAC representative said his organisation could not comment on the blasts.

Meanwhile, the blasts have led to another round of accusations against the media, after more than a dozen photographers and film crews filming the aftermath of the explosion from a nearby building were arrested and held for most of Wednesday afternoon. Film and video cartridges were confiscated by the police.

A police spokesman said the journalists had been "taken in for questioning" because police were investigating the possibility that they had

Jo'burg blast: Not us, say ANC. No comment say PAC

WEEKLY MAIL REPORTERS

been tipped off about the bombs before they went off.

A foreign journalist said similar accusations had been made in the past. "The simple explanation is if we hear a blast we rush to the scene."

According to witnesses the two bombs exploded in quick succession, with a first smaller explosion luring policemen on duty at the court to the nearby second larger bomb. Unofficial reports attributed the second explosion to a 3kg bomb placed in a car parked near one of the entrances to the court.

The explosions occurred on the fourth anniversary of the ANC's May 20, 1983 Pretoria car bomb attack in which 19 people were killed — nearly all of them civilians — and more than 200 injured.

Coming in the wake of the May 6 white general election — which saw

a marked shift to the right by whites — Wednesday's terror blast seemed to be a direct expression of warnings by the ANC that "white intransigence" would be answered by intensified "armed struggle".

Compared with the 1983 bomb, Wednesday's explosion demonstrated an increasing sophistication in urban guerrilla attacks.

The Pretoria car bomb was aimed at the security establishment. The car was parked outside the headquarters of the South African Airforce and opposite a building housing military intelligence staff. But the execution was clumsy; the two bombers blew themselves up and killed and maimed mainly civilians, many of them black, in the process.

On Wednesday, however, policemen accounted for all the dead and nearly half the injured. The bombers seem to have escaped, adding to the impression of better training.

Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok condemned the bomb as "an unscrupulous deed". It was "act of cowardice" carried out by the ANC against members of the public, "irrespective of race, sex or age".

Police Commissioner Johan Coetzee yesterday described the bombings as "theatre".

"It's meant to make people despondent. It does not upset the military, security equilibrium."

If the bombs were meant to break the morale of whites, they failed to do so judging by the remarks of people peering over police barriers at the debris left by the explosion. One man, who had to leave his vehicle at the blast overnight, called for tougher action against blacks, remembering with nostalgia the days when former Prime Minister Smuts "would have mowed them down".

Wednesday's blast was the 10th to rock Johannesburg since the beginning of the year. It was heralded by an overnight limpet mine explosion at the Carleton shopping centre.

● Three foreign journalists are due to leave the country this weekend after the government refused to renew their work permits. They are British Broadcasting Corporation correspondent Michael Buerk, Independent Television News correspondent Peter Sharp and US Business Week correspondent Steven Mufson.

25 protesters chant opposition to ANC

11A
28/1/87
STAR

By Michael Morris,
The Star Bureau

LONDON — Lurid anti-ANC posters depicting the charred and contorted forms of alleged "necklace" victims greeted guests at the West End's Mayfair Hotel yesterday as 25 noisy demonstrators chanted their opposition to ANC leader Mr Oliver Tambo's presence at a business conference inside.

"ANC, IRA, who're you going to kill today" was one of a number of chants that echoed along Stratton Street for most of yesterday morning as the openly right-wing group hammered home its claim that the ANC was a terrorist organisation, with the same tactics and goals as the IRA.

Other posters suggested links between the ANC, the IRA, the PLO and the KGB. Another carried the words: "Socialism kills."

However, Mr Tambo — and the bulk of top British executives who had come to the con-

ference to talk to him in private about present and future ANC policy — missed the demonstration altogether. They used a side entrance.

Instead, the protest had an audience mostly of tourists and a contingent of expressionless police officers.

Embarrass

Peace Now in South Africa, a newly formed group devoted to undermining ANC credibility abroad, mounted the demonstration to embarrass the conference organisers, Business International, and the Mayfair Hotel for hosting the event.

They attacked the British Government for allowing an ANC presence in London and the Foreign Office for initiating dialogue with Mr Tambo. The group claims to have sent 5 000 cards of protest (each bearing a picture of an alleged "necklace" victim) to Mrs Thatcher, Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey

Howe, Business International and the Mayfair Hotel.

They also delivered to 10 Downing Street a petition signed by a handful of Young Conservative leaders calling on Mrs Thatcher to prevent Mr Tambo from entering Britain, to close the ANC's London office, to promote groups like Inkatha and to continue resisting sanctions.

The ANC dismissed the protest as "irrelevant".

Downing Street had no comment.

Coinciding with Mr Tambo's talks with businessmen yesterday was a half-page advertisement in *The Guardian* sponsored by the International Freedom Foundation. It called for a rejection of "Tambo and his sanctions".

The advertisement told the story of Arthur Muhulungu, a South African factory worker who allegedly lost his job because of sanctions.

This, not apartheid, was the "evil force" which threatened



Mr Oliver Tambo . . . missed the protest.

Arthur's life and that of his wife who brought in "a meagre income as a maid", while their five children who had left school did what they could to help, the advertisement said.

● Part of this report has been deleted in terms of the Internal Security Act.

UDF slams vote to end US aid

~~UDF~~
11/19
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28/5/87

JOHANNESBURG —
The United Democratic Front (UDF) supported the position taken by Zimbabwe, Botswana and Zambia in denouncing the US senate vote to cut off aid to Frontline states if they did not stop supporting the African National Congress.

In a statement yesterday the UDF's acting publicity secretary, Mr Murphy Morobe, attacked the Senate vote as "blackmail tactics".

"The last thing these proud Africans would want to be are 'house-niggers' at the beck and call of the American dollar," he said.

"What the Senate has exposed is American arrogance and chauvinism which it thinks it can freely use against small countries to whip them into line."

The UDF, he said, agreed with Zimbabwe's Prime Minister, Mr Robert Mugabe, that the vote was "supported by racists who tacitly supported white rule in this country because in the end it (white rule) does not really conflict with American interests of domination".

"We shall be waiting to see with keen interest whether their House of Representatives will endorse this Senate resolution," he said.

"Whichever way it goes, the world will have once again seen that American aid has very little to do with humanitarianism but seeks to promote rabid American imperialism." — Sapa

Witness shows burns to court

DD 22/5/87
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JOHANNESBURG — A state witness, who was formerly trained in the use of arms and grenades as an ANC member, stripped to the waist in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday to show burn scars on his back which he said were caused by a petrol bomb.

This took place during the trial of eight Alexandra youths charged with treason and alternative charges of sedition and subversion.

The witness, whose identity may not be revealed, told the court that on 15 February 1986 a crowd of about 250 "comrades" armed with sjamboks and petrol bombs arrived at his home.

Three petrol bombs were thrown at him. Only the third exploded but it caused burns so serious he had to spend five months in hospital.

The witness said he used to be consulted by the Alexandra Youth Committee (AYCO) on matters regarding "the struggle" but later fell into disrepute when 13 AYCO members were arrested on his premises.

He said he had been suspected of having caused the arrests.

Telling the court of the "comrade" attitude to police and Alexandra town councillors, he said: "We did not want the police. We wanted the councillors to resign as we did not want puppets."

The trial continues.

Azanian youth movement is launched

1/A
27/5/87

Mike Tissong

DURBAN — The Azanian Youth Organisation (Azayo) was launched in Durban yesterday.

Keynote speaker Mr Muntu Myeza of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) told almost 1 000 delegates that the focal point of the struggle was the return of the land to the "dispossessed people".

"We are not accepting the half loaf of bread offered by the Government in terms of the tricameral Parliament and the bantustans," he said.

"We are also not accepting the loaf or the bakery of participation in the present system. Central to our struggle is the land from which the wheat comes.

"This is our land and this is Azania and we are going to take it back."

Mr Myeza added that the youth was integral to the "struggle for a socialist Azania".

Azayo's executive will be elected today. Two members of Azayo's interim executive committee, president Mr Sam Seema, and publicity secretary Mr George Ngwenya are in detention.



Ball bounces back

The use or the absolute privilege of parliament for verbal attacks against individuals that could be actionable if repeated elsewhere was firmly focused on during the censure and no-confidence debates in all three Houses last week.

In the House of Assembly it led to the appointment of a select committee to investigate allegations by the PFP's David Dalling against Cape Judge President Justice George Munnik, who probed Chris Ball's role in the recent ANC advertisement row.

And in the other two houses, repeated scathing personal attacks and allegations amounting to corruption and other acts of dishonesty highlighted the growing tensions in coloured and Indian politics as well.

The assembly's majority resolution to appoint a committee to probe Dalling's remarks raised the question of State President P W Botha's original allegations against Ball in the House in February. It also revived the debate in legal circles over whether judges should be used to head commissions of inquiry.

Dalling's action rocked parliament and dragged Ball back into a row he was clearly hoping would go away.

Amid repeated interjections by National

FINANCIAL MAIL MAY 29 1987

Party (NP) MPs and warnings by Speaker Louis le Grange not to abuse the privilege of Parliament, Dalling said Munnik's "unhappy" banking relationship with Barclays was one of four reasons why he should not have accepted Botha's brief to investigate Ball.

Dalling said his information on Munnik came from "an enterprising journalist" who had investigated the matter and not from Barclays.

This led to Finance Minister Barend du Plessis sending an urgent telex to the chairman of the SA Association of Clearing Banks asking it to explain how a journalist came to have what should have been confidential information concerning Munnik's banking record.

"The perception that our banking system's confidentiality can be penetrated, even and particularly by journalists, can therefore easily create serious doubts within the entire banking world concerning our banks' ability to protect confidential information," he said.

In his allegations against Munnik, Dalling charged that the judge should not have accepted the brief because:

From the outset it was obvious that the matter was not a judicial issue involving criminal or civil liability of any sort. The appointment of a commission was a means to the advantageous resolution of a political and not a judicial dispute, at the time of the election. It involved the head of the NP and one who disagreed with the party. Judicial attention should not have been afforded in such an instance;

It was an almost personal dispute between the state president and the head of a major bank. Munnik was well known to be a long-standing personal friend of one of the disputees and should not have been party to the quarrel;

The dispute was essentially one which may have possibly affected the electoral fortunes of the NP — certainly within the business community — in greater or lesser measure. Munnik was undeniably a strong supporter of the NP and should have avoided sitting on the commission; and

In past years, and on more than one occasion, Barclays had occasion to unilaterally close Munnik's account. The parting between Munnik and Barclays was an unhappy one.

Dalling said: "As a result, I believe he (Munnik) had no right to sit on this inquiry." He said Munnik's report was "interlaced with unsolicited, gratuitous insults as to Mr Ball's prudence as a banker, as to the inflated view he took of his own banking expertise, and finally as to Mr Ball's personal integrity."

The row over the ANC ads involved neither a crime nor a banking irregularity, but centred on a political dispute.

Botha, "armed with transcriptions of secretly tapped telephone conversations," decided to use the judiciary to win his point.

The commission's terms of reference were drafted in such a manner so that the "object"

of Botha's annoyance was on trial, while ensuring that the background to the accusations against Ball were not probed.

Dalling pointed out that a commission could indict people without ever giving them the opportunity to answer. People "on trial" could not call or cross-examine witnesses.

"None of the safeguards which our legal system provides to avoid miscarriages of justice are present. Worst of all, there is no right of appeal, not even of review. Once a finding is made it sticks," he said.

The Munnik Commission was, therefore, an "ideal forum" to "suit the ends" of the president.

Speaking immediately after Dalling, Justice Minister Kobic Coetsee said Dalling was seeking "maximum publicity" for short-term gain without considering the implications of his speech.

He accused Dalling of "sewer politics" and of doing more damage to the judiciary with a single speech than any other action in the past.

The following day Coetsee's motion for the appointment of a select committee was approved by a majority. Both the PFP and the Conservative Party voted against it.

The following day in the House, the Nat MP for Parow, Hernus Kriel, said the Munnik Commission had found Ball "guilty" of "telling blatant lies."

Kriel charged that the PFP had lost votes in the election because it was associated with people such as Ball.

The Munnik Commission report described key witness Yusuf Surtee as a man "of no financial substance," who had to be kept on a tight rein to prevent his bank accounts getting out of hand. It summarised Surtee's banking history and financial standing, listing evidence of dishonoured cheques of up to R8 000 and threats of legal action over failure to keep to his overdraft limit.

ANC partially lifts boycott

LONDON — The ANC is lifting its cultural boycott against SA in the case of plays which come from anti-apartheid sources.

This surprise move was made known last night by ANC president Oliver Tambo, when addressing a meeting in London.

It follows the mixed feelings aroused in ANC and Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM) circles over such shows as Paul Simon's "Gracelands" production, which was picketed and

boycotted by some AAM groups.

However, that does not mean there will be a general relaxing of the cultural boycott allowing a free interchange of articles and productions.

It also does not mean that there will be any let-up in other boycotts against SA, such as the sports boycott.

Journalists report from Germany that ANC sources there said an easing of the academic boycott against SA was also being considered.

ANC says it planted Jo'burg bombs

B/Day 29/5/81 (PINA) (S)

HAMISH McINDOE

THE ANC yesterday claimed responsibility for the car bombs that killed four policemen outside the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court last week.

A statement issued by the ANC's office in Dar es Salaam and given to Business Day by its Lusaka office, said SA-based cadres of the movement's armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe carried out the bombings.

The movement initially denied responsibility for the attack.

The statement claimed 27 SA security force members had been killed in recent "operations" inside SA.

Casualties included 12 SADF members and four policemen killed at Soweto and

Johannesburg railway stations during last month's Sats strike, it said.

But an SAP spokesman has rejected this as "simply untrue". He said the ANC claim was "clearly a morale booster".

Both the SAP and the ANC yesterday dismissed a Johannesburg newspaper report naming Lusaka-based Umkhonto we Sizwe member Johannes Mnisi as the suspected planner of the May 20 car bombings.

The ANC also claimed responsibility for the "rocket attack" in April on a Soweto council police training camp —

an attack the armed wing of the Pan-Africanist Congress said it carried out.

A council policeman was killed and 64 injured — not 26 as claimed by the ANC yesterday — when a grenade was thrown at two parading police platoons.

The ANC also referred to a "battle of Ventersdorp in April, where the enemy lost six dead".

Its statement said: "Over the past few weeks the people's army has continued to intensify its offensive against the armed forces of apartheid.

"During this period, it inflicted significant casualties on the army and police. Umkhonto we Sizwe will continue to deliver blows against the enemy."

B1 Day

PW's offer to blacks challenged

DOMINIQUE GILBERT

PRESIDENT PW Botha has been warned to be wary of the quality of leaders his government has shown to be enthusiastic about negotiation.

In reply to the President's recent advertisement addressed to blacks, City Press editor Percy Qoboza said, in an open letter to Botha, he saw no commitment from Botha's officials to a non-violent philosophy.

Botha's advertisements called on blacks to come forward to negotiate with government on a future SA.

Qoboza questioned what Botha wanted to negotiate and with whom he intended to do this.

"There seems to be nobody around with whom to negotiate. Our leaders are in jail. Just the other day Walter Sisulu celebrated his 75th birthday — in prison. There is still no evidence of compassion coming from your government."

Qoboza said he would be wary of those at present showing enthusiasm for negotiation with government.

He compared them with those coloureds and Indians who had opted for the tricameral system and subsequently earned the scorn of the majority of the communities in which they lived.

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IN BRIEF

Bosses pressed over pay during army duty

The Star Bureau

29/5/87

LONDON — South Africa's business community may find itself coming under pressure from unions to stop paying national servicemen who are away from work on army duty.

Most companies make up the difference between their young white employees' army pay and their normal salaries when they are called up for camps. A practice the ANC believes amounts to voluntary collaboration with the "racist regime".

MATTER FOR NEGOTIATION

Up until now, calls to end the topping-up payments have come almost entirely from activists and the ANC itself.

However, it emerged at a business conference in the British capital this week that unions may well consider making the issue a matter for negotiation with employers.

British business leaders attending the conference for informal talks with ANC leader Oliver Tambo heard that unions might take up the ANC's resistance to the payments and link it to wages and working conditions.

This would generate considerable controversy in labour relations.

SAP says 'kill' claims by ANC are propaganda

By Mike Cohen

The SAP has dismissed as "nonsense" an ANC claim that its military wing has killed 22 members of the security forces over the past few weeks.

The ANC has claimed responsibility for the death of four policemen in the car bomb attack at the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court last week.

In a statement released in Lusaka, the ANC claimed it had killed 22 soldiers and policemen in attacks launched by Umkhonto we Sizwe.

A spokesman for police headquarters in Pretoria denied the claims, saying only one policeman was killed at Ventersdorp and the four in Johannesburg.

"The SAP has made known all casualties in any cases of violence. It is thus transparently obvious that the figures mentioned by the ANC are far from correct and nothing more than a propaganda ploy," he said.

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ANC claims it set off killer car bomb blast

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LUSAKA — The African National Congress (ANC) yesterday claimed responsibility for a car bomb attack that killed four policemen in Johannesburg last week.

The ANC said it killed 22 soldiers and policemen in attacks which were denied by the South African authorities.

"Over the past few weeks, the people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe (the ANC's military wing)... inflicted significant casualties on the army and police, killing at least 27 of these," the ANC statement said.

In addition to four dead in the Johannesburg attack on May 20, in which two bombs went off minutes apart in a car outside a magistrates court, the ANC statement listed six soldiers killed in April in the town of Ventersdorp and said a further 12 died in the black township of Soweto.

The only similar incident reported by the South African Government was the death of a policeman in Ventersdorp last month. A police spokesman in Johannesburg said today that the other claims were false.

● Meanwhile, the Daily Dispatch's London Bureau reported last night that the willingness of the major Western powers to start direct contact with the ANC had not altered their fundamental hostility towards the movement.

This feeling emerged from an address by the president of the ANC, Oliver Tambo in London last night.

The government in Pretoria was still seen and treated as the defender and guarantor of Western interests. The ANC was still seen as the threat.

Mr Tambo was speaking at the annual commemorative lecture for Canon John Collins, the former Canon of St Pauls Cathedral and a staunch supporter of the ANC. The talk was titled: South Africa at the Crossroads.

It followed a meeting here on Wednesday by Business International, an organisation owned

by the Economist Group.

● It was also announced last night that the ANC was lifting the cultural boycott against South Africa in the case of plays which came from strong anti-apartheid sources.

This surprise move was made known last night by Mr Tambo.

It followed the mixed feelings that have been aroused in ANC and Anti Apartheid Movement (AAM) circles in London over such shows as the Paul Simon Gracelands production, which was picketed and boycotted by some AAM groups.

It did not, however, mean there would be a general relaxing of the cultural boycott, allowing a free interchange of artists and productions between the two countries.

It was reported from Germany last night that the ANC was also considering easing the academic boycott against South Africa.

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29/5/87
S/Tour

'Pamphlets are fakes'

THE Azanian People's Organisation has dissociated itself from a pamphlet circulated in Soweto inciting members of the organisation to act against the United Democratic Front.

Although the pamphlet does not explicitly say what action Azapo members should take, it is clear from its tone that it is inciting violence.

The pamphlet bears an Azapo logo, which is a black clenched fist with a chained wrist and is headed "Azapo on the March — Facing the Challenges".

Among other things, the pamphlet says: "Azapo on the March. Down with UDF."

Azapo's vice-president, Mr Lybon Mabasa, said the pamphlet showed the urgent need for political organisations to solve their differences. He said it was obvious from the wording of the pamphlet that it was the work of "agent provocateurs".

He said: "The slogan Azapo on the March — Facing New Challenges" was our slogan for the 1985 congress. Subsequent to that, the theme was "Forward to a Socialist Azania".

Mr Mabasa said that pamphlets such as these had been circulated in the past, some discrediting the UDF and others discrediting Azapo, depending on what "agent provocateurs" thought the target should be at any given time.

Such bogus pamphlets were designed to sow division, he said.

ANC: They were our bombs



Star
LUSAKA — The African National Congress (ANC) claimed yesterday that a bomb attack that killed four policemen in Johannesburg last week.

The black nationalist guerilla group said it killed 22 soldiers and policemen in attacks denied by the South African authorities.

"Over the past few weeks, the people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, inflicted significant casualties on the army and police, killing at least 27 of these," the ANC said.

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The only similar incident reported by the South African Government was the death of a policeman in Ventersdorp last month. A police spokesman in Johannesburg said yesterday that the other claims were false.

The statement, issued by the ANC's headquarters in Lusaka, said Umkhonto we Sizwe "will continue to deliver blows" against the enemy, using as before its units which are based within the country.

• A South African soldier and his wife were charged in a Lusaka court on Tuesday with illegal entry into Zambia on April 22, the official Times of Zambia daily reported yesterday. Sapa-Reuters.

ANC: They were our bombs

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SITAM

29/5/87

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ANC 'stars' move

By JEREMY BROOKS
London

THE ANC-inspired cultural boycott of South Africa is in a state of confusion and disarray this weekend.

But despite indications of a policy switch, the banned organisation insists that it will still vet artists and musicians who want to perform in South Africa.

And, says the ANC, it will give "permission" to multinational companies to keep on doing business in South Africa subject to certain conditions.

This move is being widely interpreted as signalling a shift in the ANC's economic boycott stand.

The new ANC lines emerged this week after widespread uncertainty over the cultural boycott in which zealous anti-apartheid movements sometimes picketed South African performers while the ANC ignored them.

Re-think

According to the ANC, the bottom line now for South African performers to work overseas or for foreign artists to visit South Africa is that they must have the endorsement of organisations like the United Democratic Front, its closely aligned sports body, the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee (SAN-ROC), and trade unions.

Sources close to the ANC, the main architect of the international sanctions campaign, this week indicated a major re-think in the organisation.

The confusion came to a head with the recent visit of South African singer Johnny Clegg and Savuka — the ANC ignored it while the British Musicians' Union objected to the ex-Juluka star being granted a temporary British work permit.

The ANC officially denies that the new ruling represents any departure from its old policy, which has been in

seen as shift in boycott stand

operation for nearly 20 years.

But at a London businessmen's conference this week attended by ANC President Oliver Tambo, delegates were left with the impression that the ANC was willing to talk.

"Tambo seems to have realised that total sanctions are both impractical and unrealistic," said one observer.

"The message is coming through that individual companies will be given the go-ahead to continue operating in South Africa, providing they act in a certain way.

Conditions

"That means cutting their ties with the South African police and defence force, and an acceptable record in the fields of social responsibility and human rights."

And an ANC official said on Friday: "If certain companies feel they are being treated unfairly, they should come and talk to us."

She added that the ANC was merely defining its position.

"In recent years, we have seen the emergence of various democratic organisations in South Africa, like the trade unions.

"If, for instance, international stars wanted to visit the country to participate in a UDF cultural event that would be acceptable.

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VIA

Bank's tree pruned

3/1/87

THE new emblem of First National Bank, formerly Barclays, is to be changed to make it easier to incorporate on items like cufflinks and not to eliminate the ANC-linked rabbit which certain critics claimed to see in the tree's image.

Said the bank's chairman, Basil Hersov: "I have never known about rabbits having ANC connections anyway."

It was simply a case of the original tree design being "a little too artistic," he said.

"To streamline the image, we are merely eliminating some of the smaller branches so as to facilitate its reproduction." - Sapa.

Black Politics

1987

JUNE

11A
Raid 'may have been by ANC faction'

PRETORIA. — The Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, has suggested that opposing factions in the African National Congress were responsible for Friday's raid on Maputo that left three people dead.

In a statement to Sapa, he said a climate of violence and uncertainty had overcome Maputo and "gunfire and explosions are the order of the day".

"Recently, landmines have exploded on the beach of Maputo, killing civilians," he said.

There were also in Maputo — "as elsewhere in neighbouring states" — opposing factions of the ANC who would not hesitate to use violent methods to "eliminate" those with whom they disagreed.

The Foreign Minister said examples of this sort of violence had taken place recently in Swaziland and Harare.

"RIDICULOUS"

It was also known there were forces in Maputo with "vested interests" in driving a wedge between the Mozambique and South African governments.

Such forces would "not hesitate to use these sorts of methods".

The ungrounded allegations against South Africa regarding the Maputo raid joined a "choir of hysterical cries" from certain neighbouring countries, his statement said.

Mr Botha referred to the arrest of schoolgirls in Zimbabwe on allegations of spying for South Africa, and described such actions as "ridiculous extremes".

Mr Botha also believed the anti-South African propaganda from neighbouring states was aimed at countering the American Senate decision to withhold financial aid from countries which allowed "terrorists" to operate from their territo-

ries against South Africa.

A MISTAKE

In most cases the propaganda served to cover up internal problems and maladministration in these countries.

Mr Botha said he stood by his statement on Friday about the alleged South African attack on private houses in Maputo.

In that statement, he rejected allegations that South Africa had been responsible for the attacks and said the claims were unfounded.

The statement also said the Mozambican Government had to admit eventually it had made a mistake when parading an alleged spy, who turned out to be a

"COMMON CRIMINAL", before the international Press.

The man was alleged to be a South African spy charged with arranging the deaths of senior members of the Mozambican Government. — Sapa.

Breakaway group real opposition for Labour

By TOS WENTZEL, Political Correspondent

FOR the first time since the start of the tricameral system the Labour Party is facing some real opposition in the House of Representatives.

A breakaway group of six dissident Labour MPs calling themselves the Democratic Party finally took shape as the new Official Opposition in the coloured House when they were recognised by the Speaker.

Two independents are associated with them and the former Opposition, the three-man Democratic Workers Party under the leadership of Mr Dennis de la Cruz, may join them.

Daunting task in the House

They have a daunting task in the House as the Labour Party holds 73 seats.

The new Leader of the Opposition, 41-year-old Mr Charles Redcliffe, the MP for Schauderville in the Port Elizabeth area, is convinced that the Labour Party's strength in the House no longer correctly reflects its support in the community.

Labour Party MPs have hit back at the dissident group saying that they are frustrated men who failed to get the positions they

wanted in Parliament and in the party.

Mr Redcliffe rejects these accusations and points out that he voluntarily stood back as chairman of the party a few years ago.

An insurance consultant by profession he joined the party in 1969 and he had held various positions in it by the time he was elected to parliament in 1984.

Part of a larger, non-racial party

He visualises the Democratic Party not as a registered political party but as a group which could become part of a larger, non-racial party. But it was necessary to start by forming a group which could sit in the House of Representatives as the Opposition.

He has made contact with some of the independents such as Dr Denis Worrall and Mr Wynand Malan MP and the party is also involved in what is called the South African Democratic Alliance with the Solidarity and Progressive Reform Parties in the House of Delegates.

The DP plans to hold a number of public meetings soon to test support.

Mr Redcliffe says he does



Mr Redcliffe ... Labour Party leadership has become autocratic

not intend indulging in smear tactics against political opponents, but he does have some scathing comments about the Labour Party and its involvement in the present system.

He says its leadership has become autocratic.

"The present leadership has steered the party into becoming an appendage of the National Party and is therefore no longer in control of its own political destiny.

"The apology of Mr Allan Hendrickse and his subsequent humiliation by the President was in my opinion a manifestation of this.

"The Labour Party has not engaged the National Party or confronted it in terms of real negotiation. Instead it appears as if it has been co-opted into it and been neutralised as an effective political force.

"The Labour Party's participation in the system is also contradictory. On the one hand it wants to oppose the policies of the National Party and on the other hand it supports its policies. They cannot have their cake and eat it.

"The general public, not without reason, perceives the Labour Party as collaborating with the Government in the application of its policies.

"Instead of dismantling apartheid the leadership and the Ministers Council of the party is promoting the concept of 'own affairs'."

Mr Redcliffe maintains that Labour Party MPs appear to be speaking of the reform of apartheid while those who support the new party speak about the repeal of all apartheid legislation and the negotiation of a new constitution for South Africa acceptable to all its inhabitants.

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Botha appeal may boost US role as SA peacemaker

By Neil Lurssen,
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — President Botha's reported appeal to the United States government for help against African National Congress violence offers both opportunities and pitfalls for the Americans.

US officials are trying to walk a diplomatic tightrope between the South African Government and its black opponents.

They are trying to increase American influence in both camps without giving either the impression that they have a premium on support from Washington.

The Reagan administration's plan is to jockey Washington into the position of an impartial but benevolent referee when South Africa finally gets down to some serious talking.

Natural role

Mr Botha has reportedly asked President Reagan — as well as leaders of the six other Western industrialised nations due to meet in Venice next week — to persuade the ANC to end its violence so the SA Government can get on with talks with moderate black leaders inside South Africa.

Working to end the violence is a natural role for US officials and they have, in fact, been trying to convince ANC officials that violence is counter-productive in a series of meetings in Lusaka.

The American ambassador in Zambia and members of his staff hold regular talks there with the ANC, much of it on the themes spelt out to ANC leader Mr Oliver Tambo by the Secretary of State, Mr George Shultz, last December — the need to end violence and to create a cli-

mate in which the ANC can participate in talks.

At the same time, however, the Americans have to persuade South African blacks that they are equally opposed to the violence for which the South African Government is responsible.

This is almost certainly the reason why the US responded with unusual anger to news of the raid in Mozambique at the end of last week. The perception here was that the SA Government was behind it.

Because impartiality is a cornerstone of US policy, President Botha will have to give something in return if he wants Washington's unreserved help with the ANC. Mr Botha will have to put an end to cross-border raids, and he will have to ease up on apartheid's indignities, like enforcement of the Group Areas Act.

He will also have to see that black children are released from police and prison cells — a factor that causes as much dismay in the US as does necklacing.

Recent votes in the Senate — such as the Pressler Amendment which seeks to force Frontline states to act against ANC terrorism to qualify for US aid — indicate that Americans want to make a stand against violence, especially necklacing.

But this attitude should not be misconstrued as meaning also that there is a corresponding growth of sympathy for the country's white rulers. Opposition to apartheid's harshness is as firm as ever.

A bit of give by both sides would allow the Americans to intervene in the way that President Botha has apparently requested. If US officials try to lean on the ANC to end violence, they need to show the ANC something they have won from the South African Government.

Canadian 'No' to Botha's ANC call

11A 2/6/87

OTTAWA — Canada has rejected a plea from the South African State President, Mr Botha, to break contact with the outlawed African National Congress, External Affairs Minister Mr Joe Clark said here today.

Mr Clark told the House of Commons that the request came in a letter from Mr Botha to Prime Minister Mr Brian

Mulroney, who wants to discuss the South African issue at next week's summit of seven Western industrialised nations in Venice.

Mr Clark later told reporters there was little new in Mr Botha's latest approach on pledges of reform to the seven leaders who will attend the annual summit.

Mr Clark said Mr

Mulroney planned to meet ANC leader Mr Oliver Tambo later this year and would urge a peaceful solution to the racial and political conflict in South Africa.

Canada will be pressing at the summit for stronger Western pressure on Pretoria, including economic sanctions, to put an end to the official policy of racial separation.

"We are pushing for some action at the summit that will not only maintain pressure but perhaps can open some dialogue with all interested parties, including the Botha Government and including the blacks in Southern Africa," Mr Clark said.

The ANC has been

linked to bombings in South Africa and its members have been the targets of cross-border raids by South African troops into neighbouring black-ruled countries.

In London, a British Government spokesman has confirmed that Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher has received a letter from Mr Botha calling on the British Government to end its relations with the ANC.

Mrs Thatcher received her letter a few days after the visit to London by the ANC leader, Mr Oliver Tambo.

According to reports in London, Mr Tambo's visit was private and he met no-one from the Foreign Office.

PRESIDENT P

Government's policy against African National Congress violence offers both opportunities and pitfalls for the Americans.

US officials are trying to walk a diplomatic tightrope between the two sides — the SA Government and its black opponents.

They are trying to increase American influence in both camps, without giving either the impression that they have a premium on support from Washington.

The Reagan Administration's plan is to jockey Washington into the position where it can function as an impartial but benevolent referee when South Africa's whites and blacks finally get down to some serious talking.

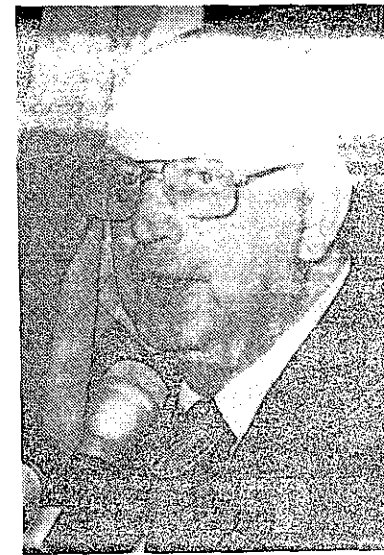
Mr Botha has reportedly asked President Reagan as well as leaders of the six other Western industrialised nations due to meet in Venice next week to persuade the ANC to end its violence so that the South African Government can get on with talks with moderate black leaders inside South Africa.

Working to end the violence is a natural role for United States officials and they have, in fact, been trying to convince ANC officials in a series of meetings in Lusaka that violence is counter-productive and foolish.

The American ambassador in Zambia and members of his staff hold regular talks there with the ANC, much of it on the themes spelled out to ANC leader, Mr Oliver Tambo, by the Secretary of State, Mr George Shultz, last December —



MR OLIVER Tambo



PRESIDENT Botha



PRESIDENT Reagan

Walking the SA tightrope

FOCUS

By NEIL LURSEN in Washington

the need to end violence and to create a climate in which the ANC can participate in talks between the SA Government and blacks.

At the same time, however, the Americans have to persuade South African blacks that they are equally opposed to violence for which the SA Government is responsible, that Washington is even-handed in its condemnation.

This is almost certainly the reason why America responded with unusual

anger to news of the raid in Mozambique at the end of last week. The perception here was that the SA Government was behind it.

Because impartiality is a cornerstone of US Policy, President Botha will have to give something in return if he wants Washington's unreserved help with the ANC. Mr Botha will have to put an end to cross-border raids, and he will have to ease up on apartheid's indignities, like enforcement of the Group Areas Act.

He will also have to see that black children are released from South African cells and prisons — a factor that causes as much dismay in the US as does "necklacing".

The political climate in Washington at present makes it a good time for

both the SA Government and the ANC to show a willingness to be reasonable and moderate.

Recent votes in the Senate — such as the Pressler Amendment which seeks to force Frontline States to act against the ANC to qualify for US aid — indicates that Americans want to make a stand against violence, especially "necklacing".

But this attitude should not be misconstrued as meaning also that there is a corresponding growth of sympathy for the country's white rulers. Opposition to apartheid's harshness is as firm as ever.

A bit of give by both sides would allow the Americans to intervene in the way that President Botha has apparently requested. If US officials try to lean on the ANC to forego violence, they need to show the ANC something they have won from the SA Government.



MR GEORGE Shultz

Cape Times 2/16/87

Necklacing:

ANC 'no' ^{one}

THE African National Congress has expressed itself, at the highest level, against "necklacings".

This emerged at a press conference in London on Friday, but since the spokesman was ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo, who is a listed person and cannot be quoted in South Africa, details cannot be given by the Cape Times without running the risk of prosecution under the Internal Security Act.

According to a report from our London correspondent, Mr Tambo spelled out the ANC attitude when pressed by a reporter for SABC television. From what he said to the TV reporter (and which cannot be quoted), it is clear that the ANC denies strongly that necklacing is a standard tactic or policy of the organization; and that it sees its strong disapproval as leading to a decline in necklacing.

Mr Tambo made certain complimentary remarks about Dr Denis Worrall's independent stand in the recent elections, and reserved special praise for former PFP leader Dr Van Zyl Slabbert's attitude on the role of extra-parliamentary action in ending apartheid. Once again, these remarks cannot be published because of the provisions of South African law.

Mixed feelings over PW visit

Cape Times 2/687 11A

JOHANNESBURG. — Residents of Sharpeville yesterday were divided over plans to grant the State President, Mr P W Botha, the "freedom of the city" at a ceremony in neighbouring Sebokeng on Thursday.

"Mr Botha has done nothing for blacks in this area or in South Africa as a whole," said a spokesman for the Vaal Civic Association.

"Why should we invite and honour the man who wields the stick of repression?" he said.

Another resident said, however, that he hoped Mr Botha would bring good news about rent relief and plans to upgrade facilities in Sharpeville and surrounding townships.

A Lekoa official confirmed last week that Mr Botha would be made a free citizen of Lekoa, a group of seven townships, including Sharpeville and Sebokeng, administered by the Lekoa Council

on Thursday.

Sharpeville, about 65km south of Johannesburg, was the scene of the 1960 police shooting of 69 men, women and children protesting against apartheid.

Township authorities so far have declined to disclose details of Thursday's ceremony, but one council source said Mr Botha probably would not enter Sharpeville.

"I gather he will fly over Sharpeville on his way to Sebokeng, where the council plans to entertain some 1 200 invited guests at a cost of about R12 000," he said.

Residents interviewed in Sharpeville and Sebokeng said they had mixed feelings about Mr Botha's planned visit, which has not been confirmed by officials in his own Cape Town office.

"We expect him to tell us that rents will be reduced to stop the boycott," said 64-year-old Mr Reginald Mahabane, a Sharpeville resident who witnessed the

1960 massacre.

"He can do that if he really loves the people of this country, regardless of their race or colour."

A schoolteacher in Sebokeng said her pupils were asked to march in a parade for Mr Botha, but refused. Instead, her pupils planned to boycott classes in protest against the ceremony.

In a nearby college, a choir mistress said she rejected the visit.

"I flatly refused to take my choir," she said. "They don't want to go because they don't want to be seen as collaborators."

An artist who carved a wooden sculpture that is to be presented to Mr Botha said he was not told why the council commissioned the work.

"Under no circumstances would I have given a present to Mr Botha," said the artist, who declined to be named. "I will not attend the presentation either."

— UPI

CME Times 2/6/87 11A

Rajbansi land: 'Within rules'

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The Chairman of the Minister's Council in the House of Delegates, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, yesterday defended his decision to buy a large plot of land in Chatsworth, which has been zoned as a public open space, to build his R200 000 dream house.

He was commenting on allegations by opposition MPs that he abused his position to get preferential treatment to buy the hilltop site

Mr Rajbansi said yesterday that concern had been expressed after the recent bombing of his Arena Park home in Chatsworth. "My house is most certainly a security risk because my front bedroom is virtually next to the road.

"There is no such thing as me using my position to get the land.

"Everything is in a preliminary stage and it was discussed at a full meeting of the Ministers' Council where I made it very clear that any negotiation

will take place within the rules.

"I want to build my home in Chatsworth because I want to remain with the poor people. I have further decided that no taxpayers' money will be used. I will sell my present home and raise a bond to build the house," he said.

"It is unfortunate that a certain MP is making statements out of vindictiveness. It is nonsense for anyone to say that I am using my position. In fact I am lessening the burden of the

taxpayer in building my own home.

"Housing for ministers and security for ministers is the responsibility of the State and the administration of the House of Delegates is a State department.

"We rejected the construction of ministerial homes in Cato Manor and there are also problems about building these houses in Wyebank.

"I am making a sacrifice by trying to remain with the people of Chatsworth."

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2/6/87

Cut ties with ANC says PW

JOHANNESBURG — A British Government spokesman has confirmed that the Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, received a letter from the South African State President, Mr P. W. Botha.

In the letter Mr Botha calls on the British Government to end its relations with the ANC.

Similar letters have been sent to six other Western leaders.

Mrs Thatcher received her letter a few days after a private visit to London by the ANC leader, Mr Oliver Tambo. He met no-one from the Foreign Office.

Media coverage of the visit was poor. — Sapa

PRETORIA — South Africa's Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, has reiterated official South African denials that the Republic was involved in Friday's raid on Maputo and suggested opposing factions of the African National Congress (ANC) were responsible for the violence that left three people dead.

A statement he issued on the raid said a climate of violence and uncertainty had overcome Maputo and "gunfire and explosions are the order of the day".

"Recently landmines have exploded on the beach of Maputo, killing civilians," the statement said.

There was also in Maputo — "as elsewhere in neighbouring states" — opposing factions of the ANC who would not hesitate to use violent methods to "eliminate"

Pik blames raid on ANC

those with whom they disagreed.

Mr Botha said examples of this sort of violence had taken place recently in Swaziland and Harare.

It was also known there were "forces" in Maputo who had "vested interests" in driving a wedge between the Mozambique and South African governments.

Such forces would "not hesitate to use these sort of (violent) methods".

The ungrounded allegations against South Africa regarding the Maputo raid joined a "choir of hysterical

cries" from certain neighbouring countries, the statement said.

Mr Botha referred to the arrest of schoolgirls in Zimbabwe on allegations of spying for South Africa and described such actions as "ridiculous extremes".

He said he believed the anti-South African propaganda emanating from neighbouring states was aimed at countering the US Senate's decision to withhold financial aid from countries which allowed "terrorists" to operate against South Africa from their territory.

In most cases the

propaganda served to cover up internal problems and maladministration in these countries, Mr Botha said, and added that he stood by his statement on Friday about the alleged South African attack on private houses in Maputo.

In that statement, he rejected allegations that South Africa had been responsible for the attacks and said the claims were unfounded.

The statement also said the Mozambique Government had to eventually admit they had made a mistake when parading an alleged spy — who turned out to be a "common criminal" — before the international press.

The man was alleged to be a South African spy charged with arranging the deaths of senior members of the Mozambique Government. — Sapa

Editorial opinion P8

(11A) B/Day 2/6/87

New group to hoist liberal ideas 'back into political arena'

EXTRA-PARLIAMENTARY groups supporting liberal and democratic aspirations are growing in importance and will ultimately form a large part of the pressure against government.

This is the view of Peter Brown, former Liberal Party (LP) chairman and now chairman of the newly formed Liberal Democratic Association (LDA).

The LDA was finally launched in March this year after nearly two

DIANNA GAMES

years of discussion by several non-racial groups around the country, but as it is still in the formation stages, it has not publicised itself.

Founders, many of whom are also former LP members, include Alan Paton, Prof Tony Matthews of the University of Natal, Prof Charles Simkins of the University of Cape Town, Eliot Mngadi, ex-mayor of Ezakeni near Ladysmith,

and John Morrison, formerly of the SA Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR).

Brown said they were not trying to compete for membership with existing groups, but were rather trying to provide a base from which people who supported liberal ideas could operate.

The objective was to get liberal ideas back into the political arena, adding that although these still existed to some extent on a political

platform, the LDA wanted to emphasise them.

The LDA would provide an organisation through which people with other commitments could do just that.

Brown said it was hoped that discussions with groups like the UDF, Inkatha and the PFP would eventually take place.

"We will be putting suggestions forward about what the future should look like, and argue their

importance."

Membership of the LDA is open to anyone willing to abide by its Charter. The Charter's main principles include equal political rights with regular free elections; basic freedom for all of speech, conscience, movement, residence and association; and a constitution which accepts the principle of majority rule modified by guaranteed individual rights, minority participation and decision-making.

The principles also include a just economic system which provides a balance between public and private ownership, control and initiative; a more equal distribution of resources; and an independent judiciary.

The LDA's formation flowed in part from suggestions in a paper written by Simkins for the SAIRR, suggesting some extra-parliamentary basis for dealing with the current political situation.

PIK REPEATS HIS DENIAL

FOREIGN Minister Mr Pik Botha has reiterated official South African denials that the Republic was involved in Friday's raid on Maputo, and suggested opposing factions of the African National Congress were responsible for the violence that left three people dead.

A statement telephoned to Sapa said a climate of violence and uncertainty had overcome Maputo and "gun fire and explosions are the order of the day".

"Recently, landmines have exploded

on the beach of Maputo, killing civilians," the statement said.

There was also in Maputo — "as elsewhere in neighbouring states" — opposing factions of the ANC who would not hesitate to use violent methods to "eliminate" those with whom they disagreed.

The Foreign Minister said examples of this sort of violence had taken place recently in Swaziland and Harare.

It was also known there were "forces" (magte) on Maputo who had "vested interests" in driving a wedge

between the Mozambique and South African governments.

Such forces would "not hesitate to use these sort of (violent) methods".

Unfounded allegations

The unfounded allegations against South Africa regarding the Maputo raid joined a "choir of hysterical cries" from certain neighbouring countries, the statement said.

Mr Botha referred to the arrest of schoolgirls in Zimbabwe on allegations of spying for South Africa, and

described such actions as "ridiculous extremes".

Mr Botha also believed the anti-South African propaganda emanating from neighbouring states was aimed at countering the American senate decision to withhold financial aid from countries which allow "terrorists" to operate from their territories against South Africa.

In most cases the propaganda served to cover up internal problems and maladministration in these countries, he said.

ANC
claims
SA
made
attack

2/6/87
11A

THE African National Congress has condemned as "a barbaric act" what it maintains was a South African commando attack on Maputo which killed three Mozambicans, the semi-official news agency, Ziana reports from Harare.

In a statement the ANC said the raiders attacked the organisation's office, a food store and two residential buildings, one of which was occupied by Tanzanians.

"Pretoria's campaign of terror against the ANC and the frontline states continued with attacks in Maputo which resulted in the death of three Mozambicans," said the statement released by the ANC's information department in Lusaka.

'Criminal'

It said the attack followed another "criminal act" carried out on Africa Day on May 25 when "Pretoria's agents kidnapped a South African refugee, Sheila Moipone Nyanda, from a house in Mbabane, Swaziland."

The ANC said this was preceded by the murder of three people in Swaziland.

"These attacks in Zambia, Zimbabwe, Swaziland and now Mozambique reflect the desperation of the Pretoria regime which is unable to stop the escalation of the armed struggle within our country," the statement said.

It expressed condolences to the government and people of Mozambique and the families of the dead.

"We condemn these latest acts of barbarity carried out by the apartheid regime," said the statement.— Sapa.



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Canada rejects PW's call to break ANC contacts

OTTAWA. — Canada has rejected a plea from President Botha to break contact with the African National Congress, External Affairs Minister Mr Joe Clark said.

Mr Clark told the House of Commons the request came in a letter to the Prime Minister, Mr Brian Mulroney, who wants to discuss the South African issue at next week's summit of seven Western industrialised nations in Venice.

Tambo meeting

Mr Clark said Mr Mulroney planned to meet ANC leader Mr Oliver Tambo later this year and would urge a peaceful solution to the conflict in South Africa.

A British spokesman has confirmed in London that the Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, has received a similar letter from President Botha. Letters have been sent to six other Western leaders.

From Washington it was reported that the United States government has expressed its displeasure over recent actions of the South African Government by ordering its diplomats around the world to boycott Republic Day functions.

US officials did not give reasons for the snub, saying only that it stemmed from ... "US displeasure at recent South African actions in the region".

However, the protest is understood to have been triggered by last week's raid in Mozambique which produced an unusually harsh US response.

Meanwhile, one of the biggest of the annual Republic Day functions went ahead last night at the South African embassy in Washington.

Yesterday's snub may be aimed in part at demonstrating to blacks that the South African Government is being held to account for its actions, even though the US is determined not to lose its leverage.

● In Gaborone the Council of Ministers of the European Community has called on President Botha to unban the ANC and the Pan African Congress, lift the state of emergency and release all political prisoners.

It has called for a process of fundamental but peaceful change in South Africa. — The Argus Foreign Service, Sapa-Reuter.



cases in respect of serious crime were reported. For the corresponding period during 1987, 1 327 cases in respect of serious crime were reported, which represents a decrease of 33,6%.

Langa High School: books

*15. Mr K M ANDREW asked the Minister of Education and Development Aid:

Whether any Standard 10 pupils at the Langa High School were not in possession of their own copies of the (a) mathematics text-book and (b) English setwork books at any stage during the current school year; if so, (i) at what stage, (ii) why, (iii) what percentage of these pupils was involved and (iv) what action has been taken in this regard?

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF EDUCATION:

- (a) Yes.
(b) Yes.

- (i) From date of enrolment.
(ii) Unforeseen increase in the number of pupils.
(iii) Mathematics 13,7%, English 13,7%.
(iv) This matter is being investigated by a departmental committee and relates also to the exposition given in the reply to Question No 13.

Mr K M ANDREW: Mr Speaker, arising out of the hon the Deputy Minister's reply, may I ask him just to confirm what he said, viz that he is suggesting that 87% of the matric pupils at Langa High School had mathematics and English setwork books—that 87% had them.

The DEPUTY MINISTER: Yes, Sir, that was what I said. That is the information at my disposal at the moment.

Seal Island

*16. Mr R R HULLEY asked the Minister of Environment Affairs:

- (1) Whether his Department initiated the

HOA

experiment whereby Cape fur seals were shooed away from Seal Island during October-November 1986; if so, why; if not, on what authority was the experiment approved and conducted;

- (2) whether his Department monitored the effects of this experiment; if not, why not; if so, what were the effects;
(3) whether his Department has carried out any research into the scientific merits of this experiment; if so, what was the nature of the scientific evidence in support of this experiment;
(4) whether his Department keeps statistics on the size of the Cape fur seal colony on Seal Island; if not, why not; if so, what was the size of this colony in 1971 and 1986, respectively?

The MINISTER OF ENVIRONMENT AFFAIRS:

- (1) Yes. My predecessor initiated the experiment in consultation with members of the fishing industry. The experiment was done as part of the late Minister's stated policy to reduce seal numbers.
(2) Yes. The experiment was monitored by means of questionnaire forms completed by industry personnel on the island and by six aerial surveys conducted by the Sea Fisheries Research Institute from 17 December 1986 to 11 February 1987.

The effects were that the number of pups born on the island was about 5 000 compared to the usual 10 000-12 000. Also large sections of the island were cleared of seals. While some dead pups are washed ashore each year as a normal occurrence, some 4 500 dead pups were washed ashore during the experiment. There is no scientific evidence to determine how many pups were washed ashore as a direct result of the experiment.

- (3) No. The monitoring programme was however designed to reveal the merits or otherwise of the experiment.

- (4) Yes. Statistics on the size of the colony are kept. Total population in 1971 was about 58 000 seals, and in 1986 about 20 000 seals.

Crude oil

*17. Mr R R HULLEY asked the Minister of Economic Affairs and Technology:

- (1) What was the average rand cost per barrel of crude oil imported into the Republic in 1986;
(2) what was the rand cost per barrel of such oil imported into the Republic as at the latest specified date for which figures are available?

The MINISTER OF ECONOMIC AFFAIRS AND TECHNOLOGY:

- (1) R33,41 landed cost (weighted average).
(2) R35,85 landed cost for cargo in May 1987.

*18. Mr R M BURROWS—National Education. [Reply standing over.]

Winnie Mandela

*19. Dr F HARTZENBERG asked the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning:†

- (1) Whether a certain person, whose name has been furnished to the Minister's Department for the purposes of his reply, is in arrears with the house rent, service and other charges owing by her to institutions under his control; if so, (a) what total amount is so owing by her, (b) in respect of what date is this information furnished and (c) what is the name of the person concerned;
(2) whether any steps are being taken or are contemplated to collect the amounts in arrears; if not, why not; if so, what steps?

The MINISTER OF NATIONAL EDUCATION (for the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning):

- (1) Yes.

HOA

- (a) R773,09.
(b) 30 April 1987.
(c) Winnie Mandela.

- (2) Yes. A notice to pay within 7 days has been issued on 12 May 1987. Electricity supply has been discontinued on 22 May 1987.

Klaas de Jonge

*20. Mr T LANGLEY asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs:†

- (1) Whether, with reference to his reply to Question No 36 on 17 February 1987, the negotiations between his Department and the Dutch Government about Mr Klaas de Jonge has been concluded; if not, (a) why not and (b) what is the present position; if so, with what result;
(2) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

- (1) No.
(a) and (b) Discussions between the two Governments are continuing. This matter involves the scrutiny of complicated principles of international law and delicate political implications which inevitably take time.
(2) Not at this stage.

†Mr F J LE ROUX: Mr Speaker, arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, I want to ask him the following question: I understand that according to Press reports, he said that the detention of Mr De Jonge does not cost the South African Government anything. Is it correct that he made such a statement, and if so, does he stand by what he said?

†The MINISTER: No, Mr Speaker, I did not make such a statement. What I did say, was that, practically speaking, the Dutch Government is paying for the building, the medical costs and for his food. That is what I said.

PTD

(IA) B. Day 2/6/87

ANC remains firm on sanctions

THE ANC had no intention of altering its support for economic sanctions, a spokesman said in Lusaka yesterday.

He was reacting to reports that the ANC was reviewing its sanctions stance in line with its review of the cultural boycott.

"We remain committed to sanctions," the spokesman said.

PATRICK BULGER

He denied the ANC had softened its stance on the cultural boycott in terms of which visiting artists and academics were blacklisted after visiting SA. The spokeman said it was now felt the outside world should have access to cultural happenings that depicted life in SA.

New youth organisation 'dedicated to socialism'

By Michael Tissong

2/6/87
STDA

The Azanian Youth Organisation (Azayo) has been formed "to propagate the ideology of socialism among youth and to fight for the return of the land to the black people", says its newly elected president, Mr Thabo Mafihla.

In an interview after Azayo's launch in Durban at the weekend, Mr Mafihla, who is a Unisa law student, said Azayo's launch was timed as closely as possible to the 10th anniversary of the bannings of the black consciousness organisations in 1977.

About 1 000 delegates attended the meeting.

Mr Mafihla, from Atteridgeville, Pretoria, said his committee comprises deputy president Mr Jabu Makhathini from Maritzburg; general secretary Mr Kenny Mampondo from the West Rand; publicity secretary Mr Mbulelo Keteye from Port Elizabeth; secretary for political education Mr Tshepo Sibusu from Sebokeng; and national organiser Mr Brutus Monana from Pretoria.

He said Azayo had adopted the socialist-orientated Azanian Manifesto as its guide.

"In our struggle for a socialist Azania we acknowledge the leadership role of the black working class," he said.

"We see socialism as the only solution to racist and capitalist exploitation. The youth in a socialist worker republic of Azania will enjoy the benefits of that socialist society.

"These benefits include the right to education and the right to work."

In resolutions at the meeting Azayo pledged to guide itself along the political direction set by "Comrade Robert Mugabe and the Zimbabwean people".

11A 2/6/87 SMK.

Tambo has it wrong on US-Soviet talks

By Neil Lurssen, The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — Senior American and Soviet officials have been holding regular talks on South and southern Africa but not on the lines suggested by African National Congress leader Mr Oliver Tambo.

According to reports from London, where he held a Press conference last week, Mr Tambo has been under the impression that Washington and Moscow could be close to agreeing on talks in which the superpowers could hammer out a joint approach to the problem of apartheid.

The ANC leader left British reporters with the idea that American Secretary of State Mr George Shultz considered such talks useful.

Part of routine contacts

Mr Tambo clearly misunderstood what the Secretary of State told him at their meeting in Washington five months ago.

American and Soviet officials have been discussing South and southern Africa at special meetings for some years now, the most recent in Geneva.

The meetings have been part of a series of routine contacts between senior and middle-ranking American diplomats and their Russian counterparts on the world's regional troublespots such as the Middle East, Afghanistan, Cambodia and southern Africa. Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, Dr Chester Crocker, led the American team at several meetings.

The purpose has been not so much to negotiate agreements and establish common approaches as

to clarify positions and to avoid misunderstandings.

Both superpowers have agreed to continue the regional talks so that they will understand each other's policies and thereby avoid judgments that could increase the dangers of East-West conflict.

Analysts here believed that far from moving towards a common approach to the region, as Mr Tambo thought, the superpowers have shown no willingness to agree on anything.

The Americans have proposed a three-point plan for Angola that would include a withdrawal of all foreign troops, including South Africans and Cubans, support for reconciliation talks between the MPLA and the rebel Unita movement, followed by superpower sponsorship of an international effort to boost Angola's economy.

However, Soviet refusal to accept the plan, which would clearly weaken Moscow's hold on the country, has resulted in a situation in which the MPLA received Soviet arms and Unita weapons from America.

On South Africa itself, the United States was trying to increase its influence in both the ANC and the Government to serve as a catalyst for future power-sharing negotiations.

This diplomatic drive has taken the place of "constructive engagement", a term no longer used by the Reagan Administration because of the perception in America and Africa that it favoured the Government over blacks.

The Soviets, however, were betting on only the ANC in the hope that the banned movement would eventually take over in South Africa and thus provide international communism with either a foothold or, at least, a friendly ally in one of the world's most valuable strategic and economic regions.

Analysts said that with so much at stake there was very little chance that the United States and the Soviets would ever be able to agree on a joint approach to ending apartheid and replacing it with a new political system.

Mr Tambo's comments at his London Press conference indicated that he had failed to grasp the extent of the impasse between the two superpowers.

Capt Timis 3/6/87

3100
NE

Police chief in 'frank' talks with squatters

By BARRY STREEK,
Political Staff

SQUATTER leaders from the Nyanga/KTC area have met the Divisional Commissioner of Police in the Western Cape, Brigadier Ronnie van der Westhuizen, for discussions after complaints about police action.

Mr Jan van Eck, the Progressive Federal Party MP for Claremont, who arranged the discussions, said yesterday that the talks were "very frank and open" and they would "hopefully lead to further meetings in the future".

Mr Van Eck, chairman of the PFP's Western Cape Unrest Monitoring and Action Committee, added: "The fact that the meeting took place and that both the squatters and the police put their side of the situation will, I believe, hopefully lead to a better understanding between the squatter communities and the police."

"Brigadier Van der Westhuizen's willingness to talk and to listen bodes well for the future."

The discussions, which lasted for more than 2½ hours on Wednesday last week, took place under Mr Van Eck's chairmanship. They involved Brigadier Van der Westhuizen and 25 squatters representing KTC, Portland Cement, Nyanga Bush and Nyanga Extension.

'Normalization of the situation'

Mr Van Eck said that during the meeting, the brigadier had stressed that the police would not tolerate indiscriminate and provocative police action against the squatters "and that he would ensure personally that each complaint brought to his attention would be investigated in full".

Confirming last week's meeting, a police liaison officer for the Western Cape, Captain Jan Calitz, said Brigadier Van der Westhuizen believed that "negotiations will help ensure stability and the normalization of the situation in the black townships".

In a statement, Mr Van Eck said: "Over an extended period of time the people of KTC and the squatters of Nyanga Bush, Nyanga Extension and Portland Cement, who have been resettled in the Nyanga/KTC area, have frequently approached us with complaints of alleged indiscriminate and violent police action against them.

"These complaints culminated in events on May 5 in KTC when a major confrontation resulting in bloodshed was barely averted.

"On this occasion — as on so many others — I was again struck by the fact that there was no communication between the police and the people of KTC — something which made a more or less violent confrontation virtually unavoidable.

"At a meeting with squatter leaders two days later, I was given a mandate by them to approach the new Divisional Commissioner, Brigadier Van der Westhuizen, and set up a meeting between them and him so that they could convey their grievances about police action to him personally."

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CML Times 3/6/87

11A

ANC gives hope, convict tells court

Supreme Court Reporter

THE ANC is "the only organization which seems to be giving hope to the general populace", the Supreme Court was told yesterday by a social worker convicted with 12 others in terms of the Internal Security Act 10 days ago.

Mthetho Douglas Myanya was giving evidence in mitigation.

He and six others pleaded guilty to and were convicted of harbouring, helping or failing to report to police a person there was reason to suspect was planning or had committed terrorism, subversion or sabotage as defined by the Act.

The other six pleaded and were found guilty of a more serious charge, defined as terrorism by the same Act.

Myanya said under cross-examination that he was still sympathetic to the ANC cause. Defence counsel Mr John Whitehead asked him during re-examination to explain why.

"Um," said the prisoner, "from the perspective of a social worker, especially one operating in a community where for a long time things are not becoming normal and there seems to be no solution in sight — I mean no internal solution — the only organization which seems to be giving hope to the general populace is the ANC."

In a statement of admissions handed in earlier, Myanya said he was asked by a friend and fellow-accused, Sazi Veldtman, to "perform minor tasks for an ANC group" in March last year.

He was asked to deliver a letter to "someone in Botswana" where he and his wife were going for the Easter holiday. He could not contact the person and returned with the letter.

He was then asked to return to Botswana with another letter and was finally persuaded to do so. The woman he contacted there removed his car and returned it to him the following

day, telling him where "certain things" had been hidden in the car.

He suspected these things were "not lawful" but did not know they were arms till he helped Sazi Veldtman extract them from the car when he returned.

Among a number of things Mr Justice H C Nel said he did not understand or did not follow was why Myanya handed over his "private vehicle" to "an unknown person who could have disappeared with it".

Another was the prisoners' assertion that the situation in Crossroads, where police and the SADF are believed to have played a role, was a "great example" of "the constant war between the State and the people who want to free themselves".

'Witdoeke helped by police'

"I don't follow that," said the Bench. "According to the newspapers, the war started before the police moved in. Witdoeke and comrades were murdering each other."

"That's not the way the community understands it," the prisoner replied. "The way the community understands it is that the witdoeke were helped by police who gave them guns to use against the comrades."

The trial continues. Defence team leader Mr Denis Kuny SC told the court some of the other accused would give evidence under oath and others would hand in statements.

He said the defence mitigation case would be completed by expert evidence on the ANC and on conditions in the Western Cape, home to most of the accused and the area to which the facts of the case relate.

Mr L P Francis and Mr W R Vivier were assessors. Mr W C Viljoen appeared for the State with Mr M Stowe. Mr Kuny appeared with Mr Whitehead, Mr A M Omar and Mr S Desai and was instructed by E Moosa and Associates and R Vassen and Co.

CAPC T1415 3/6/87

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Look for democracy 'outside Parliament'

Staff Reporter

MANY of the developments that emerged from Parliament over the past seven years were undemocratic and it was important for white people to get involved in the democratic movement outside Parliament, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert said last night.

Dr Slabbert was speaking in Athlone at the launch of the monthly Merge Tuesday Club discussion on "Building a United Democratic South Africa".

Dr Slabbert, who heads the Institute for a Democratic Alternative in SA, said the government tried to convey the idea that

extra-parliamentary politics was illegal, subversive, suspect, unpatriotic and dangerous. This created a sense of anxiety for many white people.

Dr Slabbert said the establishment of the tri-cameral constitution resulted in the biggest extra-parliamentary protest. Faced with an extra-parliamentary threat, the government moved into the extra-parliamentary field and tried to deal with the UDF by calling a state of emergency.

But the manner in which it was done instead brought world focus on SA, generated external anger

and resulted in sanctions.

□ UDF speaker Mr Andrew Boraine said Parliament was a barrier to democracy because historically it and structures such as the homeland governments and community councils were seen by most South Africans as illegitimate.

The illegitimacy of Parliament was demonstrated with the UDF's formation during the 1983 tri-cameral elections.

Despite the tri-cameral parliament's clear rejection, the resistance was met with two treason trials, two states of emergency and widespread detentions.

Azapo wants holidays

Employers will be asked to allow workers off on June 12, 15 and 16, Azapo president Mr Nkosi Molala said yesterday.

Azapo had a national council meeting at the weekend.

Decisions were taken on the anniversary of the State of Emergency on June 12, commemoration of June 16 and the 10th anniversary of the death of Mr Steve Biko on September 12.

3/6/87

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CAPE TOWN 3/6/82 (28) (11A) (29)

Pik lashes out at the West

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, yesterday lashed out at Canada, the United States and Mozambique in the wake of international condemnation of South Africa for the latest Maputo murders and signs of a thaw in relations between the West and the ANC.

Mr Botha said he knew of no evidence of South African involvement in the Maputo killings and Mozambique was unable to produce such evidence.

Indeed, South Africa's attempts to keep the Nkomati Accord alive and even improve it had not met with Mozambican "reciprocity", he said.

Mr Botha also claimed that the United States acted "too impulsively" in accusing South Africa of complicity in the Maputo raid which left three dead.

The US administration, he said, realized its sources on the Maputo incident were not as correct as originally imagined and for this reason Washington had changed its reasons from boycotting the Republic Day festivities from the raid to a more generalized displeasure with South African actions in the region.

'No evidence' to tie SA to Maputo raid

Mr Botha said he also believed that the US might have accused South Africa of complicity in the Maputo killings in a bid by the administration to circumvent trouble in Congress over actions in Nicaragua.

Turning to Canada, Mr Botha said that country's response to a recent letter from President P W Botha to Prime Minister Mr Brian Mulroney had contained "distortions" and "to put it mildly was simply bad manners".

President Botha had not, as reported, asked Mr Mulroney to break Canada's links with the ANC but had merely urged that Western leaders tell the perpetrators of violence that reprehensible deeds

would not be supported by the civilized world.

A spokesman for the US Embassy said yesterday that Washington stood by its original statement condemning South Africa as the instigators of the Maputo murders.

Mr Botha's suggestions that the US had switched its reasons for the Republic Day boycott were also dismissed. Only one statement expressing general displeasure with South African activities in the region had been issued.

Meanwhile, prominent reports in the Nationalist press that the US Ambassador to South Africa, Mr Edward Perkins, had been recalled by President Reagan in the wake of the Maputo commando raid, were also dismissed by the US Embassy.

Mr Perkins's press spokeswoman, Ms Elizabeth Pryor, said the ambassador's return to Washington had been scheduled "months ago" and his planned meeting with Mr Reagan had been set up before the Maputo raid.

Mr Perkins had a long-standing arrangement to attend a chief of missions meeting in Washington and then take a few weeks' home leave. "There is no way he was recalled by President Reagan," she said.

CAPE TOWN

UDF hits at visit

11A

Constitution
4/6/87

THE Lekoa Town Council's decision to grant President P W Botha the freedom of the Vaal townships exposed Vaal councillors and Mr Botha's lack of feeling for the plight of residents.

This was said in a statement issued yesterday by Mr Murphy Morobe, acting publicity secretary of the United Democratic Front (UDF).

"President Botha certainly does not deserve such an honour.

"That people are opposed to this occasion is illustrated by the fact that a huge contingent of army and police (personnel) will be required to protect his 'freedom,'" Mr Morobe said.

He said that in one way or another, Vaal Triangle residents would find ways to make their feelings on the issue known.

● This statement has been censored on the advice of our lawyers.

ZAPIRO 87

COMRADES MARATHON

THE COMRADES YOU WON'T SEE ON S.A.T.V.



Astute diplomacy leads to ANC gains

4-9/6/87
South
IIA

THERE were 88 published guerilla attacks in the second half of 1985, and a record 228 attacks in 1986. Most of these can be attributed to the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe. Umkhonto activity was concentrated in the Transvaal and Natal, although "it appears to have an increasing presence in small rural towns as well".

"With the introduction of landmines in the Transvaal border area in November 1985 Umkhonto seemed set to open up a new theatre of rural insurgency."

The atmosphere at the Zambia conference was "exuberantly confident, for had not the preceding decade witnessed the renaissance of Congress as a political force inside South Africa and apartheid's most impressive opponent in the arena of international politics".

"Two states of emergencies later these expectations seem in retrospect a little premature".

"For every weapon deployed by Umkhonto cadres, the police claim to have discovered another four arms caches."

"Though Umkhonto attacks have increased over the past two years, the most conspicuous gains for the ANC have been in diplomacy rather than warfare."

"The ANC's international stature has also grown," he says.

THIS month marks the second anniversary of the African National Congress's Second Consultative Conference held in Zambia.

University of the Witwatersrand academic and specialist on South African liberation politics, Tom Lodge, has measured the scope of ANC military activity since then, and concluded that there has been an increase in the guerilla offensive. This is an extract of a paper to be published in SA Review.

"The meetings between ANC officials and the Eminent Person's Group in the first half of 1986; between Oliver Tambo and the British Foreign Ministry in September 1986; Tambo's visit to Moscow in November 1986; Tambo's talks with Schultz in Washington in January, 1987, and most recently, his tours of Japan and Australia — all confirm a general tendency among concerned foreign governments to recognise the ANC as an indispensable element in any settlement of the Southern African political conflict."

"On the whole ANC diplomacy is astute. ANC people usually employ low-key language. They are sensitive to etiquette and conventional courtesies."

The significance of the increasing Western recognition of the ANC as the "legitimate voice of the black community" is five-fold:

- These meetings strengthen the position of those inside the country who want negotiation with the ANC.

- They reduce the possibility of Western backing for Inkatha.
 - They boost black South African morale.
 - Official contact with the West brings fresh opportunities to raise the question of the South African Government's continued legal legitimacy."
 - Finally, in its talks with foreign governments the ANC is forced to clarify its intentions for post-apartheid reconstruction.
- In the past two years the ANC has gained the support of two new constituencies; a section of the white South African population and the Western public.
- "It needs to cultivate support within both of these, for the prospects of an outright military victory are slight.
- "Its eventual ascendancy is most likely to come from an erosion of morale and commitment amongst the supporters of minority rule both inside and outside South Africa.
- "Nevertheless the ANC's political priority must remain the extension of

its active support base within the black community.

"With its diplomacy and public appeals the ANC has to maintain a delicate balance between the relative importance of its different constituencies.

"Although there appears to be differences in strategy within the ANC, the dominant position is one that sees in surruction as "contributing the pressures compelling the government to concede power, but to concede it, nonetheless, through negotiation".

This is evident in the ANC's emphasis on a mixed economy, at least in the initial post-apartheid phase. This does not mean that there is no place for socialists within the movement.

The ANC recognises the importance of autonomous working class organisations, and its "constant insistence that the Freedom Charter is not a socialist document, that its nationalisation provisions are there to correct national wrongs not class injustices, should reassure socialists rather than alienate them".

"But quite apart from these considerations, given the enormous disparity in strength and resources between the ANC on the one hand and the state or the other there is no sensible alternative to a strategy of broad social alliances."

Lawyers elect Omar

By MOIRA LEVY

CAPE TOWN advocate Mr Dulla Omar was elected unopposed as president of the Democratic Lawyers Organisation at its annual general meeting in Lansdowne at the weekend.

Omar is vice-president of the National Association of Democratic Lawyers (NADEL), the umbrella body representing five democratic lawyer organisations and individual lawyers throughout the country.

The DLO called for the lifting of the State of Emergency, the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners, and an end to the persecution of trade unions, especially the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu).

"We also said there would be no peace in our country until organisations like the ANC and PAC are unbanned," Mr Omar said.

The AGM, attended by about half of its 100 members, re-elected Mr Huxley Joshua as secretary. Mr Seraj Desai was elected assistant secretary, Mr Les Rose-Innes treasurer, and Mr Percy Sonn vice-president.

Mr E Moosa, Mr Y Ebrahim and Mr A Abercrombie are also on the executive.



11A

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Tutu follows the Sisulus, Mandelas, in eviction saga

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By MONO BADELA

FIRST it was Albertina Sisulu, then it was Nelson Mandela — and now it is Desmond Tutu who must "pay up or quit his Soweto home". The Anglican archbishop this week renewed determination to crush an 11-month rent boycott that has so far cost the authorities more than R500-million in lost revenue.

Tutu is currently on tour in South America and the Caribbean, but a member of his family said a final notice was delivered to his Phefeni, Soweto home. Although he reserved for the Cape Town house last week, Tutu has retained his home in Soweto.

"Some guy came to the house last Friday and delivered the notice," said the family member. The archbishop has not paid his rent since last June. Soweto housing director Estelle Bester confirmed that Tutu had been given a final warning to pay his arrears, which amount to "thousands of rands", within 30 days.

"It is not an eviction notice. It is a notice warning him that if he does not pay within a certain period, further steps would be taken," she said. Tutu is the latest in a list of anti-apartheid activists to be threatened with eviction for failing to pay rent and service charges.

On May 13, Soweto Council officials delivered similar warnings to Winnie Mandela, the wife of jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela (in whose name the house is registered), Albertina Sisulu, co-president of the United Democratic Front; Dr Nthato Motlana, Soweto Civic Association chairman; and author and social worker Dr Ellen Kuzwayo. Their seven-day notice period expired last week.

Although the Soweto Council appears reluctant to move against Mandela — because it could mean evicting her husband from a house he has been unable to live in since beginning a life sentence more than 20 years ago — electricity has been cut off to her home, as it has to the houses of the other activists.

The rent boycott, which has been joined by the residents of 50 black townships throughout the country, began in earnest when the State of Emergency was declared on June 12 last year. Residents have been refusing to pay rent, water and electricity charges as a form of non-violent protest against the government's black local authorities, contending they are not representative.

According to figures released this week by Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Chris Heunis, at the end of March more than R271-million was owed in rent.

Free: The six accused of digging 'Buffel traps'

SIX Eastern Cape township residents — accused of digging trenches to trap Buffels by night and assisting security forces to fill them in by day — have been acquitted of subversion and malicious damage to government property.

A regional court in East London heard last week that residents dug trenches across streets in Mlungisi township, Stutterheim, to hinder security force patrols.

Details of the practice, apparently widespread in Eastern Cape townships at the time of the unrest last year, emerged in the trial of Nolele Blom, 35, Thembile Bevu, 25, Christopher Nyweba, 33, Mkanile Njavu, 20, Nondeloza Menkana, 23, and Marti Klaas, 23.

They were found not guilty after the court heard that two key state witnesses had consulted the prosecutor together.

The state alleged the six were guilty of digging the trenches in an effort to subvert authority, or to hinder the maintenance of law and order or the provision of services in Mlungisi.

In evidence, the court heard that trenches had been dug at night as fast as the security forces could fill them during the day. There had been eight to 10 trenches at various points in Mlungisi, each knee-deep and about half-a-metre across.

A member of the Citizen Force, Rifleman MJ Fry, who serviced in Mlungisi at the time, testified that the security forces had been unable to use their Buffels because of the trenches.

Fry said the security forces, assisted by township residents, had filled in the trenches during the day. Buffels had driven over them to compact the ground, but at night they had always been dug open again.

Constable AK Schoeman testified that the trenches had posed a danger to the police and described ambushes.

"It happened to me a few times that

I was caught in a road. I would go down and find a trench where a few hours before there had not been one," he said.

"I could not go through the trench and a group of blacks came from behind to try and pin me down. I had to reverse through the group with my vehicle."

An ambulance driver, TM Hattingh, described how his ambulance had on one occasion fallen into a ditch that had been filled in. It had rained and the ground had turned to mud: "When we drove over it, the ambulance stood on its head."

Trench digging had taken place from the start of the unrest in August 1985 until the end of March 1986,

By FRANZ KRÜGER, East London

the township manager, HHW Päper, testified. The practice had seriously hindered administrative work.

Describing the unrest, Päper told the court it "took the form of stone throwing, burning of schools and private homes, extensive damage to the beer hall which was at that time in operation, digging trenches in many of the streets and the boycott of service charges.

"There were also threats to my personal life as well as my property and my staff. As a result it was almost impossible to gain entry to the township."

It had cost the administration R2 276 to repair the trenches, Päper said.

Fry told the court the security forces had organised a patrol on the evening of March 21 last year to check whether the trenches filled in earlier that day had been dug open again.

Patrol members had been dressed in civilian clothes and had worn black stockings over their heads and arms to disguise themselves.

Fry said he had come across a group of about 30 people singing and dancing in the street, while others were digging up a trench.

A flare had been lit and six people had been arrested. A pick and shovel

had been found there.

Fry later identified one of the six as a man who had earlier that day helped the security forces fill in one of the ditches.

A pamphlet headed "Umkhonto we-Sizwe — born of the people" was handed in as an exhibit.

"We are in the midst of death-defying deeds where our combat troops, supported by the people, are erecting barricades and digging defence trenches," the pamphlet said.

Another document handed in was *Umsebenzi*, "the voice of the South African Communist Party", which contained a cartoon strip depicting people digging trenches into which a Casspir later fell. — Elnews.



As part of their "War is not compulsory" campaign, the ECC held a Peace Picnic in Observatory. This toddler plays with a "peace jigsaw", but will he ever know it?

IF President P W Botha's weekend invitation to his black compatriots to join him in negotiations to find "solutions to our problems" was calculated to break the political impasse, the reaction so far has been singularly unhelpful.

Issued in the form of a signed statement in major Sunday newspapers last weekend, Botha's invitation elicited little or no positive public response from mainline black leaders.

The only black leader of substance who responded openly was Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi. But his response did not offer much encouragement to Botha.

Buthelezi — whose participation in the long-awaited National Statutory Council is vital to its success — is prepared, in his words, to "negotiate about negotiations". But he is not prepared to enter into substantive negotiations for a new constitution until and unless jailed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela is released.

Referring to what he termed negotiations with "statutory status", Buthelezi said: "Dr Mandela must be released and he must be released unconditionally ... I am adamant about the need for Dr Mandela's release." Botha's invitation seems to have

A SIGNED ANNOUNCEMENT IN SUNDAY PAPERS PROVES ONLY THAT THE STALEMATE CONTINUES. PATRICK LAURENCE reports

The response to PW's call to blacks



... was not deafening.

shown that deadlock over Mandela is as complete as ever.

Botha will not release the country's best-known political prisoner until Mandela renounces violence; Mandela will not forswear armed struggle unless Botha dismantles apartheid and unbans the ANC; key internal black leaders will not negotiate with Botha unless Mandela is released unconditionally.

The usual official explanation for the lack of response to a government move to woo black leaders is that the

behind-the-scenes reaction has been overwhelmingly positive.

That was the rationalisation offered by Constitutional Affairs Minister Chris Heunis for his failure to persuade black leaders to unequivocally declare their willingness to engage him in dialogue.

Botha's office, however, did not offer that explanation. "No comment," replied presidential aide Jack Viviers to an inquiry from Weekly Mail.

The failure so far of Botha to at-

tract credible black leaders into the National Council is consequential in itself. But it is significant beyond that. Its importance lies in what it signals about the government.

It reflects Botha's anxiety to rescue the National Council from threatened still-birth and to use it as originally intended: as a negotiating forum for a new constitution designed to incorporate blacks without endangering white hegemony.

It may simultaneously indicate loss of confidence in Heunis, who has

palpably failed to fulfil his primary task of drawing credible black leaders into negotiations about the future.

Government negotiating strategy is to "hold the line firmly" rather than to offer specific reforms, in the belief that sooner or later black leaders will be forced to come forward and negotiate.

Government thinking may be summed up thus: the desire of blacks for change will, when confronted with implacable white determination not to surrender, compel their leaders to negotiate — in the national council if that is the only available forum.

That strategy was first spelt out by former Broederbond chief Gerrit Viljoen last August. But, Weekly Mail is reliably informed, it is more firmly adhered to than ever.

The struggle for South Africa may have entered a waiting stage: Botha will wait for black leaders to respond to his invitation, hoping that they will realise there is no viable alternative; black leaders, however, will try to outwait him, knowing that he desperately needs a political solution.

In the meantime there may be minor forays to test the political wind.

One will take next week when Botha visits Vaal Triangle townships, scene of the Sharpeville shootings of 1960 and of the start in 1984 of the revolt which swept across most townships before it was contained by the State of Emergency.

It will be Botha's first public visit to a major township complex since his much-publicised tour of Soweto shortly after he assumed office as Prime Minister in 1979.

One of the Vaal councillors who survived the 1984 uprising was Esau Mahlatsi, chairman of the Lekoa Town Council. Mahlatsi, a local businessman had to live for months under police protection outside the townships he nominally controlled.

The Lekoa Town Council is one of the largest in South Africa. Five townships, among them Sharpeville and Sebokeng, fall under its aegis.

Botha's visit to the Vaal Triangle townships next week comes after he has firmly placed the idea of "autonomous black city states" on the reform agenda.

The manifesto on which his ruling National Party successfully fought the May 6 election declared: "Full autonomy and even independence for metropolitan areas will not be refused."

So far, however, no black town council has sought recognition as an independent city state along the lines of Luxembourg (to cite the example quoted by Botha).

But autonomous city states, like the "independent" black homelands, would logically qualify for representation on the envisaged Council of States, a overarching, confederal body under consideration by Botha's political planners.

Like Soweto, the Vaal townships are inconveniently situated far from the 10 designated black "homelands". The "problem" posed by the existence of these townships cannot be solved by assigning it to a tribal homeland and decreeing that its citizens should exercise their political rights there.

The Lekoa Town Council has announced that it will act as host to Botha, confer freedom of its townships on him and honour his presence by the release of pigeons and of blue, white and orange balloons.

Speculation about city states, however, gives Botha's pending visit an interest beyond pageantry.

The future of our family.

Our mission as the Unlimited building society is to help ensure a more secure life for all South Africans, by providing as many people as possible with the means to own their own homes.

We'll do this by spending our resources on our members' needs, whilst making a fair profit so that all within the Perm Family enjoy the highest standards of personal and computerised service.

We will continue to expand and create new savings opportunities, while retaining the family as the cornerstone of our existence. For we believe a stable and secure family will ensure a stable and secure society.

Our vision, our commitment is to help create a happier, more fulfilled life for all the members of our family, for all who call South Africa home.



ATTERIDGEVILLE township residents rounded up in raids were taken to Saulsville Arena and allegedly assaulted by council police.

Peter Mogalane, who was picked up during a raid on a beer promotion party at the weekend in the Pretoria township, said he was taken alone in a van to the arena.

There he encountered others he believed to have been rounded up in separate raids.

They were ordered by council police to march around the arena while being assaulted and insulted, he said.

The police are alleged to have assaulted guests when they raided the beer promotion party, breaking a woman's arm.

A number of guests have instituted civil proceedings against the Minister of Police.

According to affidavits from guests, South African Police and Atteridgeville Town Council police arrived in six vans at midnight at the Sehloho Street home where Windhoek Laager was being promoted by a Gilbeys representative.

Guests said they were ordered to walk in pairs to the waiting vehicles, and in the process were kicked, punched with fists and beaten with rifle butts.

They said they were driven to the Saulsville Hostel charge office for processing, then to the Atteridgeville police station, where they were locked up in three cells.

Mogalane said he was taken alone in a van to the Saulsville Arena. He said when he was thrown into a pool of water he injured his elbow which had been fractured by "soldiers" last year.

Meanwhile, at the police station, money for the payment of R30 admission-of-guilt fines (for "illegal drinking") were refused, according to the affidavits, because the receipt book was full.

Three policemen stationed at the entrance of the police station confirmed this refusal to WM on Saturday night.

According to affidavits, people were invited to the promotional party, during which guests were quizzed and prizes awarded.

Florence Ratselane had just won a prize when police arrived. She was also ordered to march to the waiting vans.

A bruising night in the arena

Revellers tell of parties that ended in swoops, marches round an arena and beatings

By THAMI MKHWANAZI

She was permitted on request to urinate, she said, but while she was so engaged behind one of the vans, another policeman ordered her to leave immediately, telling her she was wasting their time.

As she stood up, one policeman "unleashed a vicious kick" against her left arm, she said, and when she fell she had to use the same arm to balance herself. She was picked up and pushed into a van.

Several people have said they were assaulted during or before this incident, kicked, punched and hit with "rifle butts", resulting in "visible and internal injuries".

In her affidavit, Ratselane said police refused on Saturday night to accept money for the payment of an admission-of-guilt fine from her cousin, saying the receipt book was full.

"I complained about my arm and one policeman told me I was drunk," said Ratselane. "I had to spend another night in the cells," she added.

She was released on Sunday morning when police accepted R30 from her parents — for which they issued a receipt. She was subsequently taken to Kalafong Hospital, where her arm was found to be fractured.

Florence Ratselane shows off her fractured arm

Picture: ANNA ZIEMINSKI, Afrapix

Petrus Chiggo Maliase said police punched and kicked him on the neck. A Saulsville man, Zacharia "Mbuti" Ratsela, said police pulled him when he asked why he was being arrested. "When I asked them to arrange for the safety of my car, they said I could consult my lawyers," he said. They

then beat him with a rifle butt which, he said, resulted in a scar on the side of his face.

"Other policemen held me while some kicked and punched me," he said, adding that they dumped him on the ground, picked him up and threw him into a van. He paid a fine the

next day "because my car was stranded".

On refusing to allow people to pay the fine, Johannes Sello Moeketsi argues in his affidavit that the police did allow others to go, by letting them "bribe their way through".

He said he was kicked on the spine, butted with rifles and his face had been trampled upon.

He said one of the people present at the police station asked a policeman why the others were released. The policeman answered in Sotho, saying, "Da na le letswai" (they have salt).

● A spokesman for the SAP, Lieutenant RW Olivier, said he had no knowledge of the allegations. He added that all the people offended by the conduct of the police may lay charges with the local police for investigation. Should they receive no co-operation from these, they may then refer such charges to police headquarters.

He also said those who have made affidavits for the purpose of civil proceedings may submit these to Private Bag X94, Pretoria. These would be sent to the station commander in Atteridgeville who would, in turn, appoint senior policemen to investigate the allegations.

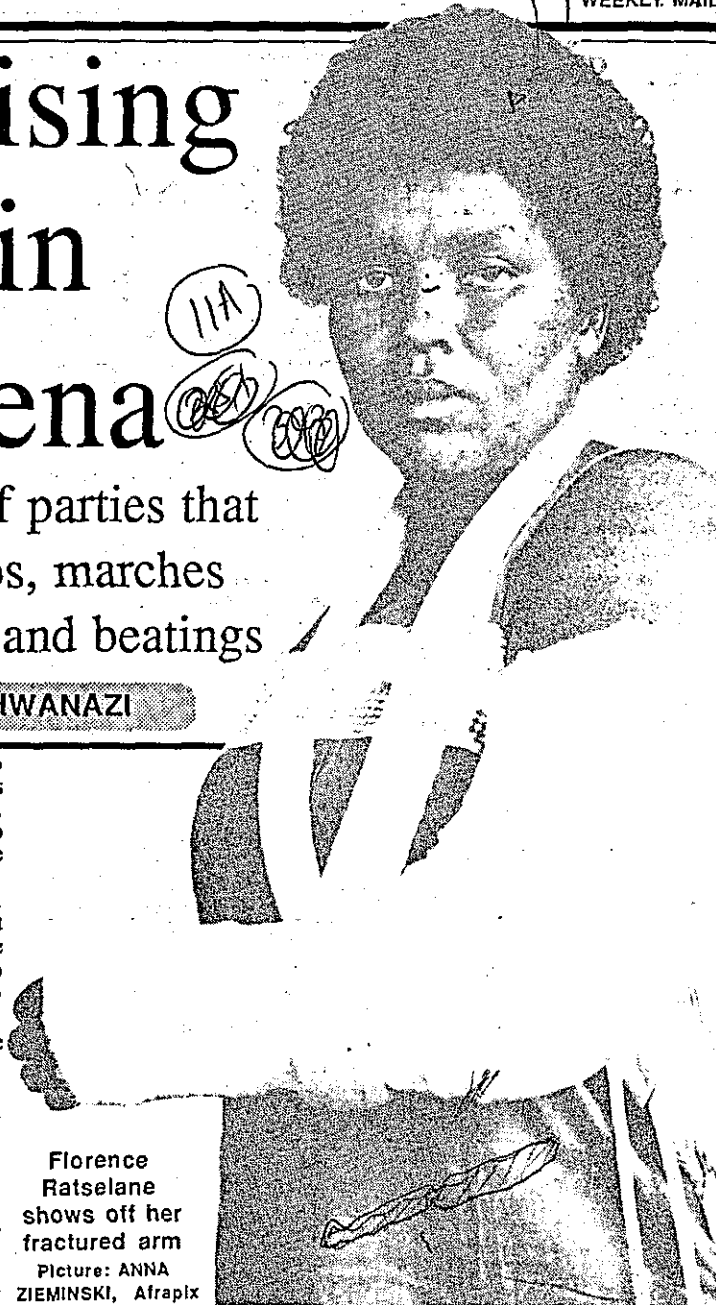
Olivier further said prosecutions may follow if there was sufficient evidence or the charges would be withdrawn.

Asked whether it was illegal to attend a liquor promotion party, he said "No". He pointed out that there was a probability of a "disturbance of some sort" or that neighbours could have complained about excessive noise caused by the party.

Asked why the police could not first warn the organisers of the party about noise, he said the police were not obliged to do so once a complaint had been lodged.

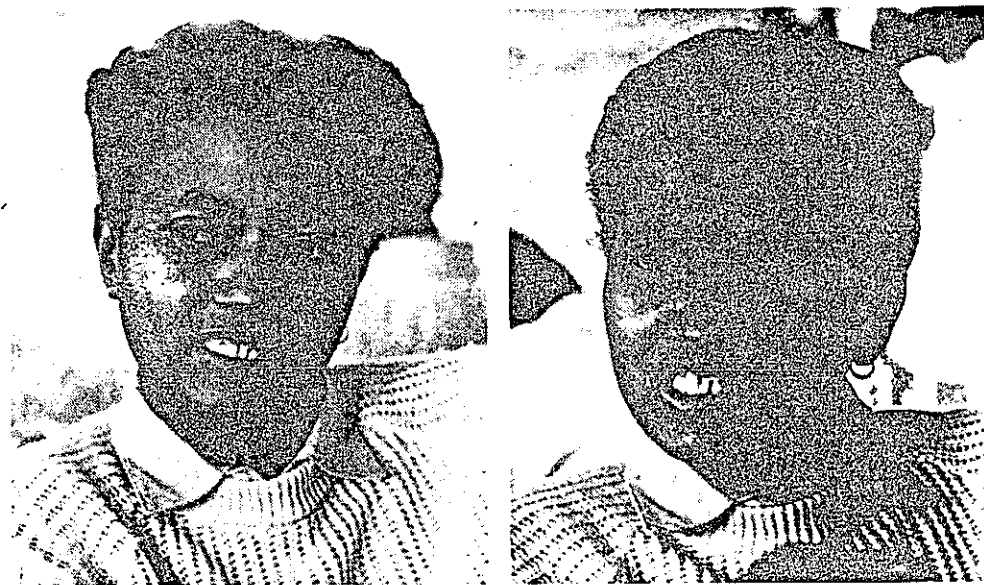
On the alleged police refusal to accept money for payment of admission-of-guilt fines because of lack of receipt books, Olivier said it could have been possible the police had run out of receipt books and therefore found it impossible to accept the money.

He acknowledged the police had accepted admission-of-guilt fines with the express notion that the guests at the promotion party had committed an offence. But he said: "I cannot exactly say what their crime was."



Proud to be a Sisulu

LAST week ANC leader Walter Sisulu celebrated his 75th birthday in Pollsmoor Prison where he is serving a life sentence for treason after being convicted, together with Nelson Mandela and others, at the Rivonia trial in 1964. He is a former secretary-general of the ANC. To mark the occasion his youngest daughter, Nonkululeko, spoke to MOIRA LEVY:



NONKULULEKO SISULU told me it was easy to spot her in a crowd. "I look just like my dad."

Waiting to meet her in the crowded Students Centre at the University of the Western Cape where she is a second year BA student, it struck me that I have not seen a picture of her father, Walter Sisulu, the ANC veteran leader who was removed from public life over 20 years ago to serve a life sentence.

But I noticed her immediately because of her striking resemblance to her older brother Zwelakhe, the editor of New Nation, who has been in detention for over six months.

The Sisulu family has been battered by imprisonment, detention and exile. Ma Albertina Sisulu, a key figure in Soweto activist circles, presently has her husband in jail, her son and a grandson in detention and another son, Max, in exile.

Next Friday will mark the 23rd anniversary of the day Walter Sisulu and the other Rivonia trialists were sentenced to life imprisonment.

Nonkululeko was six years old at the time and ten years passed before she

saw her father again.

Her face glowed when she spoke of that first visit to Robben Island.

She went with her older sister Lindiwe.

"She made me walk in front. It was a kind of test. She wanted to see if I could recognise dada after all those years.

"I walked past the first window, past the second window, and then I saw him, at the third window. He was just the same as he had looked 16 years before. It was the same dada that I remembered, that I had always known."

She described that visit as "thrilling, very exciting. We talked freely".

The white warden who stood guard during their meeting could speak Xhosa and he allowed them to talk in the vernacular.

"Dada asked if I was missing him. He wanted to know how mom was doing, and if my brothers gave me any trouble." Nonkululeko laughed with pleasure at the memory of the visit.

It was marred only by the disappointment of having to talk through intercoms, separated by a glass bar-

rier.

"I had thought he would be allowed to hug and cuddle me," she said.

Contact visits for the Sisulu family were barred for the next 13 years.

Last year in June, Nonkululeko became the first family member to be granted a contact visit.

"I thought I was going to cry. But I couldn't. I had to control myself. I didn't want to upset him."

Today she sees her father regularly. As the only family member living in Cape Town she has the most contact with him.

At the end of last year when problems arose concerning her marriage plans, she and her fiance went to visit her father. "Dada advised us and sorted it all out.

"Because I am so far from home, whenever I have a problem I apply for a visit to Pollsmoor and dada sorts it out."

Last week she visited her father to mark his 75th birthday: "He looks 60 years old. I told him that I hope I look as well and strong as he when I am his age. He said the trick was to exercise.

"He wakes at five every morning and

exercises to keep fit."

One of Nonkululeko's earliest memories is of the marathon Treason Trial where her father was one of 156 accused.

"Mom took us to court every day, even though children were not allowed in."

Nonkululeko would sit on the grass with the children of the other trialists. The mothers took turns at taking care of them.

She remembers her father as a warm and loving man. "He always had time for us kids."

She believes it was more difficult for her four older brothers and sisters to adapt to the imprisonment of their father.

"The others felt the pain. They knew him better, knew what he was like, so it was more difficult for them to adjust.

"And mom has struggled alone for all these years."

She describes her mother as a woman "with much energy, always busy".

"You have have to run around after her practically dressing her because she is always in such a rush. She

comes from work, changes out of her nurse's uniform and she is off again to a meeting."

Nonkululeko doesn't say so, but it clearly was not easy growing up with her father in jail for life, and her family consistently threatened and harassed.

Much of her schooling was disrupted. She studied first at Mahkayane High School in Swaziland. Standard nine and matric were done at Morris Isaacson High School in Soweto at the height of the 1976 students' protests, and her participation in class boycotts took its toll.

After a secretarial course in Durban, she enrolled at Fort Hare University, only to be expelled in 1982 following a class boycott.

Class boycotts at the University of the Western Cape where she enrolled in 1985 have also meant that her degree will take longer than she planned.

It's been a long haul, but Nonkululeko is proud to be a Sisulu.

"I am really proud of my dad, of the sacrifices he made in the interests of all South Africans, and what he gave up for everyone's liberation."

CMT 12/15
4/6/82

Motion:

Delegates

odd (11A)

one out

HOUSE OF DELEGATES. — The House yesterday refused to assent to a government motion calling for the appointment of a select committee to look into a possible amendment of the constitution.

The motion, introduced by the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, called for a joint select committee of the three Houses of Parliament to investigate a constitutional change to allow the reallocation of the number of parliamentary representatives for each province.

The motion, if approved, would be the first move towards a redelimitation of parliamentary seats in South Africa.

It was approved by the House of Assembly without debate. In the House of Representatives it was also approved without debate, but there was a division in the House of Delegates.

An amendment, moved by the leader of the Progressive Reform Party in the House of Delegates, Mr Pat Poovalingam, and supported by the official Opposition Solidarity Party, was carried by 21 votes to 20 after the Chairman of the House, Mr Edward Manikkam, used his casting vote to break a voting deadlock.

The Minister of Education and Culture in the House, Mr Kassie Ramduth, introduced the motion on behalf of the Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Piet Badenhorst, who entered the House during the closing stages of the debate. — Sapa

11A

Journalists questioned over unrest report

By CHRIS BATEMAN
POLICE yesterday questioned the news editor and crime reporter of the Natal Witness in connection with a report that 10 youths were killed and seven injured in violence in Imbali

township after a UDF funeral on Saturday.

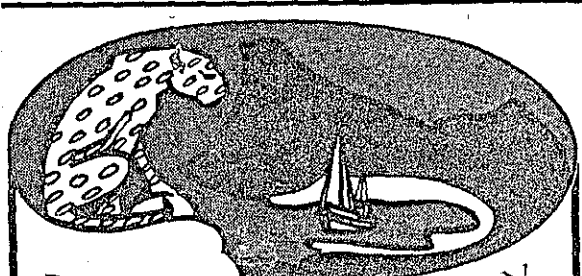
The newspaper quoted residents of the Maritzburg township as saying two vehicles and six men cornered a large group of unarmed, chanting youths after the funeral

of UDF youth leader Mbongeni Majola, 18. Shots were fired by the older men and several youths stabbed.

Yesterday police headquarters in Pretoria issued a statement saying only one person had died.

The news editor of the Natal Witness, Mr John Davis, said affidavits had been obtained by church organizations from two witnesses to the violence.

The Divisional Criminal Investigations Chief for Natal Inland, Brigadier C P Marx, had interviewed him and crime reporter Miss Lesley van Duffelen at police headquarters in Maritzburg. They had told Brigadier Marx the witnesses had asked that their names not be divulged and that the newspaper was standing by the story.



REPUBLIC OF HOUT BAY

STATE "LOTTERY" Competition

The closing date for entries in the State "Lottery" has been extended to Saturday June 6 at 17h00. All qualifying entrants must present their passports before that time to the Secretary of the Hout Bay Yacht Club who will record their names, addresses and passport numbers.

A draw will be made that weekend and the winner will be notified in writing.

The prize, courtesy of Protea Hotels and Inns and Avis Rent a Car, is seven days shared accommodation including breakfast for two at the San Lameer Hotel on the South Coast and the use of a BMW 525E. Winners will be responsible for their own travel arrangements to and from Durban.

(cso08090)

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CAA Times 4/6/87 11P

Bombing civilians 'not ANC policy'

By **SHAUNA WESTCOTT**
Supreme Court Reporter

PLANTING bombs that could hurt innocent civilians is not the policy of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the Supreme Court was told yesterday by a young man who said he was proud to be a member of the ANC's military wing.

Joseph Malusi Ngoma, a 28-year-old community organizer convicted of terrorism as defined by the Internal Security Act, was giving evidence in mitigation.

Asked by prosecutor Mr W C Viljoen if it was the policy of Umkhonto we Sizwe "to start or further a people's war", Ngoma said: "This country has been at war ever since the white man came in. Umkhonto we Sizwe was formed only in 1961 in response to government violence."

He said Umkhonto policy was "to keep on launching attacks on government installations until the political set-up is changed".

"I take it," said Mr Viljoen, "that in the process the planting of bombs at shopping centres, for example, would be condoned."

"No," the prisoner replied. "It is not the policy of Umkhonto we Sizwe to place bombs whereby innocent civilians are hurt. The placing of such a bomb would mean that particular person had exceeded the limits of the authority given by Umkhonto we Sizwe."

Earlier, Ngoma was led by defence counsel Mr Dullah Omar in telling the "long story" of why he joined the ANC.

It began with the poverty of his parents — so poor that their children often went to school "without even a slice of bread".

"I've never eaten a buttered bread until I was 15," he said. "The basic diet at home was sweet water, bread and stamp mielies."

"Did your father support you?" the Bench inquired and Ngoma explained that he did, but "was earning little money".

He was 17 and a Std 9 pupil at Langa High in 1976 when some fellow students were arrested.

"We made a peaceful march to the Langa police station asking for their release but what happened was a colleague of mine was shot dead in front of me and some other students were wounded.

"Also during that time I saw a police van running down a child in Nyanga East and it never stopped and that child was killed."

Ten years later he said he witnessed police and SADF collusion in the destruction of large parts of Crossroads — the core allegation in a Supreme Court application for an interdict that the State chose not to oppose last year.

"I saw with my own eyes a certain Warrant Officer Barnard

issuing arms to the so-called witdoeke. I also witnessed soldiers moving along with the so-called witdoeke burning the shacks of the people of Crossroads."

Ngoma said he activated a limpet mine which exploded at Mowbray railway station in April last year to express his "disillusionment". This was not violence, but a method of protest.

He said he condemned violence in general but supported acts which countered the violence of the State.

A similar view was expressed by 35-year-old scooter driver Mr Gladwin Mabengeza, who asked Mr Justice H C Nel: "I wonder what you would do, my lord, if you were in my position in our country?"

Mr Mabengeza was speaking in mitigation of sentence yesterday.

He has been convicted of helping members of the ANC.

Mr Mabengeza spoke of the plight of parents whose children disappeared to be heard of again "only when they are called terrorists in a trial in Cape Town" and appealed to the State President to "stop the killing in our country by releasing Nelson Mandela and all political prisoners and by letting the exiles come home".

The trial continues.

Mr L P Francis and Mr W R Vivier were assessors. Mr Viljoen appeared with Mr M Stowe. Mr D A Kuy SC, with Mr J R Whitehead, Mr A M Omar and Mr S Desai and instructed by E Moosa and Associates and R Vassen and Co, appeared for the defence.

UDF urges
PPF to
quit
Parliament

JOHANNESBURG. —
The United Democratic
Front yesterday called
for protest against the
year-old state of emer-
gency.

In a statement follow-
ing a two-day secret
meeting last weekend,
the UDF urged the Pro-
gressive Federal Party
to resign from the House
of Assembly and called
for the dissolution of the
Houses of Delegates and
Representatives.

The statement said 200
delegates attended the
secret conference.

"This (secrecy) was ne-
cessitated by the effects
of the state of emergency
and the fact that our
leadership and activists,
who have been in hiding
since the emergency was
declared June 12, also
took part in the confer-
ence," it said.

The conference re-
solved that June 16
would be "South African
Youth Day" in honour of
young people who have
been jailed, maimed or
killed. — UPI

CALL TIMES 4/6/87

Soldiers clean ghetto for PW Botha's visit

JOHANNESBURG. — Soldiers on clean-up duty yesterday shovelled ghetto garbage in preparation for President P W Botha's visit today to the townships where unrest flared two years ago.

Residents of Sebokeng, about 65km south of Johannesburg, said locals were also ordered to help clean up and painting squads freshened up council offices.

Under heavy police and military guard, Mr Botha will receive "freedom of the city" of six adjoining townships — including Sharpeville and Sebokeng — in his first official visit to black townships since 1979.

Mr Botha has been invited by the Lekoa Town Council, which administers the townships south of Johannesburg.

But the visit has been criticized by community organizations.

"This is just propaganda aimed at the outside world, to make them think that all is normal in this country," said Mr Doc Mosesi, an official of the Sharpeville Civic Association.

"The freedom he is being given is ridiculous because he will never enjoy it ... unless under heavy armed guard," said association official Mr Killer Mabunda.

The Vaal Civic Association said it

was unreasonable to expect residents to support moves to honour Mr Botha while grievances which led to the loss of life had still not been addressed by the authorities.

Lekoa's town clerk, Mr Nicholas Louw, said Mr Botha was unlikely to address the rent protest. "These are domestic issues," he said.

A recent survey by the Sowetan newspaper showed that most residents believed Mr Botha should act to scrap or reduce rent payments and write off rent arrears.

The Mphatihalatsane Hall in Sebokeng — where Mr Botha is to address Vaal residents — was yesterday turned into a conference centre when scores of top police officers and Lekoa Town Council officials met to prepare for the visit, the Sowetan reported.

As the day-long meeting continued inside the hall several uniformed police, including Lekoa Council policemen, kept guard at the hall.

Taxi owner and funeral undertaker Mr Moepi Modibedi, 54, said: "We can only be pleased about the State President's visit if he will resolve the issue of rent payments and sell houses to residents at reduced prices of R1 000 or even less for a four-roomed house."

— Sapa

Cap Times 4/6/87

Ribeiro death: Man in court

PRETORIA. — Mr Noel James Robey, 35, appeared briefly at a hearing yesterday in connection with the death of a Mamelodi doctor and his wife last December.

Mr Robey, no address given, appeared before Pretoria North magistrate Mr J N Pretorius.

The hearing is being held after a police investigation into the deaths of Dr Fabian Ribeiro and his wife Florence, who were shot outside their home on December 1.

No evidence was led at the hearing and Mr Robey was released on warning to appear again on June 18.

Mr Robey was represented by Mr J Niemann. — Sapa

Secret UDF meeting endorses boycotts

4-9/6/87 South
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JOHANNESBURG. — The UDF emerged from the shadows this week — just two weeks short of the first anniversary of the State of Emergency — to declare support for the cultural and academic boycott.

About 200 delegates from the UDF's nine regions met in secret in Durban at the weekend to decide on the front's policies for the next two years.

The meeting, only the second nationally representative gathering since the UDF's formation in 1983, adopted the slogan "Defend, Consolidate and Advance".

The meeting declared support for the cultural and academic boycott although delegates added a rider that tours to and from South Africa which supported or contributed to the "advancement of the democratic movement" or that had the endorsement of the external solidarity groups, should be excluded from the boycott.

The meeting called for, among other things: The declaration of June 16 as South African Youth Day; the staging of countrywide protest actions, ranging from floor stoppages to fasting, and endorsement of a national conference of all anti-apartheid forces. — Agenda Press

Bombing civilians is not ANC policy, court told

CAPE TOWN — Planting bombs that could hurt innocent civilians was not the policy of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the Supreme Court was told here yesterday by a young man who said he was proud to be a member of the ANC's military wing.

Joseph Malusi Ngoma, a 28-year-old community organiser already convicted of terrorism as defined by the Internal Security Act, was asked by the prosecutor in the terrorism trial, Mr WC Viljoen, if it was the policy of Umkhonto we Sizwe "to start or further a people's war".

He told the court: "This country has been at war ever since the white man came in. Umkhonto we Sizwe was formed only in 1961 in response to government violence."

He said Umkhonto policy was "to keep on launching attacks on government installations until the political set-up is changed".

"I take it," said Mr Viljoen, "that in the process the planting of bombs at shopping centres, for example, would be condoned."

"No," Ngoma replied. "It is not the policy of Umkhonto we Sizwe to place bombs whereby innocent civilians are hurt. The placing of such a bomb would mean that a person had exceeded the limits of the authority given by Umkhonto we Sizwe."

Ngoma admitted activating a limpet mine which exploded at Mowbray railway station in April last year "to express his disillusionment". This was not violence but a method of protest, he said.

He said he condemned violence in general but supported acts which countered the violence of the State.

The trial continues. — Sapa.

Anglican synod hopes for Mandela's release

Religion Reporter *SMAE 4/6/87*

Violation of the ninth Commandment, raids on neighbouring countries and the detention of children were deplored in motions accepted last weekend by the synod of the Johannesburg diocese of the Church of the Province of Southern Africa.

The synod also sent greetings to Nelson Mandela and hoped that he would be released soon.

The synod, attended by 300 clergy and laity, deplored the breaking of the commandment "Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour" by official decree inasmuch as people were imprisoned for long periods with no public trial which defamed their characters and did not give them a chance to defend themselves.

Condolences were sent by the synod to the families of victims of the May 20 bomb blast at the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court and to the families of the Alexandra children who died in a bus accident in the Northern Transvaal.

In another motion, the synod expressed horror and hurt at the persistent raids into neighbouring countries.

It called for an end to such raids and urged the Government to start peaceful negotiations with liberation leaders inside and outside the country.

In a resolution stemming from Bishop Duncan Buchanan's charge, the synod also urged the Government to lift the state of emergency, unban political organisations and release political detainees.

This resolution was passed noting the results of the general election. The synod expressing concern at the polarisation of South Africans.

Four terrorists are granted leave to appeal

Defence: sentences excessive

Dispatch Reporter

BISHO — Four men convicted in the Supreme Court here of terrorism, including a former executive member of the United Democratic Front in the Border region, Arnold Stofile, were granted leave to appeal against both their convictions and sentences yesterday.

The leave to appeal was granted by the acting Chief Justice of Ciskei, Mr Justice Benjamin Pickard.

Defence counsel argued that the sentences were excessive and that another court might have come to another conclusion, and also that the trial court had erred in accepting the evidence of Mr W, whose identity was protected by a court ruling, as he was a single state witness.

The State had opposed the application.

Arnold Stofile, 42, was sentenced to 11 years on the terrorism charge and one year for possessing arms, the sen-

tences to run concurrently.

Nelson Mdlela, 32, was jailed for 15 years on the terrorism charge and three years for possessing arms, to run concurrently.

Linda Stofile, 28, was sentenced to eight years on the main count and Gladwell Gqibitole, 28, was sentenced to eight years and a further four years for possessing arms, with both sentences to run concurrently.

A fifth accused, Miss Nomvuyiso Stofile, 30, was acquitted on charges of harbouring, assisting and failing to report a suspected terrorist.

DD 5/6/87
114

UDF emerges to call for June protests

THE major target of the year-old State of Emergency, the United Democratic Front, emerged briefly from the shadows this week to announce two weeks of protest action from June 16.

UDF acting publicity secretary Murphy Morobe appeared from hiding to hold a press conference in which he announced that the UDF has called for various forms of protests between June 12 and June 26.

Details of the protests may not be published in terms of the Emergency regulations.

June 12 marks the end of a year of the current State of Emergency. June 26 marks the anniversary of the creation of the Freedom Charter. In between falls June 16, the anniversary of the Soweto uprising, which Morobe said would be marked as "Youth Day".

The UDF had been "bruised" by the Emergency, but "the struggle against apartheid and repression continues," Morobe said.

"For 12 solid months we have withstood the apartheid regime's total onslaught against the legal democratic movement and the whole liberation alliance," said Morobe.

Morobe was speaking shortly after 200 delegates from the UDF's nine regions met in secret in Durban at the weekend for a National Working Committee Conference to decide on the organisation's policies for the next two years.

The meeting, the exact location of which remains secret, was the UDF's third national meeting since its formation on August 20, 1983. Its theme was "Defend, Consolidate and Advance".

The regions represented were Southern Transvaal, Northern Transvaal, Eastern Transvaal, Eastern Cape, Western Cape, Northern Cape, Orange Free State and Border.

Morobe said the conference had underscored the confidence of the UDF and the "unbending dedication of all delegates present, to the cause of liberation". The State of Emergency had failed to stop "our resolve and determination", he said.

An important theme of the conference was a call for the UDF to have a much higher "defensive capability at all levels".

Morobe also announced that the conference had:

- Called on the Progressive Federal Party to quit parliament and "join the democratic movement", and urged coloured and Indian members of the Houses of Delegates and Representatives "to resign and stop the shameless treachery of our people".

By MONO BADELA

isations, to justify undercutting the sanctions campaign or if they were provided by agencies which "supply funds to puppet structures, death squads or counter-revolutionary groupings".

Large sums of money were coming into the country from the "imperialists, with the US regime in the forefront ... to subvert the outcome of our struggle", delegates told the conference.

- Decided on a campaign to popularise and explain the meaning and significance of the Freedom Charter.

- Resolved to support the international struggle for nuclear disarmament, noting that "those international forces" most steadfast in their support for the "struggle" in South Africa where those which "seek international nuclear disarmament and world peace".

- Called for international aid to the Frontline states to counter South African destabilisation, and pledged to "campaign in solidarity" with the Frontline states.

- Criticised Malawi, Swaziland and Lesotho for their "close co-operation" with the South African government.

- Pledged to support the Congress of South African Trade Union (Cosatu) Living Wage, Hands Off Cosatu and Jobs for All campaigns.

- Reiterated its belief that the "working class has a leading role in our liberation struggle", and called for active participation of workers in all "people's organisations".

- Resolved to campaign to compel the government to sign and observe the Geneva Convention in regard to captured guerrillas.

- Set strict guidelines on the acceptance of foreign funding, even though a state clampdown is expected. No funds would be accepted if they were "used by the imperialists" to gain influence in opposition organ-

(11A) whole page copy news

W

A FEW words by African National Congress president Oliver Tambo in London last week have thrown wide open the debate over the international cultural and academic boycotts of South Africa.

Delivering the Canon Collins Memorial Lecture in London last Wednesday, Tambo indicated for the first time that the ANC had modified its three-decade-old commitment to a blanket boycott of all cultural and academic links with South Africa. The boycotts will be continued — even strengthened — but the ANC will become selective in its choice of targets.

This was followed four days later by a United Democratic Front resolution that showed a similar shift in policy.

Tambo is listed and cannot be quoted in South Africa. However, in a telephone interview this week, the ANC's cultural representative in London, exiled author Mongane Wally Serote, explained the new attitude.

Tambo made it clear the total isolation of apartheid will be pursued with even greater vigour.

At the same time, the ANC felt it had to take account of the changes that had occurred in South Africa since the boycotts started in the late 1950s. "The president (Tambo) pointed out that there had emerged a definable alternative democratic culture — a people's culture, that gives expression to the aspirations of our people in struggle," he said.

In the view of the ANC, these developments "contributed to and were part of the emergent alternative democratic power led by the ANC". The time had come when the ANC had to

Tambo pokes a few holes in the blanket

The debate over the cultural and academic boycott of South Africa, in limbo for months, was rekindled this week when Oliver Tambo indicated an ANC shift away from the "blanket boycott" option. ANTON HARBER assesses the implications



Oliver Tambo

"alternative", popular or resistance culture; what popular culture existed was rarely seen outside townships, much less outside the country.

The boycotts were aimed at those either sympathetic to apartheid or silent on the matter and, when they took effect, it was these people who were most affected.

Inevitably, a national resistance movement produces a concomitant culture of resistance and in South Africa there is now a rich and fertile group of artists in every discipline who, directly or indirectly, are a part of the broad movement for political and social change.

As a result of these developments, contradictions became apparent in the cultural and academic boycotts. Artists and academics who were incontrovertibly involved in resistance travelled overseas often uncertain whether they would be welcomed with open arms or picketed by some element of the Anti-Apartheid Movement. The choice was often arbitrary, depending on whether individuals in London chose to turn a blind eye and whether this was known to sometimes over-conscientious local anti-apartheid groups not always sensitive to the subtleties of the boycott.

At times, the boycott hurt leftwingers more than anyone else, since they were more sensitive to pickets than more conservative artists. Rightwing academics continued to travel the world. The contradictions gave a great deal of fuel to those attempting to promote South Africa abroad.

However, the pronouncements by Tambo and the UDF are far from a resolution of the issue. The fierce debate about whether the boycott should be selective or blanket will now be re-

deal with the "alternative structures that our people have created and are creating through struggle and sacrifice".

Tambo had made it clear that "people's culture" should not be boycotted, but should be positively encouraged, supported and exposed to the outside world.

However, he did not offer details of how this should happen. He simply indicated, according to Serote, that "the ANC, the broad democratic movement in its various formations

within South Africa, and the international solidarity movement need to act together" on the issue.

The new approach applies also to artists visiting South Africa. Serote made it clear that the potential now existed for anti-apartheid artists to perform under certain conditions in the country.

"There has to be an exchange between people in South Africa and people abroad. The solidarity movement has produced cultural workers who firmly support our work and we

have to bring them together with progressive cultural workers inside the country.

"Our president has given us a task: to bring these two groups together. If, through consultation once again, we can execute this task, we will go ahead," he said.

The UDF resolution reiterated its support for campaigns to isolate "the apartheid regime" and called on those to be intensified and strengthened, but pointed out the difference between isolating "the regime" and isolating "the people of South Africa".

The UDF went much further than the ANC in that it laid down explicit criteria for selection. Tours both to and from South Africa will only be exempt from the boycott if they are "supported by the democratic movement in South Africa", "approved by overseas solidarity groups" and "contribute to the advancement of the national democratic struggle and building of a future South Africa".

Azapo, on the other hand, has stood firmly in favour of a blanket boycott. In a statement this week, Azapo president Nkosi Molala said his organisation had no intention of embarking on a selective boycott. "Our attitude is that whoever comes will justify the status quo of the Bother regime".

The Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania has remained on the side of a total ban on visitors to South Africa, but shows some flexibility on artists travelling out of the country. Gora Ebrahim, the PAC's secretary for foreign affairs, said the PAC stood by a call for people not to come to South Africa, but would accept South African visitors on certain conditions. Asked what would be acceptable, he said: "Apartheid is a crime against humanity. Artists must convey this message."

In many ways it was an unavoidable decision for both the ANC and the UDF. The cultural and academic boycotts were formulated during the 1960s when there was little

The arguments now will be over the selection criteria ... and over who makes the choices

placed by argument — no less crucial, and probably a lot more difficult — about what criteria should be used for selection, and who will wield the power of acceptance or rejection.

It was precisely because of the knowledge that a selective boycott would open up a Pandora's Box of potential problems that there was such heated debate in the build-up to Tambo's statement. Britain's Anti-Apartheid Movement, for example, had a real fear that their solidarity action would be undermined by a complex selection process that would be difficult to explain and justify to the hundreds of small local solidarity groups they represent. Many artists within South Africa were resistant to the idea that anyone should wield the power to pronounce on the political acceptability of their work.

Whatever problems there had been with a blanket boycott, it had the virtue of being non-discriminatory. There was no question of who or what was acceptable and there was no question of anyone having arbitrary powers to decide what was to

Advertisement

DOWN
1. Current misnomer for conscription

ACROSS
2. Offensive operation (6)

PW sets foot in boycott land to call:



Flanked by 'green bean' council police, State President PW Botha enters Sebokeng

Picture: WENDY SCHWEGMANN, Reuter

By MONO BADELA
STATE President PW Botha yesterday delivered his first direct invitation to black South Africans to participate in national government — behind the massed guns of several hundred soldiers, police and township "green bean" police.

He chose as the first recipients of the invitation to sit on his National Council, and a future Council of State, Mayor Esau Mahlatsi and the town councillors of the Vaal's Lekoa township complex, who are among the least representative "black leaders" in the country.

And even they said "no" to Botha. The day was full of unexpected moments, such as when the Lekoa flag was raised upside down and the crowd drowned out *Die Stem* by singing *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika*.

Mahlatsi and his colleagues have lived behind barbed wire in a specially-constructed and heavily guarded compound since the Lekoa council increased local rents in September 1984, sparking a wave of nationwide unrest which has not yet abated despite two States of Emergency, ushering in a nationwide rent boycott.

But behind the guns which sur-

Take me to your leaders

(SORRY, SAYS HIS HOST. NOT I)

rounded the Sebokeng civic centre yesterday afternoon these minor details were forgotten as Botha, flanked by a phalanx of cabinet ministers, flew in by army helicopter to gracefully accept the "freedom of the city" delivered, on behalf of 346 000 rent-boycotting residents by Mahlatsi, whose council has been so strapped for cash by the 32-month boycott they had to beg the R15 000 for yesterday's ceremony from local white businesses.

Throughout his 21-page accep-

lance speech, Botha made no reference to the first and continuing cause of unrest — rents — concentrating instead on the National Council and the "reforms" he said were mandated by white South Africa in the May 6 election.

But if the several thousand-strong crowd which turned up to watch left disappointed by Botha's failure to announce rent relief, Botha himself may have been equally disappointed.

After granting his president the

freedom of the six Lekoa townships, Mahlatsi said: "We would have great reluctance in participating in the National Council. We seriously urge you to abandon the idea of operating this body."

"It is our belief that the reform you have been mandated to pursue will be an exercise in futility if it does not have (as its objective) the ultimate participation of blacks in parliament on a par with whites."

Botha had clearly not brought along his ministers of defence, law

and order, information, constitutional affairs, foreign affairs and of education and development aid in the expectation of rejection.

But the "freedom ceremony" was not a stunning success for Botha or Mahlatsi: After the Lekoa flag had been raised upside-down, and dignitaries began singing *Morena Bolo-ka* (the Sotho version of *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika*) and then *Die Stem*, hundreds of those beyond the guns shot their fists into the air and began singing the more widely-recognised *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika*. Consensus among journalists present was that the crowd won the singing.

Their demands, featured in a widely-circulated pamphlet from the Vaal Civic Association yesterday morning, were less immediately successful. They included an end to high rentals and the Delmas trial (which focuses on the Vaal uprising of '84), the resignation of all councillors, the release of the "Vaal Six" (currently awaiting execution for killing a councillor in '84) and an end to evictions.

After the ceremony, Botha and his cabinet ministers departed for a tour of Sharpeville where, in a sense, his

● TO PAGE 3

The Botha visit

● From PAGE 1

troubles began 26 years ago. His reception in Sharpeville was in sharp contrast to that in Sebokeng. In Sebokeng there was no enthusiasm, no shouting.

But when he entered Sharpeville's George Thabe Stadium after a brief tour of the township, Botha was given a rousing reception by close to 1 000 primary school children.

Law and order minister Adriaan Volk commented: "It is a very wonderful experience for me. How can they receive us like this?"

Reminded that thousands of children of the same age had been in detention, he said "You heard this week that only 11 children remain in the cells. In any case, this is not my indaba. The State President is responsible for the State of Emergency."

Asked when the State of Emergency would be lifted, he said: "Ask the State President."

Handwritten notes: *11A*, *5-11/6/87*, *W/mant*

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THE ANC

Going on the defensive

A series of events around the world during the past week has raised new hope that the South African peace initiative could soon be back on the road.

One gesture, it seems, is all that is needed to turn talk into action — agreement by the ANC to end its campaign of violence. State President P W Botha has said as much in a letter to the heads of the seven leading industrial nations (see *Caning for Canada*) who have been asked to pressure the ANC to lay down its arms.

This so-called Group of Seven is expected to discuss the South African issue when it meets in Venice next week. What will flow from the talks is uncertain but, as far as the ANC is concerned, real pressures against its policies are finally building up abroad. For the first time in years it is on the defensive against international opinion.

The fact that the ANC took days to decide whether or not it was responsible for the Johannesburg Magistrates' Court car-bomb blast is seen as significant. Either Lusaka HQ has lost its grip or it is concerned about world opinion.

In Washington, the blast certainly helped in the US Senate decision to pass by a large majority a motion to cut aid to Frontline states considered by the White House to be harbouring ANC terrorists.

And in London, the *FM's* European editor reports that several delegates to Business International's fourth meeting on SA — this one addressed by the ANC's Oliver Tambo — came away confident of withstanding further disinvestment pressure.

Also in London, the ANC has clearly softened its stand against the cultural boycott in what many are interpreting as part of a general change of tactic in response to British public opinion. The view now, according to one spokesman is that "the outside world should have access to cultural happenings that depict life in South Africa."

This is part of a general new line noted by several commentators. Strategy now, they say, is to isolate the South African government and its supporters while backing what are termed "progressive forces" within the South African community.

Natal University's Mike Morris explains: "ANC thinking has shown signs of a strategic change on the (academic boycott) issue, and there are moves afoot to organise progressive academics inside the country.

"Within the ANC, some are adopting the slogan 'isolate the South African regime' as a more precise, organisationally strategic demand than the isolation of SA."

This slogan, Morris says, implies support for organisations and individuals in opposi-

tion.

A similar message, if only implicit, was noted at the London business meeting — instead of the old blanket boycott of anything and everything South African, there could now be support for "alternative structures" within the country.

Clearly, therefore, there is movement in ANC thinking. But where will it lead? Even if talks can be arranged, there is nothing to suggest at this stage that either side has undergone any fundamental change of heart.

Perhaps the most important effect of recent developments, therefore, is psychological. Betting men are giving odds that the Senate vote will not become law and certainly the White House will oppose any statutory measure which would effectively tie its hands in southern African diplomacy.

What the Senate move does do is confirm US policy as stated in the celebrated Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986 which formalised American disinvestment policy towards SA.

"The United States," the Act says, "will adjust its actions toward the government of South Africa not only to reflect progress made by the government of South Africa . . . but also to reflect progress or lack of progress made by the ANC and other organisations."

The progress Congress wants from the ANC includes the suspension of terrorist activities, a commitment to a free and democratic post-apartheid SA, agreement to enter into negotiations with the South African government "and other groups representing black South Africans," and a re-examination of its ties with the South African Communist Party.

As the ANC has made no such "progress," it is logical to assume that the US will "adjust" its policy towards the South African government accordingly. Just how remains anyone's guess.

The Senate measure, which was attached to a Bill which would give the SADCC member states US\$50m in fresh US assistance this year, was aimed primarily at Botswana, Zimbabwe and Zambia, the nations most often accused of harbouring ANC terrorists.

But the vote was largely symbolic in that the House of Representatives has not passed a similar amendment and Congressional sources believe the controversial measure will be tossed out later this summer when delegates from the two chambers sit down and hammer out the differences in their SADCC economic aid packages.

But after the conservatives had had their day on the Senate floor, the liberal contingent countered with a round of Pretoria-bashing legislation. Early this week, liberal

senators put out a so-called "sense of the Senate" measure that would place Congress's highest chamber on record as calling for the South African government to release all children held in detention.

Earlier this week government did release some of them, but nobody is fooling themselves that this will cut any ice during the open season on SA which is under way again. ■

ANC — 2

Caning for Canada

Government's determination not to compromise in any way on the ANC's strategy of violence is behind the latest appeal by P W Botha to the heads of the seven industrialised nations to clearly acknowledge that the end-



Pik Botha . . . an end to ANC violence

ing of violence is the key to progress in SA.

The Seven, from the US, Canada, Britain, France, West Germany, Italy and Japan, will meet in Venice next week. SA is reportedly on the agenda.

In explaining the reasons for the latest letter, Foreign Minister Pik Botha says it is a follow-up to a similar communication to the Seven before their Tokyo Summit last year.

He firmly denies a reported statement by Canadian Foreign Minister Joe Clark that the letter calls on the Seven to break off relations with the ANC, and he released a copy sent to Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney to prove his point.

"The president's letter is clearly an emphasis on the need to end violence as a means to achieve political aims. The president and I have in the past repeatedly told the Seven that this is the key to solving SA's problems.

→

If the Seven want to play a constructive role, they should urge the perpetrators of violence to cease their actions."

Botha says government's reform plans are being hampered by the West's continuing willingness to "lend an ear" to the ANC which remains committed to violence as a political strategy.

He says while government doesn't want to tell the West who it should have contact with, it urges Western leaders to speak out strongly against the use of violence whenever contact is made with the ANC.

No call is made in the letter for the West to cut ties with the ANC and Botha says he hopes Clark was misquoted. "It is difficult for me to see how he could have interpreted the letter in this way. It is a distortion of its contents," he says.

He says he hopes the Canadian public will be given an opportunity to judge for itself whether Clark's comments are an accurate reflection of the "reasonable and logical" comments by President Botha in the letter.

In the letter President Botha says the "attentive ear" given to ANC leaders in world capitals over the past 12 months has not helped encourage the organisation to renounce its strategy of violence.

He sketches government's reform achievements and goals and emphasises his determination to "bring to fruition within a reasonable time the goals which my government and I have set ourselves."

He says it is "quite unjustified" to accuse government of destabilising southern Africa when neighbouring states remain unwilling to "take effective action against the perpetrators of terrorism in SA."

He again declares his willingness to negotiate with any regional leaders who accept that solutions to the region's problems must be settled around a conference table.

"It could be constructive if a clear message could be sent from Venice to the perpetrators of violence to the effect that their reprehensible deeds will not be countenanced by the civilised world. The ending of the cycle of violence is the key to future progress in SA," he says.

Pik Botha says Clark's reported comments in the Canadian House of Commons is the first Canadian response to the letter.

He says the letter was sent in "good faith" and dealt with serious issues and events.

"As Foreign Minister I object to this new form of diplomatic reaction by the Canadian government. To put it plainly, it is simply bad manners." ■

2

All will share in running SA — PW



ACCORD: President P W Botha and the Mayor of Lekoa Mr Esau Mahlatsi touch hands in a gesture of friendship during a tour of eight townships in the Vereeniging area yesterday.

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — President P W Botha has rejected as excuses for not negotiating the demands by some black leaders that he offer a declaration of intent before they commit themselves to joining him in talks.

Addressing dignitaries and a curious crowd of between 1 500 and 3 000 residents of Sebokeng during a ceremony in which the freedom of the black townships of Lekoa was conferred on him by the Lekoa Council, Mr Botha provided no new details of plans to bring blacks into a higher level of administration.

However, he reiterated his intention to become more directly involved in negotiations with black leaders "to bring about a constitution in which every community will have a fair share in running the country".

Cool on council

Lekoa's Mayor, Mr Esau Mahlatsi, urged the President yesterday to abandon the statutory council.

"We express our concern at the establishment of the statutory council," said Mr Mahlatsi. "Great reluctance to participate has been expressed by blacks.

"We urge you to abandon it, but we leave it to your own discretion because you have been entrusted to lead the country to a greater future.

"But the reform with which you have been mandated would be futile if it did not have as its ultimate aim the participation of blacks and whites in Parliament."

Mr Botha was given the freedom of Lekoa, which includes Sebokeng, Sharpeville, Boipatong, Bophelong, Zamdela and Refengkgotso townships.

It was in Sharpeville that 69 blacks were shot dead by police in 1960.

Against all expectations, Mr Botha said nothing about rent, an issue which sparked unprecedented violence in 1984, claiming more than 73 lives.

As a result of this violence 19 men are charged with terrorism, alternatively treason and murder in what is called "The Delmas Treason Trial".

Ironically, Mr Botha ended his visit by visiting Sharpeville as well.

Waved flags

Traffic on the main road between Sebokeng and Sharpeville halted. The route was heavily guarded by traffic officers, police and soldiers.

Mr Botha's next stop was the George Thabe Stadium.

At the stadium Mr Botha was welcomed by an enthusiastic crowd of about 300 people, mainly children who waved flags and shouted.

He beamed at them, walked to a helicopter and flew out.



'I'll choose leaders from black local govt'

● BOTHA

DOMINIQUE GILBERT

PRESIDENT P W Botha said yesterday he would choose leaders from existing black local governments to negotiate a power-sharing dispensation for the country.

Botha, speaking in Lekoa during a ceremony to give him the freedom of the township, renewed his invitation to "responsible leaders" to come to the conference table and serve on the proposed National Statutory Council.

Promising to assist those black communities who were now prepared to bring forward their leaders, Botha said: "The time for excuses is over."

Shortly before handing over the new flag of Lekoa — which was hoisted upside down — Botha told a large audience in the dusty parking lot outside the council offices the May 6 mandate given to him by whites proved they understood the desire of every community to determine its own affairs.

He said: "Democratic processes have produced educated, capable and representative leaders with whom I am prepared to negotiate about a dispensation."

5/6/87
B/Dav (11A) 20000

Give blacks more power, Lekoa mayor urges Botha

LEKOA Town Council mayor Esau Mahlatsi yesterday warned President P W Botha not to force the National Statutory Council on people who did not want it.

The President was visiting the township to accept the Freedom of Lekoa.

Mahlatsi also called on Botha to allow blacks to be represented in Parliament, as the first step towards his planned reform process.

"People should be allowed to make

SOPHIE TEMA

their choice and the President should not force the National Statutory Councils on those who are not in favour of them," he told Botha and senior Cabinet members, including Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning Chris Heunis.

When Botha stood up to address thousands of children — some wearing ANC colours — women ululated and waved red and white flags.

Some who attended said they had thought Botha would talk to them about rents in the township. They felt that if Botha wanted to negotiate he should release those they regarded as their "true leaders".

When Mahlatsi addressed the crowd he said the time had come for SA's white and black populations to share the wealth and privileges of the country.

After he had conferred the Freedom

of Lekoa on Botha, the mayor said: "We invited Botha to our township to see for himself the problems our people face and how they live, and this will perhaps urge him to speed up the process of reform."

Botha and Mahlatsi both inspected the guard of honour formed by the Lekoa Council Police.

Scores of policemen and soldiers patrolled the area in which the ceremony was held.

5/6/87
ANC still has goodwill, (112)
says publisher

Staff Reporter

THE view that the African National Congress has to be talked to is growing in acceptability, if not popularity, in concerned government circles, Mr Hugh Murray, publisher of Leadership magazine told the Cape Town Press Club yesterday.

Mr Murray helped arrange the visit of senior businessmen to Zambia for a meeting with ANC leaders.

He said the process that led to the talks in 1985 was much more detailed than was generally known.

Neither President Kaunda, who acted as chairman at the talks, nor the ANC leadership, had any desire to conduct talks in a vacuum — “they wanted me to report back to the government on a disciplined basis”, he said.

Mr Murray said there were still vast reservoirs of goodwill within the ANC which could be converted into the “most dramatic diplomatic triumph” if South Africa so wished.

Initiative wrecked

He said a planned follow-up meeting between the leaders of the frontline states and the South African government had been sadly wrecked.

“I am not going to be so brash as to say the invitations were already in line or that it was rank negligence or deliberate derailing of the KK invitation, but since then Dr Kaunda has said he is prepared to meet and discuss a meeting of that kind.

“But again the initiative has been totally and utterly wrecked,” he said.

Mr Murray said the Stalinists and nationalists within the ANC were irrevocably divided and if they were to fight an election they would be found to be as disparate as the CP and PFP.

The government was absolutely right when it said there had been a shift in the Stalinists (over the nationalist) in the ANC.

“But two years ago this was not so. I feel we have failed in our discussions with it (the ANC). I feel that they (the nationalists) have succumbed of necessity to the SA Communist Party.”

Blacks will share power, Botha tells township

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ICA... Mrs Elize Botha clasps hands with a Sharpeville resident during yesterday's presidential visit by the presidential couple to the Lekoa township complex. Picture: PHILIP LITTLETON

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — President P W Botha said yesterday he would choose leaders from existing black local governments, such as the Lekoa town councillors who bestowed the freedom of their township on him, to negotiate a power-sharing dispensation for the country.

Mr Botha renewed his invitation to "responsible leaders" to come to the conference table and serve on the proposed National Statutory Council.

Promising to help those black communities and groups who were now prepared to bring forward their leaders, Mr Botha said "the time for excuses is over".

Mr Botha told a large audience in the dusty parking lot outside the council offices that the election mandate given to him by whites proved they understood the desire of every community to determine its own affairs.

He said: "Democratic processes have produced educated, capable and representative leaders with whom I am prepared to negotiate about a dispensation in which our black communities will share power."

When Mr Botha stood to address the crowd, thousands of children and women ululated and the crowd waved red and white flags.

The mayor of the Lekoa council, Mr Esau Mahlatsi, warned Mr Botha not to force the National Statutory Council on people who did not want it.

"People should be allowed to make their choice and the President should not force the National Statutory Councils on those who were not in favour of them," he said.

Why SABC dumped debate on ANC

WSP
11A
6/6/87

Weekend Post Reporter

"TOPICALITY" was the reason for the SABC making a last-minute change to yesterday's scheduled *Microphone-in* discussion about holding talks with the ANC in favour of a debate about the Sullivan Principles.

According to radio announcements, the topic of this week's programme, which was on the air from 8pm, was to have been whether discussions should be held with the ANC.

The deputy director-general (news) of the SABC, Mr Kobus Hamman, said in Johannesburg today the programme's producers decided on the change due to the prominence given in the news this week to the Rev Leon Sullivan.

Mr Sullivan declared this week that he was abandoning his code of fair employment for United States firms operating in South Africa and called for a total economic embargo of South Africa.

Concerning the programme change, Mr Hamman said: "It is standard procedure with *Microphone-in* to compile a short list of possible topics beforehand.

"Then, at the latest moment, a decision is made as to which subject is most topical and this is then used as the topic for the programme.

"The decision to change to a discussion on the Sullivan Principles was made since the producers felt that this was more topical than the ANC."

He added that another factor had been the possibility that the programme might lead to problems because of the restrictions imposed by the emergency regulations.

'THE ANC GIVES HOPE'

11A
C/Me
7/6/87

CP Correspondent

THE African National Congress was the only organisation which gave hope of a return to normality to the general populace in black townships, the Cape Town Supreme Court heard this week.

Social worker Mthetho Douglas Myamya, 37 - convicted of assisting ANC members - said this while giving evidence in mitigation of sentence.

He, Joseph Susele Mkhulwa, 31, Anderson Zingisele Ncivita, 34, Reed Zwelethu Macozona, 27, Gladwin Mthethehini Mabengeza, 35, Cyril

Moyisi Ntabeni, 31, and Norman Siseko Macanda, 29, have been convicted of harbouring or assisting terrorists.

Six others, Lizo Bright Ncquungwana, 27, Them-binkosi Theophilus Mzukwa, 26, Joseph Malusi Ngoma, 28, Sazi Livingston Veldtman, 29, Quentin Deon Michaels, 27, and Cecil Esau, 31, have been convicted of terrorism.

Myamya said under cross-examination that he was still sympathetic to the ANC cause. Defence counsel John Whitehead then asked him, during re-ex-

amination, to explain why.

Myamya replied: "From the perspective of a social worker, especially one operating in a community where, for a long time, things have not been normal and there seems to be no solution in sight, the only organisation which seems to be giving hope to the general populace is the ANC."

Myamya admitted that he took a letter to a woman in Botswana for Ncquungwana and Veldtman in April last year and that he realised, when he returned to Cape Town, that the woman had concealed

arms in his car.

Under cross-examination, Myamya said that, after failing to make contact with the woman while on holiday in Botswana, he was asked to go again by his friends, Veldtman and Ncquungwana.

On the second trip, he realised he was helping the ANC.

"My first trip was a disappointment to my friend. I was in a situation where I could make up for that," said Myamya.

"I saw the second trip as my final act of assistance to the ANC."

Re-examined by his

counsel, Myamya referred to "the ongoing war" in the townships between the State and the people who wanted to free themselves.

Whitehead then asked whether Crossroads was an example of this war, to which Myamya replied: "It's a great example."

Myamya added that there had been a lot of infighting among people in Crossroads as far back as 1985.

"My personal assessment was that the presence of the military and police in Crossroads exacerbated the tensions between groups instead of, as they

claimed, easing them and maintaining law and order," added Myamya.

Judge Nel then said: "I understood that the police moved into Crossroads only once fighting between the Witdoeke and comrades had begun."

Myamya said: "The community understands that the police helped the Witdoeke by giving them guns to use against the comrades."

Whitehead then asked whether the ANC only committed acts of terrorism, to which Myamya replied that, as he understood the situation, in the

ANC's "striving for freedom" they were attempting to "bring an end to the constant turmoil in the townships".

In reply to Whitehead's query as to what people wanted to free themselves from, Myamya used the fighting in Crossroads last year as an example, saying that it had come about as a result of African people not being allowed to settle in the Western Cape.

"People came to Cape Town for jobs, but the pass laws posed problems."

The trial continues. - Sapa.

UDF leaders claim damages from Minister

By S'BU MNGADI

FOUR Natal United Democratic Front leaders - part of the much-publicised "British Consulate six" saga of three years ago - have instituted a claim of about R120 000 against the Minister of Law and Order.

The four - UDF president Archie Gumede, Natal Indian Congress president Chanderdeo "George" Sewpershad, former NIC president Moorgiah Naidoo and Natal UDF vice-chairman Billy Nair are claiming R25 000 damages for loss of

liberty and general damages.

Sewpershad and Naidoo also claim R8 000 each for loss of earnings and Gumede R3 552.

An attorney acting for Seedat, Pillay and Govindsamy confirmed that summonses had been issued against the Minister, who is defending the action.

The leaders were released from detention on September 7, 1984, when the Supreme Court ruled that the notice under which they were being detained was unlawful. At the time, they were held under preventive detention.

Two days later the police, acting on the instructions of the Minister, attempted to serve them with fresh notices.

Fearing further detention and deprivation of their liberty, they sought refuge at the British Consulate in Durban on September 13, 1984.

They remained in the consulate until October 6, 1984. When they left the consulate they were immediately arrested and detained in terms of Section 28 of the Internal Security Act.

They were kept in police custody until December 10, 1984, when they, together

with eight others, were charged with treason.

"Our sojourn in the British Consulate, with hardships and prejudices, became necessary as a result of threat of detention in terms of the Internal Security Act," they said.

Meanwhile, another claim is being prepared against the Minister of Law and Order.

This is being brought by the accused in the marathon treason trial in Maritzburg, which lasted for about two years and involved UDF and SA Allied Workers' Union leaders.

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Botha party shunned

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 Press 7/6/87



Ribeiro case starts

By SOL MORATHI
 A 35-year old former Rhodesian appeared in the Pretoria North Magistrates' Court this week in connection with the killing last year of a Mamelodi medical practitioner, Dr Fabien Ribeiro, and his wife, Barbara.
 Noel James Robey, of Schoemansville, near Britz, appeared before Magistrate JN Pretorius. He was not asked to plead and no evidence was led. The case was postponed to June 18, when Robey will undergo a preparatory examination before standing trial.
 Evidence will be led and the magistrate will then decide whether he should be committed for trial on a murder charge.
 Transvaal Attorney-General David Brunette decided to launch a preparatory examination in terms of the Criminal Procedure Act after studying the report of the case.
 Ribeiro and his wife were shot as they entered the courtyard of their home on December 1 last year.

By SANDILE MEMELA
THE MUCH anticipated splendour at Mphatlalatsane Hall in Sebokeng for State President PW Botha's visit turned into chilly disappointment when thousands of township residents apparently shunned the gala event.

Botha had been invited as the guest of honour by the Lekoa Town Council, who had accorded him the township's freedom and had spent more than R15 000 on a lavish party for him. The ceremony was held in the open outside the hall. However, it was business as usual in the Vaal townships of Sebokeng, Sharpeville, Bophelong, Boipatong and Zamdela yesterday morning while hundreds of policemen and members of the SADF, together with a handful of township residents, awaited Botha's arrival.

A handful of curious residents - mostly pensioners and children - gathered outside the hall, apparently to have a glimpse of Botha and his entourage. Ironically, Mphatlalatsane Hall, which also houses the Lekoa Town Council offices, is only 100m from the Zone 14 shopping complex in Sebokeng which was one of the flash points of the unrest in September 1984 which quickly spread throughout the country. Several shops in the nearby shopping complex, which belonged mostly to Lekoa councillors, were gutted by fire two years ago when unrest broke out in the country.

Policemen, municipal cops and the SADF yesterday monitored the situation and maintained tight security around the hall. Several policemen and kits-konstabels were seen on the roof tops of a nearby buildings - apparently looking out for trouble-makers. As early as 9 am the vicinity surrounding the hall was bustling with activity as scores of council employees made last-minute preparations for the function. About 15m away a group of onlookers huddled together amid security force members armed with rifles and police dogs. A temporary communication sub-station, monitoring the movements of the security personnel deployed around the area, had been set up behind the hall. Security officers in plain clothes mingled casually with the crowd as they monitored the area. Observations by City Press found kits-konstabels walking about in pairs with rifles hanging from their shoulders. Police with dogs were posted at strategic points in the township. The area surrounding the hall was completely cordoned off and SAP officers searched incoming vehicles thoroughly.

New peace-maker



Gen Johan Coetzee

CF Correspondent
FORMER South African Police chief Gen Johan Coetzee has a new job - South Africa's representative on a "peace pact" commission involving two warring homelands. Coetzee, who as Commissioner of Police gained an awesome array of powers through the emergency, resigned last week and joined the Department of Foreign Affairs. The commission on which he will now serve was set up after a peace pact was signed between Transkei and Ciskei in April. The pact followed conflict between the two independent homelands. Ciskei's representative will be the Director-General of Manpower, CM Kashe. Transkei has not yet announced a representative. - Elnews.

helped players

running the club, which means that City Press would not pay the players' wages for June.
 Lister said the bank has undertaken to consult with the interim committee and to give them an opportunity to buy the club.
 "The bank has said that if the situation is not resolved by the end of June another meeting would be held to make arrangements for July. As far as City Press is concerned, we have achieved everything we set out to do. We have helped the interim committee to keep the players and the fans happy.
 "We have helped the interim committee to enter into negotiations with the bank and the trustees and by lending them money we have enabled the players to meet their commitments,"

said Lister.
 He said the whole exercise was undertaken only after City Press had done its home work and had established that Sundowns was a sound club with good administration and discipline.
 "If they maintain their form the club will make a profit this year and all we have done is to offer help. We have not offered a vast amount of money.
 "It's wrong to suggest that we are just paying their salaries. The players earn their money from gate-takings. We regret the reaction from the Association of Democratic Journalists and the Media Workers' Association of South Africa, which seemed to be based on incomplete and incorrect facts," said Lister.
 A tour of the township found residents carrying on with their normal activities. As usual, taxis and buses cruised along dusty roads and tarred streets with potholes.
 Taxis were filled with commuters and other passengers were seen lining the streets hiking lifts from passing motorists.
 The township businesses, including government institutions like post offices and municipal offices, were bustling with activity and most garages, banks and supermarkets were also open.
 A Hippo packed with security forces sped along the dusty township streets.
 Student sources told City Press that they had been given half the day off, but this could not be confirmed as other pupils were seen inside school buildings.

MOVE TO MILDNESS

BENSON & HEDGES
 ESTABLISHED BY OLD DONG STREET LONDON
 Special Mild
 BENSON & HEDGES

that the councillors told for professional reasons, he paid the money, they said

Nats invite UDF to talks

117
[scribble]

Gene fern
8/6/87

THE Government has invited a United Democratic Front official for talks on the reconstruction of the President's Council.

One of the UDF's three presidents, Mr Archie Gumede, has been approached to give suggestions on the restructuring of the President's Council.

The invitation was extended by Dr Dries Oosthuizen, chairman of the Committee for Constitutional Affairs of the President's Council.

However, the UDF has turned down the invitation and has listed several demands as a

condition for talks.

The invitation coincides with President Botha's full page advertisement this week in which he extended his "hand of friendship" to all South Africans of goodwill and invited them to join in the search for an answer to the country's problems.

Mr Kobus Bauermeester, secretary of the President's Council, said in Cape Town last week that black leaders from a "broad spectrum" were being approached. The move is aimed at paving the way for blacks to participate in the President's

Council.

Mr Bauermeester said: "It is confirmed that the Committee for Constitutional Affairs of the President's Council is at present hearing oral evidence on the composition and functions of the President's Council in order to make provision for further forms of negotiation and for the participation of leaders of black communities in that council."

Mr Gumede said he had to consult with the UDF's national executive before responding to the invitation and that the position of the UDF on the matter coincided

with his own.

He said negotiations with the Government without the participation of leaders of the ANC like Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo would be of no value. He listed other conditions for talks as:

- The lifting of the state of emergency.
- The unbanning of the ANC and release of all political prisoners and detainees.
- Troops and police must be taken out of the townships.
- There must be a guarantee of safety for returning political exiles.

Benoni faces black boycott threat over bank row

BENONI town councillor Aubrey Ritzi has sounded a warning that the town may be subjected to a black consumer boycott if it were to withdraw its municipal funds from First National Bank.

Ritzi said yesterday he had received an anonymous telephone threat from a "black male" who said: "If you guys withdraw from First National Bank, we'll boycott you."

The National Party-dominated town council resolved to call on the bank to express before June 19 its "strongest disapproval" of MD Chris Ball's actions in

MELBOISE HENNING

leading R100 000 for an "urban the ANC" advertisement in several newspapers.

The second part of the motion, to withdraw funds from First National Bank if it failed to censure Ball, was withdrawn because it was considered improper to threaten the bank, the proposer, Dr P D Erasmus, said yesterday.

However, should the bank fail to satisfy the council, withdrawal is likely to be discussed again.

Erasmus said a black consumer boy-

cott was "not relevant" to the issue.

"We have learned a lot about boycotts (since the boycotts in Port Elizabeth, Uitenhage, Johannesburg, Pretoria and other) and we know how to deal with them. It is clear the boycotters burn their own fingers."

Ritzi and two other councillors opposed the motion on the grounds that local government should not concern itself with political matters or punitive actions.

Erasmus said the motivation for the motion was his own and did not come

from higher National Party officials. The bank was perceived not to have acted in the national interest by having dealings with the ANC, he said.

He denied there was any political badgering involved in the matter, despite the fact that there was no financial reason for taking action against First National.

Erasmus said he had expressed himself in the "national interest" and his motion didn't necessarily reflect the view of

● To Page 2

Benoni might face boycott

any political party.

"We are talking about national interest. And if it is not in the national interest to be talking with the ANC as long as they refuse to forswear violence, then it is not in the interest of the white men fighting on the border, or their families who live in this town."

The bank's denial of the findings of the Munnik Commission also brought into question the judicial system, he said.

He withdrew the second part of his motion, calling on the town council to withdraw its funds from the bank, after discussion in the council. It was not correct to threaten the bank, he said.

The council was open to discussions with First National and, pending the outcome, further decisions would be taken, said Erasmus.

If councillors were not satisfied with the bank's explanation, the council would put its bank account out to tender.

Acting town clerk Chris Boshoff said the council would probably meet the bank for discussions soon, but no date had yet been set.

The council's budget for this year is about R150m.

The banking account has been held by First National Bank, formerly Barclays Bank, for about 80 years.

First National senior GM Jimmy McKenzie said the assurance by the office of the President that no further statements would be issued following the Munnik Commission's findings had been

kept. However, other NP institutions had continued to come out against the bank. It appeared the bank would continue to have to deal with the issue until the inquiry on the breach of parliamentary privilege by Dave Dalling (PFP Sandton) had been dealt with.

"We have dealt directly with clients who have made known to us any problem they had with dealing with the bank. We have chosen not to communicate with them through the media and it has proven successful," he said.

Reserve Bank Governor Gerhard de Kock said it was policy for the Reserve Bank to remain outside of politics and he had no reason to interfere, or make statements on behalf of First National.

He referred to a previous controversy regarding First National Bank and reiterated that Beeld newspaper had incorrectly interpreted BA9 report figures concerning the bank's current account deposits.

"To this very day we at the Reserve Bank have no reason for concern over FNB. It is basically sound and despite the problems they have had to deal with they are in a particularly strong position. We are happy with the way they are dealing with matters.

"I certainly have not seen any need for a Press statement to say just that," said De Kock.

● From Page 1

B Day

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6 May 8/6/87

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ARGUS
8/6/87
IIA

UDF asked to talks on Pres Council

The Argus Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG. — The Government has invited the United Democratic Front to take part in talks on the reconstruction of the President's Council.

One of the UDF's presidents, Mr Archie Gumede, was approached by Dr Dries Oosthuizen, chairman of the Committee for Constitutional Affairs of the President's Council, to give suggestions on the council, which has been rejected by blacks since its inception.

But the UDF has turned down the invitation, which coincides with President Botha's full-page newspaper advertisement in which he extends a "hand of friendship" to all South Africans and invites them to search for an answer to the country's problems.

PAVING THE WAY

Mr Kobus Bauermeister, secretary of the President's Council, said in Cape Town last week that black leaders from a broad spectrum were being approached on the issue.

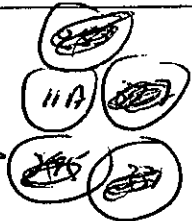
The move was aimed at paving the way for blacks to take part in the President's Council.

Mr Gumede said talks could only take place on the following conditions:

- The lifting of the state of emergency;
- Lifting the ban on the ANC and the release of all political prisoners and detainees;
- Troops and police to leave the townships; and
- A guarantee of safety for the return of exiles.

7 'go to jail with struggle's good wishes'

CAL TIMES 8/6/87



Staff Reporter

THE seven Wynberg pupils who have to go to jail today were told at a mass meeting yesterday by advocate Mr Dullah Omar that they "go with the good wishes of the entire liberation struggle".

"We are here to register our protest that our flowers, our children, are required to go to prison for no reason other than that they are caught up in a civil war and find themselves the victims of that titanic struggle," Mr Omar said.

"Senzenina?" (What have we done?) the crowd of about 600 which packed the Wittebome Civic Centre sang after giving the seven a standing ovation when they were called up to the platform by Mr Omar.

"It is very easy for us to talk about the struggle," Mr Omar said, "but we've learned that struggle also means sacrifice. And when you are called on to make that sacrifice it is very painful and very unjust."

He told the seven that they were not alone. "All over our land young people, children as young as 11, are being shot down and imprisoned, young people who aspire to nothing other than that you and I should be free."

Mr Omar said that even if yesterday's meeting had no result other than the exchange of thoughts and news — one item of which was the detention on Saturday of Call of Islam member Mr Ebrahim Rassool — it would have been worthwhile.

"We live under the strictest censorship this land has ever known," he said. "You and I do not know one-tenth of what is going on."

He spoke with anger about the fact that when police harass families and friends of the 13 young ANC members and sympathizers on trial in the Supreme Court — regularly arresting people who shout greetings for "disturbing the peace, forbidding people to sing, arbitrarily refusing entrance to the public gallery — newspapers dare not report it".

"That is why it is necessary to meet. Large meetings might not be possible but we shall meet in our twos, in our threes and fives and tens, so that the struggle for freedom shall continue."

Later the father of Venetia de Klerk told the gathering that when his daughter was arrested he was "very disturbed and truly mad, because she was disobedient to my warnings".

He cut himself off from her situation and told her that she

should get herself out of the mess she had created.

However, when he heard that she had been sentenced to imprisonment, he was shocked into becoming "a father who has come back to his senses".

He paid tribute to the Wynberg Crisis and Relief Centre as the "people who stepped into my place when my daughter needed me, because I was blinded". He made a passionate plea to other parents "who perhaps have the same attitude I had".

"Don't leave it a day or an hour longer," he said. "Get yourselves involved — and I've never used these words before — with any liberation struggle."

Among other speakers at the meeting, which focused also on life after a year under emergency rule, was a Call of Islam member who told the meeting about the detention of Mr Rassool, who was due to speak.

He said a number of "giants" had been born in the very teeth of emergency rule — the SA Youth Congress, which organized yesterday's meeting, the UDF's United Women's Congress and the National Education Crisis Committee.

"You can't crush a whole nation. You can't detain a whole country," he said.

NEW accusations of maladministration were made today in the renewed battle for control of the House of Delegates.

Final control will depend on where a small group of politicians finally settle after constantly changing sides.

However, Mr Amichand Rajbansi's National People's Party appears to be hanging on to power in spite of three recent defeats.

These defeats were not critical and he fended off by one vote an attempt by Solidarity to move a motion of no confidence.

Election threat

The House of Delegates Budget debate starts today and a vote against the Budget could force Mr Rajbansi to meet his threat to ask President Botha to call an Indian election.

Mr Yunus Moolla, Solidarity chief whip, said further serious evidence of maladministration had come to light. This evidence would be put forward in the Budget debate.

"Our purpose this week is to expose the maladministration. If we win control that will be a bonus, but we are not seeking this," he said.

Mr Moolla said his party would continue to press for a judicial commission of inquiry into the many allegations.

He will also move for a select committee to be appointed to make the ministerial representatives in the provinces accountable to the House of Delegates.

"Grasshoppers"

This follows an accusation by the party leader, Mr J N Reddy, that at least one ministerial representative had been canvassing for support from NPP members.

Individual members would have to decide how to vote on the evidence presented to the House, Mr Moolla said.

The final result would depend on a small group of "grasshoppers" he claimed were falling prey to offers of position from the NPP.

Mr Rajbansi has consistently refused the calls for an inquiry, threatening instead to go for an election if defeated.

Political Staff

New accusations in Indian fight for control

AKS 8/6/87

CITY/NATIONAL

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SPP

8/4/87

UDF 'no' to talks on council

The Government has invited the United Democratic Front (UDF) to talk on the reconstruction of the President's Council.

President of the UDF Mr Archie Gumede said he had consulted the organisation's national executive.

He said negotiations with the Government without Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo taking part would be of no value. Other conditions for talks were:

- The lifting of the state of emergency;
- The unbanning of the ANC and release of all political prisoners;
- Troops and police to leave the townships;
- A guarantee of safety for the return of exiles.

CAPL-TIMES
8/6/87

Savimbi urges blacks to talk to NP

JOHANNESBURG. — Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi told about 400 businessmen here on Friday night that South Africa's black politicians should negotiate with the NP government.

SABC-TV news said Dr Savimbi criticized black leaders' refusal to take part in negotiations offered by President P W Botha and praised him for his government's reforms.

The report said Dr Savimbi urged SA not to withdraw from its "responsibilities" as a regional power in Southern Africa and warned that the ANC would not change if it came to power in SA.

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha said Dr Savimbi had done more for the people of Africa than any other of its leaders.

Mr Botha said the future struggle in Southern Africa would have nothing to do with racial prejudice — "it would be along the ideological lines of freedom or enslavement".

Meanwhile, the government yesterday accelerated a new high-profile sales pitch for President Botha's still unsuccessful offer to negotiate a form of limited power-sharing with black leaders.

Authorities sought in a newspaper interview and in controlled leaks to political reporters to show Mr Botha as a reformist willing to give SA's voteless blacks a say in government.

"The message is: 'Here we are and we are willing,'" chief NP propagandist Mr Stoffel van der Merwe said in an interview with Sunday newspaper Rapport.

Reports in other Sunday newspapers quoted unidentified government sources saying Mr Botha was prepared to relax conditions he set for talks.

The Sunday Star said Mr Botha was willing to abandon his insistence that race should form the basis of any future constitutional model.

The Sunday Times hailed routine government appointments as signs of a swing to the left. — Sapa-UPI

(11A) DD 9/6/87

DAILY DISPATCH, TUESDAY, .

UDF invited to talk to govt

JOHANNESBURG — The government has invited the United Democratic Front (UDF) to talks on the reconstruction of the President's Council.

The president of the UDF, Mr Archie Gumede, said he had consulted the organisation's national executive before responding.

He said negotiations with the government would be of no value without Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo taking part. Other

conditions for talks were:

- The lifting of the state of emergency;
- The unbanning of the ANC and release of all political prisoners;
- Troops and police to leave the townships; and
- A guarantee of safety for the return of exiles.

Meanwhile, the Chief Minister of Kwazulu, Chief Mangosuthu

Buthelezi, has said he is prepared to negotiate with the State President under certain conditions.

At the opening of the shoe manufacturers' annual meeting at the Wilderness, Chief Buthelezi said he would negotiate with the State President if agreement could be reached over an agenda and if the adoption of the Kwa-Zulu-Natal Indaba proposals would be discussed. — Sapa

UDF man detained



UNITED Democratic Front executive member Mr Ebrahim Rasool had been detained in Belhar, Cape Town, after being in hiding for more than a year.

A spokesman for his attorney, Mr E Moosa, said he had been informed by the police that Mr Rasool was being held in terms of the emergency regulations.

He was detained on Saturday morning.

Savitun 9/6/87

UDF CALL

By SELLO RABOTHATA

THE United Democratic Front yesterday called for two weeks of national protest and action from June 12 to June 26, but stressed that the call was not for a stayaway.

The acting publicity secretary of the UDF, Mr Murphy Morobe, said in a statement yesterday that significant dates during that period are: Friday, June 12 — imposition of the state of emergency last year; Tuesday, June 16 — South African Youth Day; and Friday, June 26 — Freedom Charter Day.

He said the UDF wanted to make it clear that the two weeks of national protest were not a call for an extended stayaway.

Rumours that a five-day stayaway has been called by the UDF and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) were untrue.

"However, what our people nationwide are demanding is June 16 as a paid public holiday. The two weeks of national protest," Mr Morobe added, "are a call on all democratically minded South Africans to protest against the reimposition of the state of emergency and to highlight the other demands of the people. A series of national actions will be taken around this period."

Protest

"Over and above this, various regions and localities are planning different activities for this time."

Meanwhile, the Azanian People's Organisation has called on the "community to commemorate the period from Friday, June 12 to Tuesday, June 16 as a sign of protest against the continuing repression of the South African regime."

Azapo president, Mr Nkosi Mofala, said commemoration services would be held on June 16. Details of these

But it's not a stayaway, leaders say

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Sometun
9/6/87



They were complying with the agreement reached by management and Sarhwa last week which ended the strike.

The Sats has agreed to re-employ all the workers who should return to work by June 15.

Pic: MOFFAT ZUNGU

From Page 1

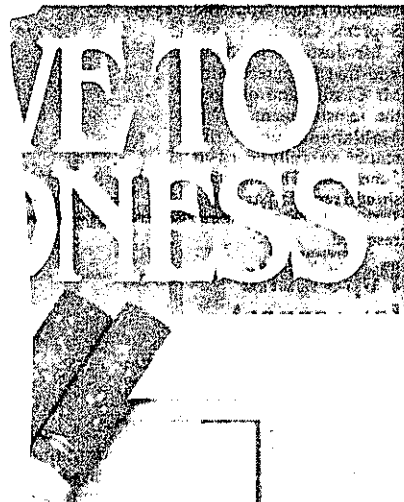
services will be announced later in the week.

The UDF statement said:

- Shops, businesses, factories and schools are asked to heed the call to protest against the emergency which has brought so much suffering to the country;
- Church services and commemoration services in the schools will focus on one year of the emergency. There will be a national day of prayer on Sunday, June 14. Church bells will also be rung to mark the first anniversary of the emergency;
- Many organisations have signed and are supporting a declaration demanding that the Government lift the emergency. These include religious, professional, cultural and sporting organisations as well as UDF's national and local affiliates.

Pickets

The Black Sash, Detainees Parents' Support Committee and the Five Freedoms Forum are calling for pickets and the wearing of black armbands in protest and solidarity, particularly in the white community.



Archbishop Desmond Tutu has also made a special call to all churches to mark the anniversary of the emergency by, among other things, ringing bells on the morning of Friday, June 12.

Mr Rapu Molekane, general secretary of the newly-formed South African Youth Congress (Sayco), said yesterday his organisation had not called for a stayaway.

He said, however, that Sayco would release a Press statement tomorrow on what form of protest action the youth would take.

To Page 2

snock at Benoni council attitude

Drop resolution on First Bank, Tom Boya urges

DIANNA GAMES

BENONI Town Council has been urged by one of the black mayors in its area to rescind its call on First National Bank to censure MD Chris Ball.

Daveyton mayor Tom Boya yesterday expressed shock and dismay at the council's attitude to First National Bank after Ball's granting of an overdraft used to fund an "unban the ANC" advertisement.

The bank has disputed the Munnik Commission's finding that Ball knew the purpose of the R100 000 overdraft.

Boya warned that a black consumer boycott of Benoni business, resulting from blacks' disapproval of the Benoni council's action, could have severe implications for businessmen there, and ultimately the council.

Boya said his organisation, United Municipalities of SA (Umsa), supported the unbanning of political organisations.

He advised the council to rescind its resolution, and added that the question of a black consumer boycott, threatened in an anonymous call to a Benoni councillor, had to be addressed, as boycotts had proved very effective.

About 150 000 people live in Benoni's two townships, Daveyton and Wattville.

The council passed a resolution calling on the bank to express before June 19 its "strongest disapproval" of Ball's granting of the overdraft.

The council is now awaiting the arrival of a First National Bank request, sent yesterday, for a meeting between its staff, including Ball, and the council

to end a situation that could lose First Bank the council's R150m account.

Benoni's deputy town clerk Chris Boshoff said the matter would be discussed at next week's management committee meeting, but if necessary a special meeting could be convened earlier.

First Bank senior GM Jimmy McKenzie said the bank wanted to put the whole affair in perspective and give its point of view. He said the bank had served the Benoni council for many years and should be judged only on its efficiency.

Edenvale town clerk S J Mulder said yesterday that from July 1 the council would, after 35 years with First National Bank, be moving its R33m to Trust Bank. He said this was an economic, not a political, decision.

He said the council had, in September 1985, decided to ask banks for proposals on their various services. After consideration of these, it was decided to move the account to Trust Bank.

The issue of withdrawing the Johannesburg City Council account from First National Bank had not been discussed by the council or its management committee, said management committee chairman Francois Oberholzer. "But disquiet has been expressed by some members of the council," he said.

Of 12 municipalities on the East and West Rand, three, including Benoni, bank with First National Bank, eight with Volkskas and one with Standard Bank.

milk prices, however, may fall

Justice motivated ANC sympathizers

ANC Times 9/6/87

IF ONE word had to be found to express the motivation of the 13 young men on trial in the Supreme Court for being members of, or sympathizers with, the ANC, it would be justice — justice as a goal and as a standard of behaviour.

This is apparent from statements in mitigation handed in last week by those of the 13 who did not give evidence under oath — perhaps most dramatically from the words of Silverstream High School teacher Quentin Michels.

Michels, 27, comes from a family of 10. His father, a City Council clerk, died in 1975. His mother brought up the children on a cleaner's salary.

Like all his fellow-accused, Michels witnessed the atrocities of 1976. He was one of several who saw friends shot dead before their eyes. In 1980 he saw again how "the government chose to repress the legitimate grievances of our people with violence".

He helped found the Bonteheuwel Youth Movement and Bonteheuwel Civic Association and later was involved in the UDF campaign against the elections for the tricameral Parliament in 1984.

In 1985, as a teacher, he watched helplessly as police stormed into his school repeatedly.

He was "absolutely dismayed". He felt no alternative remained.

"From my knowledge of the history of the ANC I was aware of its 50-year tradition of peaceful protest action. Circumstances like my own made the ANC decide to suspend its policy of peacefulness. It was not an easy decision and not one of its own choosing."

PAUSING to observe that it was a cruel irony that Afrikaners condemned the violence of the ANC while they themselves had a rich history of armed struggle, Michels said he had another hurdle to cross before committing himself.

"Before I could make the final choice for the option of violence, I had to wrestle with how I could reconcile violence with being a Christian. I had to ask myself whether there were moral grounds for supporting an organization which used violence.

"Scriptural research revealed to me that where a government is beyond doubt found to be oppressing its citizens in a tyrannical way, it forfeits its moral right to rule.

"A people then have the right to oppose such a regime — even if it means with violence — to protect their interests against oppression and exploitation. This does not mean that hate takes the place of love. On the contrary, the person is not hated but rather what he does.

"It was a choice between the lesser of two evils. For me the moment of truth dawned. A disciple of Christ must love unconditionally and make sacrifices, even to the point of laying down your life for your neighbour."

SIMILAR principles were expressed in the statement of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) commander Lizo Ngqungwana, 27-year-old son of a priest and a nurse, who spoke of how the ideals of peace and justice en-



By SHAUNA WESTCOTT

shrined in the Freedom Charter had sustained his resolve to sacrifice his life for the struggle.

He condemned the state "which itself daily injures and kills unarmed and defenceless black civilians" for its "orchestrated campaign to depict the ANC and MK as warmongers and murderers".

"It is not so," he said. "The ANC regards violence as spearheaded by MK not as an end in itself but as a means to end the present state of affairs in our country. It is not the policy of the ANC to hit at civilians.

"Since its formation MK has conducted its armed struggle with immense restraint, bound by a morality in the struggle. It has been selective in its targets. This restraint has controlled and prevented us in the ANC from doing greater things."

The statement made by 31-year-old Joseph Mkhuhluva, SATS labourer and former "migrant" miner, is perhaps best described as an understatement.

"My father struggled to bring us up. He did not earn enough to clothe, feed and maintain us at school. As a result I stopped going to school in 1972 and started working at Carletonville.

"My wages were only R14 a month and this made it impossible for me to further my studies. I noticed that Africans were generally paid far less than other racial groups.

"In 1976 I suffered the nasty experience of seeing many Africans shot, injured and even killed by the police. I must state though that I was not personally involved.

"In 1982 I stayed with my father at the Langa Bachelors' Quarters. I could not get a job and the place was constantly raided by the police for passes.

"At times they would arrest 300 people or more and charge each of them R70. We struggled so much that at times we would sleep out in the cold and the rain to avoid arrests. I observed that the government was earning a lot of money through pass prosecutions.

"This is generally how African people suffer in the land of their birth.

"I started asking myself in 1985 what Africans have done to deserve being underpaid and allowed to starve and then constantly being harassed and even shot at.

"It was a disturbing sight to me to see how teargas was thrown among children by the soldiers, who would thereafter laugh.

"The killing of the young and old continued into 1986. I noticed that people who wanted their rights and to live in peace were correct. In these circumstances I sympathized with Accused No 1 (Lizo Ngqungwana) and assisted him in looking for a place to keep the limpet mine."

arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, may I enquire, firstly, whether any fishing rods or fishing tackle was taken along in the helicopter; secondly, whether the hon Ministers concerned spent a considerable amount of time on the island—the preponderance of the time that they were there—engaged in fishing; and, thirdly, whether this was, in fact, really nothing other than a fishing expedition?

†The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, the hon member knows that when the Minister of Defence carries out a task he does it quickly. [Interjections.] The result is that I quickly dealt with my official visit. I did take a fishing rod with and I did some pleasant fishing—in accordance with the permitted sizes and numbers—and we had good fish to eat.

Mr D J N MALCOMESS: That was a very expensive fishing expedition. [Interjections.]

At 15h02, Questions on General Affairs interrupted in accordance with Joint Rule 59.

SAA flights to USA

*34. Mr D J N MALCOMESS asked the Minister of Transport Affairs:

(1) Whether the South African Airways have instituted legal proceedings in the United States of America in connection with the termination of all South African Airways flights from the Republic to the United States: if so, what were the costs incurred in respect of these proceedings as at the latest specified date for which information is available;

(2) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

The MINISTER OF TRANSPORT AFFAIRS:

(1) Yes. The costs incurred as at 2 June 1987 amounted to R265 877.64.

(2) No.

Emergency regulations 9/6/87

*36. Mrs H SUZMAN asked the Minister of Law and Order:

(a) How many persons were detained for up to 30 days under the emergency regu-

HOA

lations from 12 June 1986 until the latest specified date for which figures are available and (b) how many of these persons were under the age of 18 when they were in detention?

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(a) I do not consider it in the public interest to furnish the information.

(b) Falls away.

Distribution of literature

*37. Mr P G SOAL asked the Deputy Minister of Information:

Whether the Bureau for Information has at any time been involved in the (a) (i) preparation, (ii) printing, (iii) distribution and (iv) financing of any literature and (b) provision of financial or other support to any group campaigning against a certain organisation, the name of which has been furnished to the Bureau for the purpose of the Deputy Minister's reply; if so, (aa) on what dates, (bb) why, (cc) what was the nature of the Bureau's involvement in each case, (dd) on whose instructions was this done and (ee) what is the name of the organisation in question?

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF INFORMATION:

No.

(a) and (b) fall away.

South African Certification Council

*38. Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister of National Education:

(1) Whether he has appointed any persons to serve on the South African Certification Council: if not, why not; if so, (a) what are the names of the persons appointed, (b) what are their qualifications for serving on this council in each case and (c) with effect from what date were they appointed;

(2) whether he called for nominations for persons to serve on this Council; if not, why not; if so, (a) what organisations and/or persons were contacted to submit nominations for this purpose.

(b) on what dates were these organisations and/or persons contacted and (c) what was their response;

(3) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

The MINISTER OF NATIONAL EDUCATION:

(1) No. The constitution of the Council is at present being considered by me.

(a) Falls away.

(b) Falls away.

(c) Falls away.

(2) Yes.

(a) (i) The Education Ministers.

(ii) Bodies, societies or organisations were requested in terms of section 4 (1) (b) (ii) of the South African Certification Council Act, No. 85 of 1986, by notice in the *Gazette* to submit names of persons to me for appointment to the Council.

(b) The Government Notice in (a) was published on 16 January 1987. The period within which names of persons were to be submitted to me was extended on 16 April 1987 by notice in the *Gazette* to 15 May 1987.

(c) Names of 44 persons were submitted to me by 20 different bodies, societies or organisations.

(3) No.

Negotiations with Black leaders

*39. Mr S S VAN DER MERWE asked the Deputy Minister of Information:

(1) (a) What was the total cost of the advertisements in connection with negotiations with Black leaders which appeared in the name of the State President in newspapers on 24 May 1987, (b) from what account were these advertisements financed, (c) in which newspapers did they appear and (d) what was the purpose thereof;

HOA

(2) whether any responses to these advertisements have been received; if so, (a) from whom and (b) what was the nature of the responses?

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF INFORMATION:

(1) (a) R78 000.

(b) Advertising budget of the Bureau for Information (Programme No 5).

(c) Sunday Times, Sunday Star, Rapport, Sowetan, City Press, New Nation, Indaba, Illanga, Imvo.

(d) To convey to the public particular facets of the State President's opening address in Parliament on 19 May 1987 as well as his commitment to peaceful negotiations.

(2) The advertisements did not put questions to which replies were expected.

(a) and (b) Fall away.

Own Affairs:

Cape Province: school fees

*1. Mr K M ANDREW asked the Minister of Education and Culture:

Whether it is the intention to charge school fees at schools in the Cape Province; if so, (a) on what basis, (b) with effect from what date and (c) what fees will be charged?

The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE:

No final decision has been taken in this regard:

(a) falls away.

(b) falls away.

(c) falls away.

Mr R M BURROWS: Mr Chairman, arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, could he give us an indication of whether it is the intention to make such a decision in the near future?

†The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, it is very clear from the reply that no final decision has yet been made. We will investigate the matter

Azapo rejects insinuations

The Azanian People's Organisation and its president, Mr Nkosi Molala have rejected insinuations linking members of the black consciousness movement with the death of Soweto Students' Congress (Sosco) member Mr Nkosinathi Solomon Shabangu (19), gunned down at Senaoane Secondary School by three armed men on Friday.

11R

SMA

9/6/87

Two-week protest call not stayaway, says UDF

By Jo-Anne Collinge

The two weeks of national protest called by the United Democratic Front do not mean an extended stayaway, the organisation has categorically stated.

"To end speculation and rumour we wish to make it clear that the two weeks of national protest are not a call for an extended stayaway. Rumours that a five-day stayaway has been called by UDF and the Congress of South African Trade Unions are without foundation," says a statement issued by acting publicity secretary Mr Murphy Morobe.

It adds: "What our people nationwide are demanding is June 16 — South African Youth Day — as a paid public holiday."

The type of protests expected on June 12 and June 26 include:

- A day-long fast by people inside and out of prison on June 12.
- The tolling of church bells on the morning of June 12.
- The holding of special prayer services on June 14.

Mr Morobe said that additional activities would be planned on a regional basis by the UDF.

The Northern Transvaal Youth Congress — which claims about 120 000 members in local youth congresses — will be holding night vigils in villages throughout the rural areas it represents. The vigils will begin on June 11 and go through to the next morning.

The regional president of the youth congress, Mr Ephraim Mogale, said local halls and churches would be used where these were available.

Mr Morobe has challenged the Government to lift the state of emergency "if, as it says, 'it has the situation under control'".

He said the UDF did not believe the period of the national protest would pass without the State resorting to repression. He said the UDF was warning "activists and supporters not to be lulled into a false sense of security" by the State's denials that it was planning a major clamp-down in the next few days.

28 groups call for end to emergency

By Jo-Anne Collinge

Some 28 organisations have already agreed to "demand with one voice from the Botha Government: Do not re-impose the state of emergency".

The most prominent signatory is the United Democratic Front. A number of its affiliates are also on the list, including the National Student Co-ordinating Committee.

But there are also independent groups, including the Southern African Society of Journalists, the Black Sash, the Wits Commerce Students' Council, the South African Union of Jewish Students and the Call of Islam.

The State President's proclamation of the emergency automatically expires at midnight on June 11. For the emergency to continue a new regulation must be promulgated.

In opposing this Act, the 28 organisations have stated: "By this time (June 12) thousands of human rights activists, trade unionists, community leaders and children would have spent up to 12 months in detention. These people have committed no crime! Their only crime is their opposition to apartheid and their desire to be free."

'FALSE IMPRESSION'

The emergency has been used to hide the actions of security force members and to create "the false impression that atrocities committed by apartheid-sponsored vigilantes are 'black-on-black violence'," says the declaration.

It says thousands of people have been driven into hiding.

Many legitimate activities of opposition organisations have been made illegal — for instance, by the banning of meetings and publications.

"The issuing of administrative edicts which undermine court rulings has made a mockery of the judiciary. Even the white minority Parliament is a mockery, for the Nationalists are using the emergency to rule by decree," the statement says.

"The emergency has subjected the Press to the humiliation of censoring the news and thereby keeping the public ignorant of reality."

It says: "This emergency has brought untold hardships and suffering. It is hated by the majority of South Africans. The emergency cannot stop the struggle for freedom — the Botha Government is trying to turn back the unstoppable tide of history."

CAP 7/15 10/10/87
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UDF preconditions to talks

Political Correspondent

THE UDF has declared its unwillingness to participate in negotiations on future government constitutional structures before a series of preconditions relating to the emergency and the ANC are met.

This follows invitations by the government to the UDF to participate in talks on the reconstruction of the President's Council (PC) with the aim of including blacks in the body.

Members of the PC constitutional affairs committee have, according to committee chairman Dr Dries Oosthuizen, already spoken to about 30 black groups about participation on the council.

One of those approached to give evi-

dence, UDF president Mr Archie Gumede, last week delivered a letter to the committee, detailing the conditions that would have to be met before the UDF was prepared to be drawn into negotiations.

They included the participation in negotiations of ANC leaders such as Mr Nelson Mandela and Mr Oliver Tambo, the lifting of the emergency and the ban on the ANC, the withdrawal of troops from the townships and the removal of discriminatory legislation.

However, after delivering his letter, Mr Gumede reportedly engaged in discussions with committee members, outlining the UDF's position.

UDF call for paid public holiday

JOHANNESBURG — The United Democratic Front has denied it had called for a stayaway from June 12 to June 26.

However, the UDF has demanded that June 16 — what it has called South African Youth Day — be a paid public holiday.

The UDF said in a statement signed here by its publicity secretary, Mr Murphy Morobe, it had called for two weeks of "national action and protest" from June 12 to June 26, to protest against the re-imposition of the state of emergency which was declared on June 12, last year. June 26 marks the signing of the Freedom Charter in Kliptown in the early 1950's.

"National actions" called for by the UDF include:

- A national day of prayer on Sunday, June 14, to mark the anniversary of the state of emergency.

- Shops and businesses nationally are called on to close for one hour from 11 am on June 12.

- A one-day fast against the emergency — by people inside and outside prison — on June 12.

Religious, professional, cultural and sporting organisations have signed a declaration demanding that the government not re-impose the year-old state of emergency which expires at midnight on June 11.

A statement issued by the signatories said the "emergency has brought untold hardships and suffering" and was hated by the "majority of South Africans."

It said thousands had spent a whole year in detention.

"Let all those who love their country, let all those who stand for peace and freedom, let all those who oppose apartheid, stand in unity and demand of the Botha government: 'Do not re-impose the emergency on June 12'," the declaration reads.

Organisations that have signed and support the declaration include: the UDF, the Black Sash, the Detainees' Parents Support Committee, the End Conscription Campaign, the South African Society of Journalists, the South African Youth Congress; Young Christian Students and the Call of Islam. — Sapa

Democracy: it's a matter of style

During your recent general election, our government-controlled news media here in Zimbabwe had a field day with their tirades against what they labelled "the bogus, whites-only poll".

Now it is the turn of the Mother of Parliaments at Westminster to come under the lash of those fearless scribes employed by the Zimbabwean Mass Media Trust.

As far back as May 26 the main national daily newspaper, The Herald, was challenging the freedom and fairness of the British general election on (among others) the amazing grounds that 80 per cent of the British daily newspapers were committed supporters of the Tories (so it claimed).

One wonders, in passing, how The Herald can reconcile our even more one sided information order with "democracy".

Nothing, however, could restrain the editorial writer from going into raptures of anticipation for the day when Zimbabwe rids itself of

the odious British example and establishes its own, true, genuine, unimpeachable "one party democracy".

An illuminating insight into the way minds work in our ruling Zanu (PF) party was given in an editorial on May 23. Our only independent newspaper, The Financial Gazette, had voiced the hope that the Zanu leader, would be given the same chance as the Prime Minister, Mr Robert Mugabe, to tell Zimbabweans why the protracted unity talks had failed (The Herald had given the best part of a page, plus its front page lead, to Mr Mugabe's views).

Glowing with self-satisfaction at its own magnanimity, The Herald allotted all of 11 paragraphs the following day to an interview Mr Nkomo gave to the semi-official news agency Ziana. It did not deign to have its own reporters talk to him.

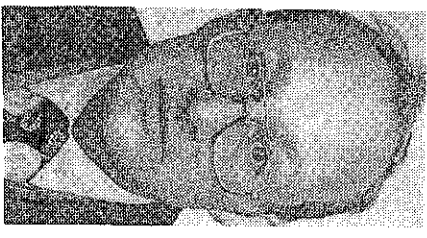
An accompanying editorial drew attention to The Herald's startling generosity. It revived the preposterous canard

that the Financial Gazette was in some way linked to the former Rhodesian Prime Minister, Mr Ian Smith, and expressed horrified amazement that anyone should imagine Mr Nkomo was entitled to the same exposure (the right of reply?) as Mr Mugabe.

"Unlike the Financial Gazette, our interpretation of freedom of information and freedom of speech most certainly does not extend, and never will extend, to putting Mr Nkomo on the same plane as this country's Prime Minister and First Secretary and President of the ruling party," said The Herald.

In other words, the man with the power must always be spoken about in hushed, respectful whispers if one is not to commit some sort of subversive lese majeste. Over this matter of principle President Botha might find himself, for once, in total agreement with the supporters of Zanu (PF). But in one respect The

MICHAEL HARTNACK, Daily Dispatch man in Harare, compares the open way elections are conducted in Britain and the restrictions on information in Zimbabwe



11A DD 10/6/87

Herald editorial was quite right: Mrs Thatcher, in common with all her predecessors at Number 10 Downing Street, does go into general elections with certain enormous advantages over the opposition.

She is able to "prize" the electorate through the manipulation of fiscal policy on a giant scale. She can time the holding of elections to her best advantage.

Her political career is of indefinite duration —

Westminster-style system controls vast powers of patronage, powers of being able to buy political support (at the taxpayers' expense) through the allocation of government jobs. The checks and controls that are built into an American style presidential system are just not there while he (or she) holds a parliamentary majority.

In this respect, former British possessions such as Zambia or South Africa suffer the worst of both worlds.

They have evolved presidential systems in which the head of state has all the powers of a Westminster-style premier, but with none of the safeguards which the American congressional system provides through a legislature which elected entirely separately from the chief executive. (And this unsavory hotch potch is what we are now being promised in Zimbabwe).

Britain's unique safeguard against abuse of power is one that has

been built up over centuries at the cost of immense human suffering — the establishment of the right to pillory those in power in a manner quite unthinkable to the sycophants who haunt Third World corridors of power.

Visiting the historical attractions of Britain, one makes a grand tour of past scenes of barbaric cruelty, at which opponents of unbridled, arbitrary power suffered for their courage.

Today an infinitely delicate balance has been established (perhaps only temporarily) between the vast prerogatives of power and the massed forces of instability.

Day and night, Mrs Thatcher battles to maintain her credibility as she is lampooned and caricatured in the vilest taste by peak-hour television programmes such as Spitting Image, and by Fleet Street cartoonists. No aspect of her public or private life cannot be probed in public and used to challenge her fitness to govern. The weight of the

onslaught is so great that, to a visitor, it sometimes seems Britain must soon become totally ungovernable.

One of the British daily tabloids has been conducting a spirited billboard advertising campaign which spared neither the monarchy nor the judiciary. An array of bewigged fogies were shown alongside the question: "Is British justice being held up by the short and curlies?"

An artist's impression of a geriatric Prince and Princess of Wales publicising their future.

My 9-year-old son, brought up in the timid atmosphere of Harare, spotted another hoarding showing Mrs Thatcher in bed with putative coalition allies Owen and Steele.

"But won't Mrs Thatcher be angry when she sees it?" he asked, wide eyed with horror (the detention of family friends in Zimbabwe is a recent memory for us all).

"There is absolutely nothing she can do about it," I explained.

'Freedom fighter' tells of killing of children

By SHAUNA WESTCOTT
Supreme Court Reporter

"IF EVER the cup of bitterness ran over for me, it was in 1985," Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) member Sazi Veldtman told the Supreme Court yesterday.

In a statement from the dock in mitigation, he said this was the year of many people "dying of bullets" after the state of emergency, the year of living in fear of police and soldiers "responsible for the death of many children", the year he found he "could not keep quiet and think only of myself".

"I can quote a number of events, My Lord," he said. "I talk of a few. In 1985 through the action of the police a three-month-old infant was killed after inhaling teargas. At Nyanga a 14-year-old schoolboy was shot by the army and it was claimed he was caught by a stray bullet. A small boy was found at the mortuary with many bullet wounds.

"Almost every African family knows these tragic events to their cost from their own family experience."

Hide

Veldtman, a 29-year-old post office clerk who lived in Nyanga with his wife and two children before his arrest in May last year, spoke earlier of how the pass laws hindered his life, even as a child.

His mother died when

he was two years old and his grandfather died when he was nine. His "dear aunt" then brought him to Cape Town where for two years he was refused entry to schools because he was "not legal in Cape Town".

When pass law inspectors came to his aunt's house he had to hide.

When he was 14 he was arrested for not having a pass. When he was 16 and applied for a pass he was ordered out of the Western Cape by a Mr Fourie. "I explained to him the death of my mother and family. He told me he was not interested in my stories, he had heard enough lies from us bantu."

Atrocities

He continued: "About pass laws I have witnessed and suffered. The fear of a loud rude bang on doors in the middle of the night, the bitter humiliation of an undignified search, the shame of husband and wife being huddled out of bed in front of their children by the police and taken off to jail."

Earlier in the trial prosecutor Mr W C Viljoen put it to Veldtman's fellow MK cadre Joseph Ngoma that the pass laws were abolished in July last year. Ngoma's reply was that the

government indeed said so but he had yet to see any change.

Veldtman, like all his fellow accused, spoke also of the atrocities of 1976 which "made all of us very sore and very angry".

He said he was "very lucky for an African" in getting matric. "Not one of my friends who started school with me ever got to matric."

His attempts at a university education were foiled by laws requiring permits and quotas at "white" universities and by his expulsion from the University of the North after taking part in peaceful protests.

Finally, Veldtman "respectfully" told the court that he was a freedom fighter, not a terrorist.

"According to the law of this country, which was made against me and my people, I am now called a terrorist. White men will call me a terrorist. But that is not true, not according to my people."

The trial continues.

Mr Justice H C Nel presided with Mr L P Francis and Mr W R Vivier as assessors. Mr Viljoen appeared with Mr M Stowe. Mr D A Kuy SC, with Mr J R Whitehead, Mr A M Omar and Mr S Desai and instructed by E Moosa and Associates and R Vassen and Co, appeared for the defence.



Blacks and big business attack 'rent collector law'

By Michael Tissong

Black political groups and big business today attacked Government plans to force an end to the rent boycott in black townships.

The Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) and the United Democratic Front (UDF), opposed legislation which would to turn employers into rent collectors. Assocom and the American Chamber of Commerce (Amcham) also condemned the legislation.

The proposed law would give local authorities the power to force employers to deduct residents' debts from employees' pay.

UDF president Mrs Albertina Sisulu warned: "From the residents' side, there is no way this thing will work. It now depends on the employers."

Azapo president Mr Nkosi Mofala said the legislation was a "cowardly and dangerous evasion of the issues".

Assocom spokesman Mr V Brett said businessmen were "extremely unhappy" about the proposed law.

He added: "Debtors should be summoned through the courts. This Bill appears to be by-passing the normal judicial process."

Mr Adrian Botha, executive director of Amcham, said his organisation opposed the Rent Bill and added: "We do not believe it is the employer's duty to extract payment from employees for things like outstanding rents."

He said the proposed law would drag foreign, particularly American, companies into the political arena.

ANC not wedded to violence — Gastrow

Political Staff

PARLIAMENT — The African National Congress was not wedded to violence as an ideology but used it as a strategy, said Mr Peter Gastrow, (PFP Durban Central).

This left the Government the gap to talk to the ANC and persuade it to move away from violence and into negotiation, he said.

If the Government was prepared to negotiate

with Mr Samora Machel, "a self-confessed Marxist", why would it not talk to the ANC?

The Government could only accept power-sharing if it meant there would be no loss of control.

Mr Gastrow was speaking in the House of Assembly yesterday during debate on a motion proposed by Professor Nic Olivier of the PFP — that the only way to peace and security was by granting blacks a satisfactory and acceptable role in the decision-making processes.

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EVENING POST

11/6/87
**Request
to council
by bank**

Post Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — The Benoni Town Council management committee will meet on Tuesday to decide whether or not to grant an interview to the First National Bank.

FNB wrote to the council requesting the meeting to discuss the council's demand to the bank to condemn the actions of its chief executive, Mr Chris Ball, regarding the "unban-the-ANC" advertisements.

"The committee will meet and will decide on the next course of action," said the town clerk of Benoni, Mr Nantes Botha.

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SAYCO'S executive committee (from left): Mr Rapu Molekane (secretary-general), Mr Faucett Mathebe (treasurer), Mr Peter Mokaba (president) and Mr Ephraim Nkwe (education officer). Mr Simon Ntombela (publicity secretary) is not in the picture.

SAYCO COMES OUT OF HIDING

At the best of times, it is no easy task to administer a national movement, especially given the political situation that is peculiar to South Africa today.

But the job becomes doubly difficult when the activists are forced to operate underground with the leadership possibly facing detention.

This is the background against which the South African Youth Congress (Sayco) was forged and operates.

Since its formation three months ago, Sayco's leaders have had to run the organisation from underground, a

By
NAT
DISEKO

monumental task when one takes into account problems that any new organisation faces.

"We are committed to the liberation struggle and there is no turning back, whatever the cost," is the sentiments expressed by the leaders.

This week they came out of hiding to detail to the *Sowetan* the background and circumstances that led to the formation of Sayco.

The seed was planted seven years ago when the now banned Congress of South African Students (Cosas) was formed.

FOCUS

Sayco was launched in March this year at a secret venue in Cape Town.

Soon after Cosas was launched in 1977, most of its executive members, including the president, Mr Ephraim Mogale, were detained.

He is presently president of the Northern Transvaal Youth Congress, a Sayco affiliate.

At a Cosas congress in 1982, the idea of forming a national body popped up and a committee was elected to see to its establishment.

By this time, some regional structures had been established. There was the KwaMashu Youth League (KYL), Port Elizabeth Youth Congress (Peyco), Soweto Youth Congress (Soyco) and Cape Town Youth Congress (Cayco).

In 1983, youth congresses started mushrooming throughout the country. When the United Democratic Front (UDF) was launched in the same year, these youth organisations affiliated to it.

In January 1984 all the youth congresses attended the first national consultative youth conference at the

Wilgespruit Fellowship Centre in Roodepoort. By the end of the year, there were about 60 youth congresses throughout the country.

The following year had been declared the International Year of the Youth and the second national conference, which was held at the Jiswa Centre in Lenasia, saw the campaign as an ideal vehicle to establish youth organisations in every township and village.

Expand

In January 1985, another conference was held in Durban to expand the programme of the International Year of the Youth.

It was decided that a national body be launched on April 6, 1986, the day on which Solomon Mahlangu was hanged.

The launch was intended to be a dedication to his memory.

But the launch did not take place. The reason for this was largely because of the state of emergency which was declared in July 1985.

The state of emergency was followed by mass-detentions and most of

those detained were young activists from youth congresses country-wide.

This had a crippling effect on the youth organisations because most leaders were in detention.

The first half of 1985 had seen an unprecedented growth of youth congresses both in urban and rural areas.

This development was taking place against a backdrop of heightened resistance to apartheid.

This was also a period during which vigilante groups emerged in various townships. Their main target was the youth and their organisations.

During this period, they started sending

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P.T.O.

Sayco talks

● From Page 6

troops into the townships.

Youth organisations used the latter part of 1985 and the beginning of last year to regroup and restructure their organisations.

The first state of emergency was lifted in March last year but was re-imposed about two months later. Young activists had by then adapted to working under the strain of a state of emergency and the two months during which it was lifted offered them a breathing space.

In October last year final arrangements for Sayco's launch were made at a national workshop at a secret venue in Pretoria.

The national body's constitution was drafted, a policy document drawn up and a date set for the launch.

Sayco's secretary-general, Mr Rapu Molekane, said his organisation intended to actively support the students' struggle for "a free, non-racial and democratic education".

Culture

"We want the youth to identify with the progressive ideas of the working class," he said.

Sayco also aims to lay the same base for the building of a new progressive culture and would like to do away with negative and backward elements of culture among both black and white communities, he said.

The organisation's education officer, Mr Ephraim Nkwe, said Sayco had adopted the Freedom Charter as a guide to the youth towards bringing about a free, non-racial and democratic South Africa.

He said Sayco was non-violent in its methods of struggle and that the organisation would continue to hold that view "even though the State is narrowing that option where it is possible to operate in a non-violent and peaceful fashion."

'To hell with the emergency'

THE new State of Emergency was greeted with hoots of laughter at a UDF meeting in the Woodstock Town Hall this week.

"We say to the P W Botha government, to hell with your emergency," UDF publicity secretary Hilda Ndude told 800 people packed into the hall.

"We sometimes feel sorry for these people. They think they are cleverer than the majority of people. But look what happened during the last emergency.

"Right under their noses the people launched the national UDF-affiliated women's congress and the South African Youth Congress.

"We say to them 'shame on your emergency'," Ndude said.

She called on the Progressive Federal Party to pull out of Parliament and join the progressive movement.

Mr Dullah Omar of the Thornhill Residents Association — recently affiliated to the UDF's Cape Housing Action Committee (Cahac) — warned that the emergency was aimed at "creating the political and physical environment for tricameral structures and collaborators".

"It is a declaration of war on our people."



Hilda Ndude at the meeting in Woodstock

Picture: BIEN KARLIE

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SOUTH

11A

Terror trial told why ANC support grew

CAPE TOWN — The Government has lost its legitimacy in the eyes of black people after its violent response to the protests of 1976, the Supreme Court was told here yesterday.

This was part of evidence in mitigation in an ANC trial.

It was given by Professor Colin Bundy, who occupies the chairs of history at both the University of Cape Town and the University of the Western Cape.

A total of 13 accused were convicted in the trial on terror charges under the Internal Security Act.

The professor told the court: "By legitimacy, I mean the power that comes from moral authority.

POPULAR

"The erosion of that legitimacy had implications for the ANC's standing. Expressed simply, legitimacy withdrawn from one area is going to attach itself somewhere else. After 1976 the ANC has come to enjoy an increasing level of popular allegiance."

Professor Bundy gave the court a brief history of the ANC.

Founded in 1912 it was "conspicuously moderate" until the mid-40s and the formation of the ANC Youth League.

A programme of action was adopted by the parent body in 1949 and part of it was the defiance campaign of 1952 in which racially discriminatory legislation was flouted.

On June 26 1955 at the Congress of the People at Kliptown the Freedom Charter was

adopted.

The Congress of the People was interrupted by a police raid and 156 ANC members and leaders were arrested.

During a lengthy trial charges were withdrawn against most.

After the Sharpeville massacre on March 21 1960, the Government declared a state of emergency and banned both the ANC and the breakaway PAC.

The "last major effort at non-violent appeal to the Government", in the form of a call for a national convention, was made by the ANC in March-April 1961.

When this call was ignored a three-day stayaway was planned.

The Government responded by deploying troops and police in the townships, arresting an estimated 10 000 people and bringing in detention without trial for up to 12 days.

The ANC leadership then decided to adopt armed struggle and formed Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), the military wing.

Professor Bundy said evidence given in court by MK commander Lizo Ngqungwana and MK cadres Joseph Ngoma and Theophilus Mzukwa about MK standing instructions to respect life and strive to avoid harming civilians were confirmed by other sources.

These included the signing of the Geneva Convention by the ANC in 1980 and evidence given to the UK House of Commons by the ANC in October 1985.

The trial continues today. — Sapa.

Rajbansi stronger as Opposition evaporates

11A

11/6/87

Political Staff

THE attack on Mr Amichand Rajbansi's National People's Party is losing steam and it is likely he will again increase his majority.

Just before a crucial vote on the House of Delegates' own affairs budget was due to be taken today Mr Rajbansi was predicting that he would turn the slender one-vote majority he won in the no confidence debate two weeks ago into a firm four to seven votes.

And the opposition Solidarity Party was conceding defeat this time.

This week there has been none of the drama of the no confidence debate although there has still been a lack of clarity on where the loyalties of a number of members lie.

Instead of the debate dominating the proceedings this week, moves by Progressive Reform Party leader Mr Pat Poovalingam to highlight "the apartheid policies" of the Government have been grabbing attention.

Caught unawares

Last week Mr Poovalingam caught the NPP unawares by moving an amendment to a motion effectively defeating a Government motion for the first time officials can remember.

The motion called for the appointment of a joint committee of Parliament to consider the re-allocation of seats between the provinces.

Mr Poovalingam moved an amendment objecting to the motion, on the grounds that the committee should rather be considering the inclusion of blacks in Parliament.

With a number of NPP members missing Mr Poovalingam's motion was carried — to the anger of the Government.

When Mr Rajbansi regathered his forces the motion was put again and carried. But Mr Poovalingam again moved another amendment.

The motion is now to be debated tomorrow.

Supreme Court Reporter

THE African National Congress had progressed from a moderate organisation to one advocating violent struggle only after the failure of almost half a century of non-violent protest, a historian told the Supreme Court, Cape Town.

Professor Colin Bundy, an expert on contemporary South African history, was giving evidence yesterday in the trial of six men convicted of terrorism and seven of aiding terrorists.

Professor Bundy said the ANC had abjured violence from its formation in 1912 until 1961.

The ANC and the Pan-Africanist Congress were declared unlawful after the Sharpeville and Langa shootings in 1960.

"Then a call to the Government to hold a national convention went unheeded, shortly before the declaration of the Republic of South Africa in 1961," Professor Bundy said.

10 000 arrested

"There were an estimated 10 000 arrests, police and troops were deployed in the townships and legislation was passed to create provision for detention without trial for up to 12 days in response to an ANC call for a three-day stayaway."

A decision was taken by the ANC leadership to embark on a programme of sabotage against symbolic edifices and economic installations.

Professor Bundy said the ANC leadership perceived that non-violent forms of protest had been closed to them by its banning and the show of force which met the stayaway.

"They felt the movement's pacifism had been mistaken for a sign of weakness and that half a century of non-violent protest had incurred violent forms of repression.

Racial war

"An armed wing of the ANC — Umkhonto we Sizwe — was announced simultaneously with the start of the programme of sabotage because the leaders feared that heightened political passions at the time could lead to violence.

"They wanted to avert a possible civil war along racial lines which such violence might precipitate."

In reply to a question by Mr Justice Nel, Professor Bundy said Umkhonto we Sizwe was bound by and subordinate to the older structure.

The ANC had committed itself to international standards since signing the Geneva Convention protocols on guerrilla war.

"Central to that is a commitment not to attack civilians indiscriminately as a strategy."

Mr Denis Kuy, SC, for the defence: "Has that been modified?"

Professor Bundy: "When it has been breached in practice the breaches have evoked repeated public statements in defence of the overall strategy."

"Mr Oliver Tambo angrily rebuked those responsible after five people were killed by a car-bomb in Durban in 1984 and Mr Nelson Mandela expressed his regrets widely in the international Press in 1983 when there was civilian loss of life in the Pretoria car-bomb incident."

Two targets

Mr Kuy: "Can you comment on "hard" and "soft" targets?"

Professor Bundy: "I think much of this discussion stems from a conference in Zambia in 1975 where it was reported that the distinction between hard and soft targets had been blurred or erased."

"This was not a policy decision but merely stated as one consequence of intensified conflict."

"There was evidence that Umkhonto we Sizwe instructed members to distinguish between civil and what it construed as military targets."

Professor Bundy said the ANC adopted the Freedom Charter in 1957.

The hearing continues.

ANC believed non-violent avenue closed, court told

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Remember June 16

By SAHM VENTER

ORGANISATIONS are bracing themselves for a clampdown as June 16 approaches.

Dubbed South African Youth Day, millions are expected to remember Tuesday as the day hundreds of students were killed in 1976 in uprisings against apartheid in Soweto.

In Cape Town several homes of leading United Democratic Front activists including Mr Johnny Issel and Mr Joe Adam have been visited before dawn. A Call of Islam organiser, Mr Ebrahim Rasool, in hiding for over a year, was detained under emergency regulations at the weekend. (see page 7)

Last year's pre-June 16 clampdown and detention of thousands as a State of Emergency was declared, still looms large in the memories of activists.

Many shops in the Western Cape are likely to be closed on June 16.

Some trade unions have negotiated with employers to have June 16 observed as a holiday. Last year more than two million workers heeded the call to stay away from work on June 16.

There will also be no sporting activities.

A religious service to pray for the end to unjust rule in South Africa will be held at the Anglican Church of the Resurrection in Bonteheuwel on Tuesday.

- At least four East London community leaders were detained during a Ciskei Security Police swoop at the weekend. Police have confirmed the detentions of Ms Vivian Citheko and Ms Nokuzola Moses, of the Gompo Women's Congress, Mr Mbulelo Madyo, of the East London Youth Organisation and former Robben Islander Mr Fezile Dangala, of the Mdantsane Burial Association.

Emergency renewed: PW rules out talks with ANC

Political Staff

The State President, Mr P W Botha, declared the extension of the national state of emergency yesterday and ruled out talks with the African National Congress.

He told a joint sitting of Parliament that the background of violence against which he had declared the emergency in June 12 last year had not changed significantly.

The ordinary laws of the land were still inadequate to maintain public order, he said.

He rejected the ANC for "their philosophy of violence and terror" and said there would be no talks with an organisation that was "part and parcel of the terrorist curse besetting the world of today".

He blamed members of the ANC — who lived "in luxury in foreign capitals" — for the continued incarceration in Cape Town of "former and now aged" ANC leaders:

"On June 12 1986 I declared by proclamation and in terms of the Public Safety Act of 1953, a nationwide state of emergency.

"I referred in Parliament to the background against which acts of violence and unrest were being planned and committed. On the basis of information provided me, I am of the opinion that this background still exists.

"There are many examples of this and I will let it suffice to say that certain identified ANC/SACP representatives in Mozambique, as members of a so-called Regional Politico-Military Committee, play a cardinal role in the underground terror network in South Africa.

"This regional committee is the chief channel for the provision of explosives and military equipment to ANC/SACP elements in Swaziland, from where these murder

weapons are supplied to terrorists in the Republic by covert means.

"The regional committee supplies these arms to terrorists in the Republic in a direct manner too.

"It is this type of unscrupulous planning that then leads to atrocities, like the recent bomb explosion in front of the Magistrate's Court in Johannesburg, and other deeds of violence in South Africa.

BOMB INCIDENT

"The Government also has further information in connection with planned deeds of terror and subversion, in respect of which suitable steps will have to be taken.

"I referred to the Johannesburg bomb incident, also because from many quarters we are being told to talk to the ANC. Even members of Parliament tell us to do so.

"You cannot talk to the ANC without talking to its present leaders.

"We reject them for their philosophy of violence and terror.

"We reject them for living in luxury in foreign capitals while, as a deliberate strategy, ensuring the continued incarceration in Cape Town of former and now aged leaders by refusing them permission to abandon violence.

"We reject them for appeasing governments and groups (also from South Africa) with voices of sweet reason, while planning and instigating the strife, dissent and disorder that were and remain the direct cause of misery, death and destruction in the townships of their brothers and sisters in South Africa.

"We reject them for intimidating companies to disinvest from our country, causing black fathers to lose their jobs and black children to go hungry in the townships, while they themselves attend dinners in hotels.

"Together with the rest of the civilised world we reject them for elevating terrorism to morality, for rationalising the horrors of necklacing and for 'claiming responsibility' for the atrocities of land-mining and car-bombing.

"We will not talk to these people, we will fight them, for the simple reason that they are part and parcel of the terrorist curse besetting the world of today.

"Although the extraordinary measures of the past year led to a decrease in the visible incidents of violence, I have information provided me

by the security services (who are) of the opinion that, should these measures no longer be applied, the most serious and real danger exists that there would again be an escalation of internal acts of violence.

"In the light of this I am convinced that the safety of the public and the maintenance of public order is threatened in such a way that the ordinary laws of the Republic are still inadequate to bear up against this threat.

"In consideration of the safety of the public and the maintenance of public order, I have, as a result, decided to proclaim again a state of emergency for the whole of the Republic, including the self-governing states.

INTIMIDATION

"There are those who accept the Government's policy and others who reject it.

"The Government accepts that all law-abiding citizens have the right to exercise this choice.

"There are, however, also those who, in the exercising of this choice, give approval to intimidation and murder.

"The Government has repeatedly committed itself to the principle of the broadening of democracy on constitutional lines.

"Strict security action does not detract from this. Indeed, it strengthens the basis on which the search for a peaceful political solution can take place.

"Stability, law and order are essential prerequisites for social, economic and political development."

UWC academics concerned

Cape Times 12/15/87

Education Reporter

11A

507

UNIVERSITY of the Western Cape (UWC) academics have expressed their concern about the recent clashes which took place on campus between ideological opponents — the Azanian Students' Movement (Azasm) and the South African National Students' Congress (Sansco).

Clashes occurred on May 20 when members of the Black Student Study Project (BSSP) and Azasm held a meeting on campus which was disrupted by Sansco members and members of the SRC.

Reasons given for the disruptions were that BSSP and Azasm were banned from campus because they did not adhere to the principles of non-racialism.

A report in the UWC June Bulletin said 26 academic staff members had expressed their concern in a statement to the rector, Professor Jakes Gerwel.

ANC suspect killed, two police hurt in shootout

11A
5 MAR
12/6/87

By Sam Mabe, Montshiwa
Moroke and Craig Kotze

A suspected ANC insurgent was killed and two security policemen seriously wounded yesterday in a shootout in Emdeni, Soweto, in which an armoured police Hippo vehicle was used to smash through a house occupied by gunmen.

Four men were arrested, including two ANC members according to police.

A huge cordon was thrown around the township after the shootings as security forces hunted a gunman who had shot and wounded a policeman.

The two wounded policemen, Lieutenant-Colonel Louis Sauer and Constable Theart, underwent emergency operations in the Johannesburg and J.G. Strijdom hospitals respectively. Both are reported to be in a stable condition.

The dead man, identified as a trained ANC member, was found with a Soviet Makarov pistol in his hand.

The drama began after police said they had received a tipoff that insurgents were hiding in the Emdeni house.

Police called on the occupants of the house to give themselves up.

Four youths came out and gave themselves up to the police.

Colonel Sauer and Constable Theart then entered the house. One was shot and wounded. As his colleague helped him from the house, he was in turn shot by a hidden gunman who escaped.

Police called for reinforcements and 50 police surrounded the house.

Two handgrenades were then hurled into the home. It burst into flames.

DEAFENING EXPLOSION

A police Hippo was used to smash through the walls.

Residents said they heard sounds of gunfire followed by two deafening explosions which flung part of the asbestos roofing into the air.

One woman said: "I rushed into my house and shut myself in. I had seen a small group of policemen surrounding a house and firing shots through the house windows and doors. I then saw a group of youths running through my yard and my immediate concern was about the whereabouts of my son."

"I shouted at these youths to find out if they had seen my son."

"What sent me bolting into the house was the huge sound of an explosion and the sight of pieces of the house roof flying in the air. I heard another explosion later. There could have been two or three explosions altogether, followed by complete silence."

Another eye-witness said: "After the shootout, police reinforcements were brought in. The place was teeming with scores of soldiers and police in uniform and civilian clothes. All were armed to the teeth. I've never seen so many guns and rifles in my life."

Streets on both sides of the surrounded house were closed to traffic and police would not allow private cars to pass nearby.

The drama, which went on for more than an hour, was watched by more than 2 000 from a distance of about 2 km.

Bail *E Post*
12/6/87
granted
in murder
case *11A*

HERALD REPORTER

BAIL of R300 each was granted at New Brighton Magistrates' Court yesterday to a youth of 15 and five men appearing in connection with the killing of three "kitskonstabels" who were burnt to death.

Mr Muse Mkona, 23, Mr Michael Ndamane 26, Mr Hlangene Mkona 20, Mr Billy Madoda Mkona, 18 and the 15-year-old youth, all of Kwazakele, appeared before Mr M van der Vyver.

They were charged with the murder of three special constables whose badly mutilated bodies were discovered by police in Kwazakele, in April. The accused are also facing two charges of attempted murder.

The case was adjourned until July 1.

Mr W Human appeared for the State, Mr M D Vabaza appeared for the defence.

UDF hits out at Govt

1/14
Somerton
12/6/87

THE United Democratic Front yesterday said the South African Government has once again displayed its intransigence by ignoring the call from millions of South Africans not to reimpose the state of emergency.

Mr Murphy Morobe

said Press restrictions and the silencing of organisations and people cannot disguise the reality of the crisis that the regime finds itself in.

Flawed

"The Government is flawed through and

through. The UDF has been appalled by the complacency and passive acceptance by most whites of the continuation of the emergency. This attitude is nothing less than a licence to the regime to completely disregard human rights.

"Whites seem prepared to close their eyes and hearts to the atrocities perpetuated in their name in the hope that the country will return to those halcyon days of unchallenged white supremacy," said Mr Morobe.

Mr Morobe added that business in particular is being very short-sighted if it thinks that the so-called "economic recovery" means that the emergency is good for business.

Events of recent weeks should have shown that increasingly business will be held accountable for their collusion in the repression of the very workers who produce their profits."

Says the pensioner who became host to the President's surprise visit: 'I curse



A stunned — and unshaven — Seabata Fokane with the Bothas and mayor Esau Mahlatsi during his minute of fame

In the footsteps of PW: The

By MONO BADELA

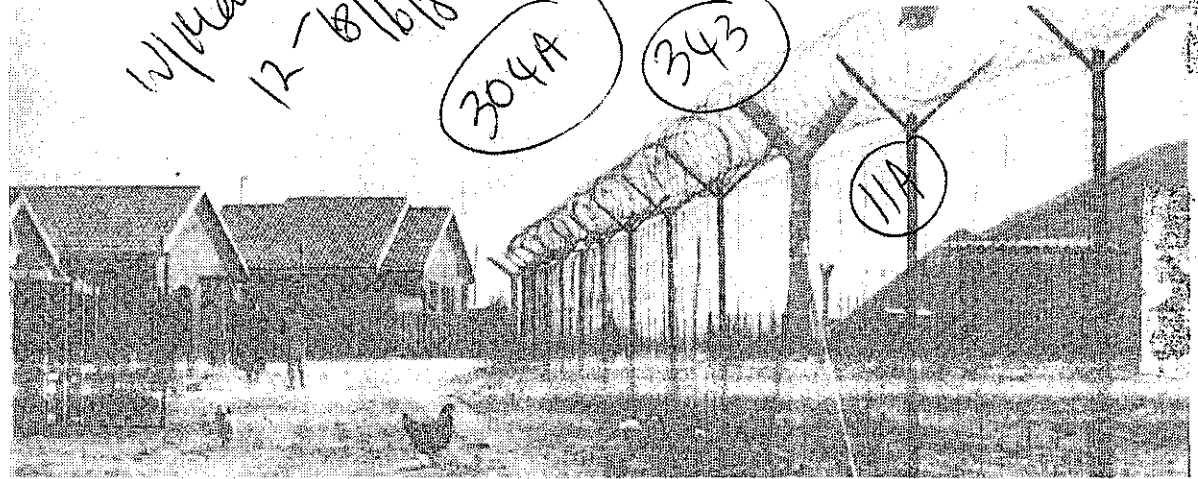
MOST citizens would be honoured by a surprise visit to their homes by a head of state.

But for 77-year-old Sharpeville pensioner Seabata Klaas Fokane, last week's visit by President PW Botha to his matchbox home was the start of a nightmare.

"I curse the day Botha set his foot on my doorstep — it has made my life a misery," Fokane told *Weekly Mail*.

Botha dropped in unexpectedly on the pensioner's household after receiving the freedom of Lekoa, of which Sharpeville is a part, from Mayor Esau Mahlatsi and the town councillors of Lekoa on Thursday last week. The people of Sharpeville were not over-enthusiastic in their welcome.

Fokane says that since a beaming Botha unexpectedly walked into his "match-box" he has been having sleepless nights. "I now wake up three or four times a night and check around outside, thinking that some people may be around to come and



The councillors live in fear behind a high fence and coils of razor wire petrol-bomb my house."

He believes some residents of Sharpeville think the visit to his house had been a "fixed thing".

"I was really taken by surprise. I just saw a whole group of people pouring into my yard and led by Botha, whom I have only seen on televi-

sion in the past. He shook my hand and asked me how I was feeling, whether I was happy or not. He also asked me to buy the house which I have occupied since 1947. He did not offer to buy it for me. I told him I have no money. That was the end of his flying visit to us."

Fokane said he had not been informed by the mayor of Lekoa that Botha would stop at his home while on a 10-minute tour of Sharpeville. "I was happy at the same time but also gripped with fear. I am still mystified by his visit."

He said he had been afraid to wel-

the day. It has made my life a misery. I wake up and check for bombs ...'



Fokane comforted by neighbours, including Emily Ramatlakane (centre). On the wall, his wedding photograph

Sharpeville Botha didn't see

come the state president into his home. "Even now I am living in fear."

He thinks some residents believe the visit was arranged by Mahlatsi.

"I do not know Mahlatsi from any other source other than that of him being a mayor. I did not even vote during elections in 1983. Like most Sharpeville residents, I do not support the town councillors."

We were joined by a group of four women, who said they were concerned about Fokane.

"I sincerely believe that Botha would have earned a lot of goodwill by visiting the Sharpeville graveyard and paying homage to the 69 men and women shot dead by police in 1960," noted Emily Ramatlakane, who said her only son was shot dead by police on the afternoon of September 3, 1984. She had discovered her son's body at the Vereeniging mortuary a week later.

"The deaths of the people in 1960 and those who died during the upheaval in 1984 seem to mean nothing to Botha," she said. "He does not care."

Fokane said he had been among the crowd at the square in front of the police station on March 21, 1960, when police opened fire on a group of anti-pass protestors, killing 69.

"I do not know what Botha was really doing in Sharpeville," he said. "As a president he should have gone to the cemetery as a gesture of goodwill."

Earlier, Mahlatsi denied that the



What the Bothas didn't see: Sharpeville's graves

Pictures: ERIC MILLER, Afrapix
stop at Fokane's home had been planned.

"It was a spontaneous gesture on the part of the state president," he said. "I did not even know that he was going to stop there. To me it was

a pleasant surprise." He said many residents thereafter asked the entourage to stop briefly at their homes.

Mahlatsi ruled out the idea that Botha's visit to Lekoa was intended to discuss the nearly three-year-old rent crisis in the area. He said his council had invited Botha "to see for himself the conditions under which blacks live because we felt that was very important for somebody who has influence, so that he can take appropriate decisions".

The council had also invited Botha because there had always been division between blacks and whites in South Africa. "That must come to a stop," he said. "There should be reconciliation. His gesture of coming here would be an indication of reconciliation." The councillors also wanted Botha to explain his envisaged reform process to the community.

Mahlatsi said he still believed Botha's proposed National Statutory Council was not the right solution to the country's problems. "I still seriously urge Botha to abandon the idea of operating this body," he said.

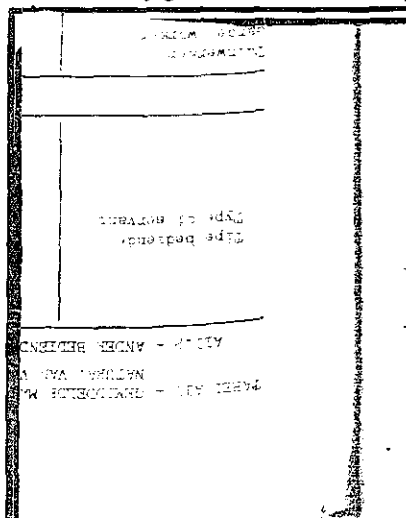
A representative of the Vaal Civic Association said: "We have not forgotten the gravestones in Sharpeville, the six people in death row, including the only woman so far to have been condemned to death, Theresa Ramashamole, for a political offence, and the trial in Delmas, where Vaal Triangle leaders face charges of treason."

He described Botha's visit to Lekoa

as a "miserable failure. The cheers by the lower primary school pupils were meaningless. The whole thing was orchestrated. Those who attended the reception were pensioners, unemployed people and others who went there because they were curious that something might happen."

He said it was "another Rubicon — nothing was said about rent. He did not touch the grievances of the people."

"This shows that the councillors are blind. Mahlatsi himself has got the freedom of Lekoa. He lives behind barbed wire in a special compound and is heavily guarded."



ANC warns of ~~stepping up~~ ^{w/mar} stepping up its offensive (11A)

THE African National Congress said yesterday it would step up its political-military offensive for the destruction of apartheid. 12-18/87

The organisation was responding from Lusaka to the reimposition of the State of Emergency — a move which it described as “no surprise”.

The government, said an ANC representative, “could no longer govern our country and people except by the imposition of martial law”. President PW Botha had now given a clear indication of his decision to continue “along the path of internal repression and external aggression”.

Within minutes of the announcement that the State of Emergency would be reimposed, a number of anti-apartheid organisations issued responses ranging from anger to dismay.

THE United Democratic Front believes the government is trying to force it to give up non-violent, legal activity and join the "armed struggle". So it won't.

"The state is trying to move us from an area where we have been able to strike significant blows against apartheid and move us to a sphere where it believes it is stronger — the area of violence," according to Murphy Morobe, the UDF publicity secretary.

Morobe was describing in an interview this week how the UDF sees its future after a year of the State of Emergency and with no sign that the repression and restriction of the Emergency will be eased.

The Emergency has made Morobe a public relations man who cannot be seen in public, representing a legal, mass organisation that has to operate underground.

Morobe insists the UDF has had to adapt to these circumstances, but it is still committed to the mode of operation it adopted before the first Emergency was declared.

"I think our task remains to engage apartheid legally and in an open way. To the extent that there is space for us to do that, I think the UDF will continue to do that.

"It is a matter of crucial strategy for us that we continue exploring those avenues that are open to us even at the legal level. Our strength as the UDF lies on the basis that we conduct our struggle non-violently.

"(This way) the state needs much more propaganda and much greater explanation to get across its view that it needs to repress us," he said.

But a year of repression must have taken its toll. How does Morobe assess the UDF's strength now?

"It is only fair to say we have been affected by the State of Emergency. We have lost quite a number of good people, good activists within our struggle and some — like Steve Tshwete (former Border UDF president) — have been forced into exile.

"Certainly, in any organisation, the loss of such people either through death, incarceration or exile is a serious issue that must affect the structure.

"The one thing about the Front is that whilst there have been negative effects in terms of those people, we have actually been able to adapt and absorb the blows the state has been aiming at us.

"We look at our strength in both quantitative and qualitative terms. It may seem odd, but what is clear is that through the two States of Emergencies there has been a marked growth and development of the Front.

"Our strength and support base has actually broadened over the last 12 months," he said.

Morobe can only talk in broad terms about how he assesses this. After all, there are few public demonstrations of this support.

However, between the first and second Emergencies, the UDF made it clear it was going to structure its operation to deal with expected on-going repression. This paid off to some extent: certain leaders were not detained and certain structures were ready to withstand the attack.

"Our previous national executive conference in Azadville in April 1985 put us on a footing where we were able to work quite consciously towards the deepening of our structures politically and organisationally. I think that was one reason we were able to cope with the State of Emergency when it was finally declared. We had been able to develop a lot of leadership layers within our structures and they were able to take up the work of others who had to take leave of duty, whether by accident or design," he said.

Two weeks ago, the UDF brought together some 200 delegates for its first national executive meeting since Azadville. This time the meeting had to be conducted in absolute secrecy; even the press only learned about it after the event.

THE VOICE FROM UNDERGROUND

12-18/6/85
1/A
W/Kail

The United Democratic Front is a legal organisation, but its publicity officer is seldom seen in public. In a rare interview, the UDF's Murphy Morobe tells ANTON HARBUR how the country's largest extra-parliamentary political group copes with the Emergency

Does adaptation mean turning into a fully-fledged underground organisation?

"More or less. Adaptation has to do with devising ways and means of organisation that are in keeping with the demands of the present. When the UDF was launched in 1983, one of its hallmarks was those momentous mass rallies and colourful festivals that used to muster thousands of people. Those days have passed," he said.

"But our assessment is that we do not need to go underground because there are already forces operating there and it is not the intention of the UDF to congest that sphere of activity."

The difference is a subtle one. It is a question of being underground but legal, clandestine but legitimate.

In hard, practical terms, what can the UDF do under these conditions?

"Our major task remains that of mobilising the broadest sector of our people. We seem to have accomplished a great deal, but we haven't actually reached a conclusion in this aspect."

Previously this was accomplished through mass rallies, pamphlets and newspaper publicity. How will it be done under present conditions?

"We still have meetings where possible, not necessarily public meetings or huge meetings. The mass rallies we held in the Cape Town city hall in the period preceding the white elections are an example.

"But the UDF approach does not necessarily need the three letters of the UDF to be our approach. What we believe in can find realisation not necessarily through the UDF, but through our affiliates as well," he said.

If this seems vague, Morobe warns against assessing developments in the traditional way.

"I think people have a serious misconception of what the struggle is. People sometimes perceive the struggle as only quick and lightning blows against the enemy and quick victories.

"We are not going to allow ourselves to believe that everything can be done in one quick and immediate blow to the enemy. It is going to be a hard and long struggle.

"It is going to have its own twists and turns and ups and downs. There are times when the struggles of a people reach certain peaks and times when it reaches certain lows; but one can at the same time discern movement forward. I think the government has made gains in terms of its might, repression and violence, but politically I think the people have made significant gains overall."

Morobe uses an anecdote to explain.

"I have an aunt, who is a nurse. She may not agree with a lot of things that are happening, such as what the youth are doing in the town-

ships, but she has achieved freedom where she wants.

"Today, decisions are being made. This is a significant ordinary people's demand at the high level. It may actually be a fact that people are not in a position to do this for us."

The UDF is present in this turn into an act moment.

As an individual had been doing two weeks ago, we assessed the situation was too soon for election day. The proof of the years; the understanding said.

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UNDERGROUND



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Morobe uses an anecdote to explain.

"I have an aunt, who is a nurse. She may not agree with a lot of things that are happening, such as what the youth are doing in the town-

ships, but she says the one thing the struggle has achieved for her is that there is no longer a situation where a matron can tell her anything she wants.

"Today, the nurses can come up with their own decisions and fight to have them implemented. This is a significant and crucial development for ordinary people."

Surely the Emergency has stemmed the tide of such advances?

"I think the Emergency has largely been to try and stem the violence. That may have happened."

"But it hasn't stemmed the rising tide of people's demands for representation in government at the highest level. This is crucial, because they may actually maintain their hold by force, but the fact that people are demanding to be part and parcel of the running of their own lives, this is crucial for us."

The UDF's struggle, according to Morobe, is at present in "tactical retreat". When and how does this turn into tactical advance?

"It is not easy to tell. One cannot predict the exact moment," he said.

As an indication, Morobe explained why there had been no call for a stayaway during the coming two weeks of "protest action". The UDF had assessed the position of its supporters and felt it was too soon after the last major stayaway on election day. That earlier stayaway had been proof of the support UDF had built up over the years; the latest decision was proof of "our understanding of the dynamics on the ground", he said.

The recent national executive conference refined

the notion of how the UDF should deal with the ongoing problem of vigilante attacks.

"At the conference, it became quite a heated issue. We defined what we mean by self-defence.

"It would be incorrect for us to think of defending ourselves in purely militaristic or violent terms. We can counter-attack with our own sticks and pangas and whatever, but we need to devise political strategies to actually make advances to these people, first isolating them and then winning them back over to the side of our people. This is a long-term thing," he said.

Talking of the long-term, does Morobe expect a further outbreak of unrest?

"The way the state is conducting itself, the possibility of increased violence is not diminished by the existence of the Emergency. The government's attempts to address the situation are so piecemeal and hopeless that they can never hope to do it properly. It can result in another explosion like in 1984," he said.

To end the interview, Morobe presents an unexpected view on the government's threat to down on foreign funding of organisations such as his own.

"It will do us some good," he says.

"We expect the clampdown to have some effect on some of our projects, but we intend to work out new ways of raising funds.

"We have always believed that we must not allow ourselves to be dependent on foreign funding. We are where we are in spite of foreign funding. I think a clampdown will fire in us a creativity that will allow us to do better than we have been in funding ourselves."

The hidden 'yes' behind the UDF's 'no' to talks

By CARMEL RICKARD,
Durban

THE surprise President's Council invitation to United Democratic Front president Archie Gumede may have been a PC propaganda ploy but Gumede believes it served a useful purpose.

He was sent an invitation by Dr AJG Oosthuizen, chairman of the council's committee for constitutional affairs, asking him to discuss black participation in the council.

Gumede turned down the request but said afterwards his detailed response to the council should dispel the myth that the UDF will not talk to anyone.

"It should clearly indicate that the UDF is not unwilling to talk about the situation", he said.

Responding to Oosthuizen's invitation, Gumede consulted with those members of the UDF executive who are not in hiding or in detention. He then wrote to Oosthuizen saying there could be no "meaningful negotiations" until certain conditions had been met.

Gumede said he delivered this letter to the council's committee at a meeting in Durban and was asked to amplify certain points.

"I explained in full our response. If they want to take the matter further, it is now up to them," Gumede said.

"The invitation itself was a surprise because the council has a tendency to recognise only those people who will co-operate by taking positions on the National Statutory Council.

"However, I believe the contact was important as it should dispel the impression we are not willing to talk about the situation.

"The fact that we (the UDF) have responded and that I have spoken to them is significant.

"Even if we are shouting to each other from a long distance they now get to hear it from the horse's mouth rather than second hand through the

security police."

Gumede described the discussions he had with the council as "full and frank and directed at material issues.

"It was marvellous and will live in the memories of all those involved. We talked, for example, of white and black fears and there was no attempt to sidestep either side's position."

Gumede emphasised, however, that as far as his organisation was concerned the discussions with the council when he handed over their written response was off the record.

Significantly, Oosthuizen's letter of invitation was addressed to Gumede, without reference to his position in the UDF. However, Gumede replied on UDF letterhead and made it clear he was speaking as a president of that organisation after consultation with his executive.

He pulled no punches in his reply saying, "The President's Council is a creation of the Nationalist Party and forms one of the main pillars of the three chambered parliament which has been rejected by the overwhelming majority of our people.

"In fact the President's Council has been party to unjust legislation which has allowed this repression to be pursued by the army and the police.

"The point is that the council cannot be uncoupled from the worst excesses of the apartheid regime. It is therefore totally unacceptable to us in its presently constituted or any other form. It cannot be redesigned, it must be scrapped."

Gumede listed a number of acts which would "promote confidence in the motives of your government.

"At a minimum we would require the lifting of the Emergency; release of Nelson Mandela and all political prisoners; unbanning of the African

National Congress; release of all detainees; troops and police out of the townships and disbanding the army; guarantees to returning political exiles and scrapping of all harsh and unjust security legislation and all other discriminatory and unjust laws."

He said this familiar list of demands was not "diminished by being restated but should give an idea of the strength of feeling and resolve of millions of South Africans."

Gumede concluded: "I would be very pleased to hear from you when your government can respond positively to my comments."

Although Gumede's invitation caused the most interest, it was not the only one issued by the PC committee to black people in Natal.

Others who were invited included Simon Conco, the former secretary general of the Inkatha-linked United Workers Union. Conco, who has retired from Uwusa, is also former chief whip of the KwaZulu legislative assembly.

Conco is reported to have told the PC that they should be talking to "our leaders, not to us". Among these leaders he included KwaZulu's Chief Minister, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, and jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

Durban lawyer Aubrey Nyembezi, who chairs the Clermont township advisory board, and MT Moerane, who used to edit the now-banned *World* newspaper, were also adamant they would not participate.

But Patrick Pakkies, mayor of Imbali, and Albert Magubane, mayor of Steadville, near Ladysmith, thought they would be prepared to participate under certain conditions.

President's Council secretary Kobus Bauermester refused to comment on any aspect of the discussions, including who spoke to whom.

11A
w/ Mail
12-18/87

Family squabbles

The Natal Indian Congress will be thrust into the formal political arena if the current impasse in the House of Delegates leads to an election. Problem is that the NIC is involved in some bitter in-fighting of its own. The odds, however, remain stacked

against the NIC switching policy to directly contest elections. The mood canvassed among leaders by the *FM* suggests the congress is more likely to stick to existing policy and campaign for a stay-away from the polls.

The problem in the NIC, founded as an extra-parliamentary protest organisation by Mahatma Gandhi in 1894, is rooted in a leadership struggle — attributed to differences of style rather than strategy. The issue is as simple as it is potentially divisive: should the NIC join the system to seek its collapse or continue to snipe from the sidelines?

However, there seems to be general agreement among both factions that the NIC will continue to advocate a boycott of the elections.

At issue, therefore, is a question of personality and style.

The personality clash finds a disenchanted "old guard" pitted against an alleged "cabal" in the bloated 25-man executive (the NIC constitution originally made provision for only 15).

The old guard has been identified as former president "M J" Naidoo, current president George Sewpershad, secretary Ramlal Ramesar, D K Singh and vice-presidents Rabi Bugwandeem and R B Chowdry.

Young Turks

Ranged against them is a clique of young Turks identified by one of the old guard as Jerry Coovadia, Farook Meer, Paul David, Zak Yakoob and two members co-opted in 1979, Pravin Gordan and Yunus Mahommed.

As both parties agree that personalities and style rather than ideology and strategy are at the root of the quarrel, Naidoo admits to being bewildered by the need for a leadership clique. The full executive, he says, generally reaches consensus on major issues.

Meer and Coovadia, widely regarded as two of the most influential members of the executive committee, reject notions of a split looming within the NIC and of a "cabal."

Coovadia says executive members of the NIC tried without success to get "concrete evidence" to support the criticism. The "sinister motives" identified by Naidoo "have simply been differences of viewpoint and activity."

And Meer dismisses accusations of a "cabal" and says even those responsible for making them agree there are no differences of policy.

The enigma which remains is not easily resolved by reference to the major debates within the NIC:

□ In 1973 Naidoo argued in favour of participating within "apartheid structures" such as the SA Indian Council. His resolution was heavily defeated. In 1979 he successfully campaigned *against* recommendations from the men now identified as members of the "cabal" to contest the tri-cameral elections.

□ Cutting across the battle lines is a uniform response to the second major debate within the organisation, namely its ethnic basis. All

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universal franchise in a unitary state) there may well be some who believe they know a better route than others. But on the question of participating within "apartheid structures" there appears to be unanimity. No organisation can afford to do so and retain credibility, argue leaders on either side.

Herein perhaps lies a clue to the current conflict. Members of the so-called cabal are also given to describing themselves as the "intellegentia" of the NIC — to the extreme chagrin of the old guard. Thus, whereas the entire NIC executive still agrees on the major destination of the NIC (a non-racial democracy based on a

leaders canvassed by the *FM* agree this is neither an anachronism nor a contradiction. Members of the "old guard" favoured defending the NIC's ethnic character by reference to its cultural heritage whereas Meer and Coovadia adopt more academic arguments involving such issues as the "mechanisms of apartheid society."

Council rethink on Sisulu

By Mudini Maivua

The legal action notice issued against United Democratic Front (UDF) co-president Mrs Albertina Sisulu last month has been withdrawn for technical reasons, her lawyer said yesterday.

Soweto council may issue another notice.

In a letter to Mrs Sisulu, the council said that it withdrew the notice without prejudicing its rights.

Mrs Sisulu, Mrs Winnie Mandela, Mrs Ellen Kuzwayo and Dr Nthato Motlana were last month given 30 days to pay their rent and service charges, failing which legal action would be taken.

The period of grace expired on Wednesday.

Electricity supply to the homes of Mrs Sisulu, Mrs Mandela and Mrs Kuzwayo has been cut.

Mrs Sisulu's lawyer, Mr Richard Spoor, said his firm had pointed out to the council that failure to pay site rent or electricity charges is not ground to cancel right of occupancy.

12/16/87
~~(scribble)~~
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VICE WARD
Call for dignity on June 16

The Azanian Youth Organisation's (Azayo) national executive committee has called on the black community to commemorate June 16 with dignity and has requested it not to be "subdued or intimidated".

Azayo, which claims 430 members detained in Bekkersdal alone, has demanded the unconditional release of emergency detainees.

Azayo urged black youth to exercise "the highest level of discipline".

Ball gets WCTA support for ANC ad

Cont. Trans 13/6/87

Staff Reporter

11A

THE Western Cape Traders' Association (WCTA), which represents 2 000 retail traders, gave its unequivocal support to Mr Chris Ball, managing director of First National Bank, for granting an overdraft to a client who assisted the UDF in paying for the ANC advertisements.

In a letter of support to Mr Ball, the WCTA said the bank was one of the main pivots of the "so-called" free-enterprise system and one of its functions was to assist clients by granting them overdraft facilities.

The WCTA said it had a long trading history with Barclays Bank and it found Mr Ball to be a man of dynamic personality in the sphere of bank finance and was proud to be associated with him.

The WCTA also supported Mr Ball's meeting with the ANC in Lusaka as a breakthrough for South African businesses and industrialists.

□ Peninsula members of the WCTA will close their shops on June 16 in remembrance of those who have died in the "struggle for freedom".

Executive member Mr Cassiem Allie said June 16 was observed by "all democratic-loving people of South Africa". The WCTA wanted to commemorate the day by closing their shops.

Vandals smash memorial to victims of Langa

By JIMMY MATYU

VANDALS have smashed the R6 000 memorial marble tombstone at the monument to those who died in the Langa shootings of March 21, 1985.

The act has been condemned by spokesmen for the black community of Uitenhage.

The unveiling of the memorial tombstone last year was attended by thousands of people.

On Thursday night the tall tombstone bearing names of 29 people was reduced to just below knee height. The names of only five people remain.

The inscription, the engraved map of Africa with a warrior carrying a shield and holding an assegai plus the inscription below, have been destroyed.

Crosses of other graves close to the tombstone have also been trampled and broken.

People who walked past the graveyard at about 11pm on Thursday said they had heard hammering coming from the graveyard. They saw five figures in the graveyard and noticed a blue minibus parked at the main entrance.

(11A) W. E. Bond 13/6/87



The monument to the victims of the Langa shootings, during its unveiling at the Kwa-nobuhle cemetery on March 21, 1986, after a service at the Jabavu Stadium. The monument was smashed on Thursday night.

Black NGK picks radical pair

12/2 ARGUS
13/6/87
114

Weekend Argus Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — In what has been described as "a take over" by progressive elements, the black wing of the Dutch Reformed Church yesterday elected two controversial figures to top positions.

The general synod, of the Ned Geref Kerk in Afrika, meeting at the boycott-hit University of Transkei, elected Dominee Sam Buti as the moderator and Dominee Nico Smith as actuary.

This election marks Dominee Buti's re-emergence into the public eye. Last year he resigned as mayor of Alexandra township after prolonged unrest in the area.

Dominee Smit first hit headlines when he left Stellenbosch University and the all-white Dutch Reformed Church for its black sister church, the NGK in Afrika. He said this was a result of fundamental differences he had over the church policy of separation.

Last year he moved to Pretoria's Mamelodi township which is now his congregation.

Dominee Smit is also believed to be the NGK in Afrika's only signatory to the revolutionary Kairos theological document.

He was also part of an NGK delegation that visited the ANC.

Interviewed after his election yesterday Dominee Smit said he was surprised by the move and saw it as a take-over by more progressive factions in the church.

"There are new attitudes — a feeling of resistance against structures," he said.

He predicted that the synod would have to re-examine its links with its sister Dutch Reformed Churches and take a stand on national developments such as the new state of emergency.

Emphasising that he was speaking in his personal capacity, he said: "There is strong awareness of the dependence on the subsidy of the white church. Many black ministers realise that if they say things that are not acceptable to white Dutch Reformed members it may influence their salaries and personal relations."

He condemned the imposition of the new state of emergency and said the church would be forced to speak out on it.

"We cannot just note it, we must take a stand," he said. He said the church should negotiate with the State over the necessity for the emergency.

He also reiterated the need for dialogue with the banned organisations and called for the unbanning of the ANC and the release of imprisoned leaders.

The synod continues until the end of next week.

Black organisations last night appealed for a calm and dignified commemoration of June 16, the 11th anniversary of the Soweto uprisings, next week.

They urged members to attend commemoration services which would take place in many parts of the country.

The organisations, however, rejected rumours of a two-week stay-away by black workers, purportedly to mark the first anniversary of the state of emergency, as untrue.

Police have meanwhile warned that people who urged others to stay away from work on June 16, would face strong action.

General secretary of the National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu) Mr Phiroshaw Camay appealed to all workers to "honour this day".

"For the black community, June 16 is a day of mourning and rededication to the struggle. We must honour it with calm and dignity," he said.

Mr Nkosi Molala, president of the Azanian People's Organisation, expressed similar sentiments.

"We have always commemorated June 16 with the dignity it deserves," said Mr Molala.

"We need to reflect on the type of society we want to build for our country."

The United Democratic Front has denied any knowledge of a two-week stay-away. It has, however, called on its members to engage in 14 days of protest action.

Lieutenant-Colonel Steve van Rooyen, of the SAP Public Relations Division in Pretoria, said police were aware of certain unions asking workers to stay away. "We have a plan of action and we will take care of intimidators," he said.

Many workers will, however,

stay away from work on June 16 with the full backing of their employers. An increasing number of employers is concluding recognition agreements with unions which recognise June 16 as a paid public holiday in exchange for another holiday.

Mr Camay said June 16 had become a "bargaining issue" with most unions.

Some companies advertised through newspapers this week that they would be closed on June 16 as "a mark of respect for our customers and staff".

The National Soccer League (NSL) is going ahead with its normal fixtures this weekend despite a barrage of criticism from organisations who feel all soccer matches should have been suspended to commemorate June 16.

But NSL spokesman Mr Abdul Bhamjee said the NSL had always considered important days in the black calendar when fixtures were drawn at the beginning of every season. Fixtures could not be cancelled on the spur of the moment. "If June 16 was on Friday, Saturday or Sunday, we would definitely have had a blank sheet," he said.

The NSL has ordered about 100 armbands from the Black Sash which would be worn by players in matches this weekend.

The Black Sash has sent out 12 000 leaflets to white schools in

● To Page 2

Black call for
calm and dignity

BARNEY MITHOMBOTHI

Appeals for peace on

114
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UDF spells it out 1/14

By **NORMAN WEST**

THE KEY to meaningful talks between the Government and its black opponents was the release of black leaders.

This was disclosed in remarkable face-to-face talks between the Constitutional Affairs Committee of the President's Council and Mr. Archie Gumede, a president of the United Democratic Front.

The talks in Durban last week were seen as noteworthy, not so much for their

content — but because they took place at all.

The UDF has consistently refused to participate in Government structures or negotiating avenues. But Mr Gumede agreed to deliver a letter to the committee, setting out UDF conditions for possible talks.

Once there, Mr Gumede and the committee members became involved in an exchange of views.

Chairman of the Constitutional Committee, Dr Dries Oosthuizen, described the talks as "interesting".

C Press
14/6/87

11A

Prison budget shocks

CP Correspondent

THE UDF's East Cape branch has expressed shock at the Department of Public Works and Land Affairs' announcement this week that more than R19-million will be spent on building prisons in the Eastern Cape.

UDF spokesman Mzimasi Mangcotywa described the announcement as a "thorn in the flesh of the oppressed blacks".

"While such a huge sum of money will be uselessly spent, the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning announced that there was a housing backlog of 44 000 units in the Eastern Cape," he said.

The Department of Education and Training has flatly refused to rebuild or repair damaged schools.

"This points to the fact that the government is controlled by forces outside Parliament. Real control seems to be in the hands of the security forces," he said.

TREND THAT CAN'T BE REVERSED

1/A

IE South African government declared the state of emergency on the eve of the 10th anniversary of June . This occurred when black people were beginning to transform the past decade of resistance into concerted mass action.

In 1976, the student opposition for the first time challenged the full might of the government and recaptured the liberatory power of the gold and black flag. The temporary suppression of that rebellion would not reverse that trend.

In the past 10 years we built and created structures as organs to carry our political programs and ideologies. From political organisations, trade unions, civic associations, youth and student organisations and down to street committees. Today the South African Government is confronted by radical opposition from all fronts and at all times.

A year ago, on June 12, the government declared a second state of emergency in an attempt to force silence and then crush the resistance.

During this whole period we have experienced:

By Phambili Ntloko, Azapo's national organiser

- Detention of thousands of our members who are responsible for structures at various levels, even small units of our street committees having been affected by detentions.
- Bannings of political, trade union, civic and student meetings; harassment of township residents by community councillors who are cutting services and evicting people from their homes.
- The unprecedented and severe Press curbs which raised the question as to who is behind the iron curtain. The catalogue is indeed long. Now, however, this threatening system is being cracked and alternative ways of operation are beginning to break the repression. There is an historical lesson of paramount importance to learn here. When a government has reached its limits

and height of containment, it initiates a new order of suppression.

But beyond these limits, there is also the space, both physical and mental, for building a realm of liberation.

In Azapo this is our responsibility, which must be shouldered at all times and under all circumstances. This responsibility reinforces the demands of the oppressed.

Even under the state of emergency, major strikes of CCAWUSA, Potwa and Sarhwi challenged the power of the government.

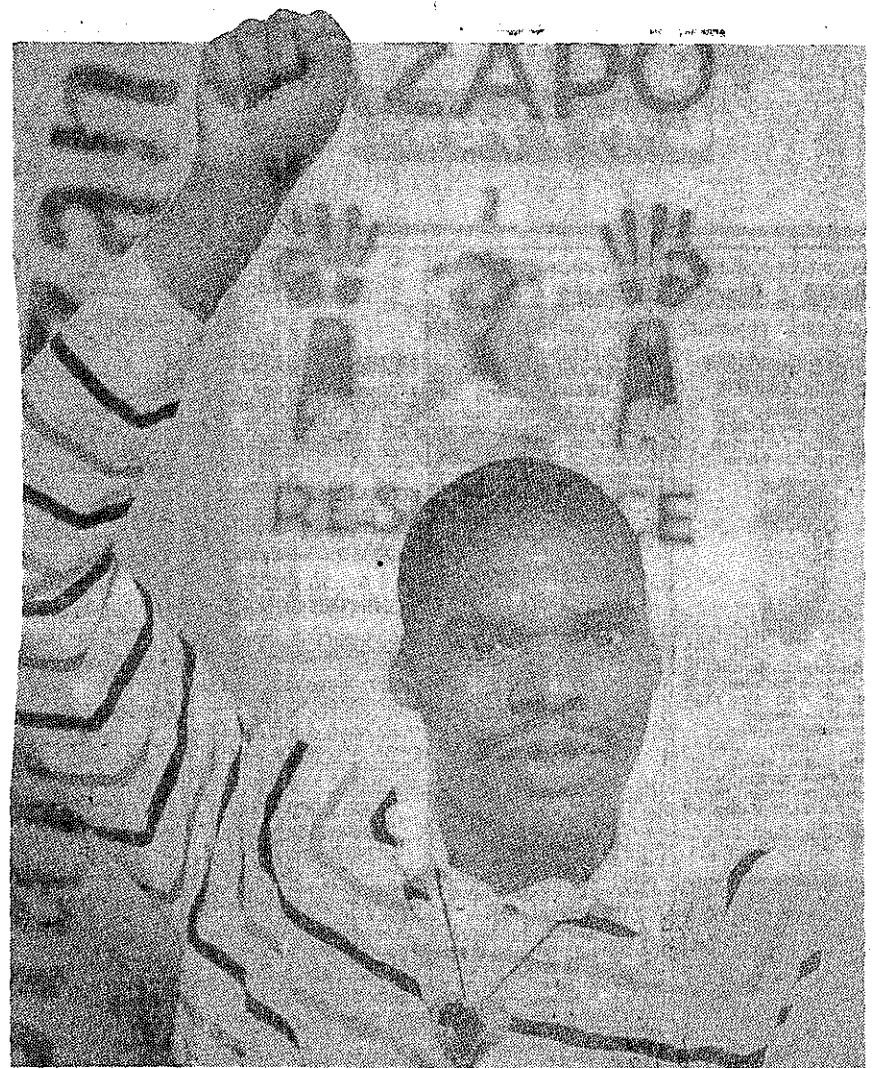
In the same period, we have seen the birth of various national structures, particularly among the youth.

The young militants know or sense that what is at stake is simply their lives, lives which have become a plaything in the hands of politicians and generals.

The struggle wants to take it out of these hands and make it worth living.

They realise that this is still possible today, and that the attainment of the goal necessitates a struggle.

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Phambili Ntloko ... resistance turned into mass action.

PC carrot rejected by Natal

By SBU MNGADI

THE SA government's latest attempt to woo blacks into the President's Council was met with a deafening "NO" from Natal leaders, including United Democratic Front co-president Archie Gumede.

Ironically, even those already serving in the statutory town councils and homelands joined the bandwagon and dismissed the PC as a non-starter.

Notably, the UDF was for the first time in its four years of existence invited by a government body to present its viewpoint. This also came at a time when the members of the organisation have gone "underground"

due to detentions during the state of emergency.

According to constitutional select committee chairman Dr Andries Oosthuizen the committee was formed as a result of a briefing by State President PW Botha to gather views of blacks on the reconstruction of the PC.

Among those who addressed the select committee panel in Durban last week were former the editor of the banned *World* newspaper, MT Moerane, now a lecturer at QwaQwa's Bonamelo College of Education, Clermont lawyer and advisory board chairman Aubrey Nyembezi, former KwaZulu Legislative Assembly Chief Whip and also former United

Workers' Union of SA general-secretary Simon Chonco, Maritzburg's Imbali Mayor, Patrick Pakkies and Steadville mayor Albert Magubane, of Ladysmith.

Most respondents put conditions to their participation, while others rejected the PC outright.

In a paper drawn up after consultation with his national executive council, Gumede reiterated the UDF's commitment to the attainment of democracy by non-violent means.

At the centre of its belief was the conviction that the main obstacle to the achievement of democracy in SA, as it was universally understood, was the government.



Archie Gumede

C/Re-25
14/6/87
11A

Call for calm on Soweto day

JOHANNESBURG. — Black leaders have called for calm tomorrow's anniversary of the Soweto uprising 11 years ago and urged people not to provoke violence by staying away from their jobs.

Police warned that "strong action" would be taken against anyone promoting job action or intimidating those who wanted to work during the two-week protest against the state of emergency.

Lieutenant-Colonel Steve van Rooyen said police were aware of certain unions calling for a two-week stayaway. "We have a plan of action and we will take care of intimidators," he said.

The United Democratic Front called for one-hour work stoppages and fasting during the 14-day protest, but urged members to continue work.

The general-secretary of the National Council of Trade Unions, Mr Nkosi Molala, said: "For the black community, June 16 is a day of mourning and re-dedication to the struggle. We must honour it with calm and dignity."

Last year, 1.5 million blacks stayed off the job for a day to mark the uprising in Soweto.

This year, a number of companies declared Tuesday a paid holiday and put advertisements in newspapers saying they would be closed as "a mark of respect for our customers and staff".

The UDF said in a statement: "We shall be calling on all South Africans, individuals and organizations, to engage in protest actions against the re-imposition of the state of emergency. Various groups shall be embarking on various forms of protest action ranging from one-hour work stoppages to hunger fasts."

Our Johannesburg correspondent reports: Taxi services will be stopped and major shopping centres in the black townships will be closed tomorrow.

All businesses in the townships, and a number of Johannesburg shops, will be closed. Thousands of workers will be given the day off.

Cosatu and the UDF intend holding mass rallies in the townships. Prayer services will be

held in most township churches.

A SATS spokesman said there will be normal train services, with police on duty to protect commuters from intimidators.

A Putco spokesman said: "Bus services will operate as usual, but may withdraw depending on the situation in the townships."

United Municipalities of South Africa president Mr Tom Boya called for calm and appealed to everybody to observe June 16 as a day of prayer, and to refrain from unnecessary excitement which has always characterized the day.

A number of town councils have already indicated they will not be operating on June 16, and all their employees will be given the day off.

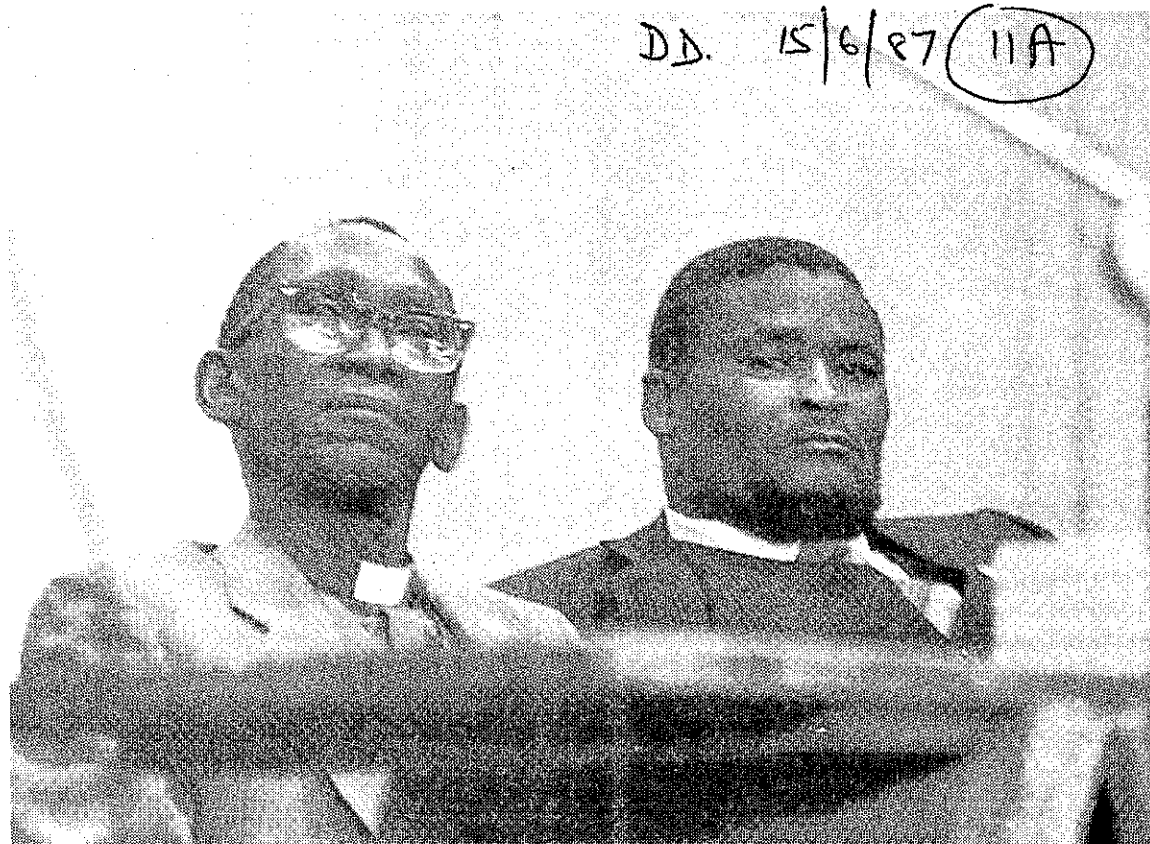
There will no bread and milk deliveries to the townships on Tuesday.

A spokesman for the Western Cape region of the UDF last night called for tomorrow to be declared a national holiday and remembered as South African Youth Day. — Staff Reporter, Own Correspondent and UPI



A sparse crowd attended the launching of the Border region of the United Conciliation Party at East London's Orient Theatre yesterday.

DD. 15/6/87 (11A)



Bishop Isaac Mokoena and Mr Tamsanqa Linda addressed the Border region launching of the United Conciliation Party in East London's Orient Theatre yesterday.

UCP launched in Border region

EAST LONDON — The United Conciliation Party (UCP) offered a home to all people who want to solve South Africa's problems through peaceful negotiations, a rally launching the party in the Border region was told here yesterday.

The party was first launched on the Reef in October last year.

The rally was addressed by the party's two co-presidents and founders, Mr Tamsanqa Linda and Bishop Isaac Mokoena.

Bishop Mokoena said the party also accommodated non-Christians, such as Hindus and Moslems, who wanted to be involved in the actual running of the country.

He said the UCP was a "decent God-fearing" party that was not prepared to use pregnant women and children in its struggle for freedom.

Mr Linda called on all white people who want to see moderate change or reform in the country to join the party. He accused the ANC of being responsible for the detention of children and said his party would negotiate with the government for their release.

"The UDF is a front for the ANC in South Africa in that it uses the same principles and ideologies

of the ANC," he said.

The money used to finance the "silly" Release Mandela advertisement could have been used to build houses and feed thousands of hungry people, he said.

A guest speaker, Mr Steve Kgame, of the Urban Councillors' Association of South Africa, said blacks must be represented by blacks. People should break away from the tendency of calling black leaders "sell-outs".

"In KwaNobuhle and Alexandra there are white administrators but they are not called sell-outs. People have accepted them as their leaders," he said.

He warned people not to be misled by the Archbishop of Cape Town, the Most Reverend Desmond Tutu, and Dr Allan Boesak who advocated disinvestment knowing that their families would not be affected by it.

The vice-president of the National Student Federation, Mr Nicholas Myburgh, urged the moderate peace-loving people of South Africa to mobilise themselves and fight apartheid with growing strength and strong conviction until victory was attained.

DD 15/6/87

First National Bank runs anti-ANC ad

Dispatch Correspondent
DURBAN — The First National Bank (FNB) has called on South Africans to reject the 'myths' about the bank's alleged involvement with the ANC.

In a full-page advertisement in Sunday newspapers, signed by the chairman, Mr Basil Hersov, and the managing director, Mr Chris Ball, the bank denied having any political affiliations.

"We have noted the speculation that the tree of our new logo contains, among other shapes, a rabbit and that the rabbit is the emblem of a political group," the advertisement read.

"Some have suggested that a rabbit was deliberately inserted.

"There was no deliberate insertions of any shapes in the tree... South Africa's foremost authority on the ANC, Dr Tom Lodge, advises us that there is no association between the rabbit and the ANC.

"We do not support the ANC. We are totally opposed to violence and therefore condemn terrorism and revolution."

The advertisement referred to myths which had been "propagated and spread in the past few months in unwarranted attacks on the bank and its staff".

Councillor Phil Erasmus, who proposed that Benoni remove its R150-million account from FNB, changed his mind yesterday after reading the bank's advertisement.



MR BALL

Mr Erasmus said the advertisement had addressed the full spectrum of concerns, including the bank's logo and had in "no uncertain terms" rejected the ANC and terrorism.

"I can go back to the people of Benoni and as-

sure them of the loyalty of our bank," Mr Erasmus said.

"I intend going to the council and making a suggestion to them that I am satisfied with the assurances given by FNB and I would like to ask that this matter can be taken as settled."

Mr Erasmus said he had sent a letter to the town clerk so the matter could be discussed at a management committee meeting today.

There had been no more communication with the Benoni Town Council, but the FNB had written to it and was waiting to hear what it was going to do.

The senior general manager, Mr Jimmy McKenzie, hoped the council would change its

mind about closing its account with FNB.

"We hope so because we have put it into perspective.

"We are a 100 per cent South African bank and want to grow with South Africa."

The bank did not want to lose "old friends" with whom it had worked together for so long.

"Talking to other people, I have been delighted with the response we have had in deciding to run the advertisement," Mr McKenzie said.

"I have been thrilled with their response to it.

"There is every chance the story will be put to rest and we can get on with our business."

CAPE TOWN 15/6/82



Bank ad refutes ANC tag

JOHANNESBURG. — First National Bank has placed a series of advertisements calling on South Africans to reject the “myths and gossip” about the bank’s alleged involvement with the ANC — and the Benoni councillor who proposed that the town withdraw its R150 million a year account from the bank says he is satisfied the bank does not support the organization.

In a full-page advertisement in Sunday

newspapers, signed by chairman Mr Basil Hersov and managing director, Mr Chris Ball, the bank denied having any affiliations with political interest groups.

Benoni councillor Dr Phil Erasmus also said the town’s money could now stay with FNB.

“As far as I am concerned, the matter has been nicely resolved and Benoni’s R150 million is safe at First National Bank.”

The ad also states, among other points, that FNB is proud of being “a bank for all

the people of South Africa”.

Regarding the ANC, it says: “We do not support the ANC, nor do we support any political organizations or parties. We are not the ‘ANC Bank’. We are totally opposed to violence and revolution and therefore condemn terrorism and revolution.”

“We have noted the speculation that the tree of our new logo contains, among other shapes, a rabbit and that the rabbit is the emblem of a political group,” the advertisement read.

LET THERE BE PEACE

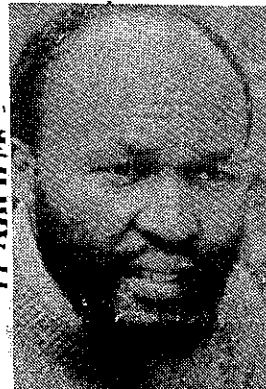
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By SELLO RABOTHATA
and NKOPANE MAKOBANE

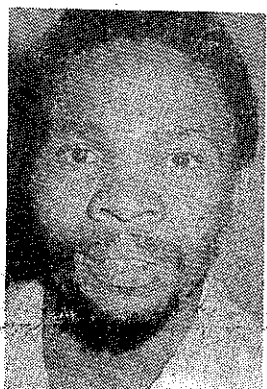
THE South African Youth Congress and the Azanian Youth Organisation have made a call to the black youth in the country to exercise the highest level of discipline and restraint and to commemorate the 11th anniversary of the June 16 unrest with the dignity it deserves.

The youth organisations' call follows similar pleas by the United Democratic Front, Congress of South African Trade Unions, National

Forum, Azanian People's Organisation, National Confederation of Trade Unions and other extra-parliamentary groupings to mark the period from last Friday (June 12) to June



MURPHY Morobe ... significant date.



MUNTU Myeza ... at service.

26 as a national two weeks of action and protest.

The Nactu, National Forum and Azapo, have called for the period June 12 to tomorrow (June 16) to be observed.

None of the political organisations have called for a stay away and the UDF said such rumours were not true and are without foundation.

Relief

The call by the two youth organisations, Sayco, a UDF affiliate, and Azayo, an Azapo youth wing, also came as a relief to thousands of workers who were earlier made to believe there would be a two week stayaway.

But, the UDF has also made it clear that "however, what our people nationwide are demanding is June 16 as a paid public holiday."

According to UDF acting publicity secretary, Mr Murphy Morobe, significant dates during the two week national action and

● To Page 4

P.T.O.

Let there be peace

● From Page 1
protest are: June 12 —
imposition of the state of
emergency; June 16 —
South African Youth
Day; June 26 —
Freedom Charter Day.
A number of com-

AP/11A

memoration services
have been planned in
various regions around
the country but the
organisations have not as
yet disclosed the venues.

The Black Sash and
the Federation of
Transvaal Women
(Fedtraw) called on the
community to wear black
armbands from last
Friday until tomorrow
(June 16) as a symbol of
mourning for the year of
the state of emergency
and to commemorate the
June 16 anniversary as
well as to show commit-
ment to justice and
peace.

The call, according to
Black Sash, has the
support of the UDF,
National Union of South
African Students, Five
Freedoms Forum, the
Soweto Civic Associa-
tion and the National
Soccer League.

The Transvaal Stu-

dents Congress and
Sayco made a special
plea to students and the
youth to support and
observe the call made by
the UDF for the people
to close ranks and regard
this period as two weeks
of national united action.

The Soweto Chamber
of Commerce also made
a call on all its members
to observe June 16 in line
with all other organisa-
tions.

Azapo yesterday
released details of
services that are to be
held tomorrow. Services
will be held at: Alexandra
— Ikage Lower Primary
School at 2pm and will be
addressed by Moloantoa
Mavi and Haroon
Patel;

Services will also be held
in other areas, according
to Azapo, but these still
have to be confirmed.

(11A) ~~2/11/87~~

'GOVT READY TO TALK'

**Botha's
man
willing
to meet
UDF**

THE Government's new constitutional negotiator, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, says he is willing to talk to the United Democratic Front and to discuss the UDF's preconditions for negotiation. He envisaged talks could include people who have been in detention.

This emerged in an interview after the reimposition of the state of emergency last week when many detainees, including prominent UDF leaders, were redetained in terms of the new emergency regulations.

Dr van der Merwe said the emergency was

aimed at ending unrest.

When the reform process was restarted, the Government would have to talk to a variety of people, including some people who had been in detention, he said.

Among prominent UDF leaders in detention is Sister Bernard Ncube of the Krugersdorp Residents' Organisation who is described as one of the 10 most influential leaders in South Africa.

Mr Archie Gumede, president of the UDF, recently gave the President's Council

a list of the preconditions to be met.

He said ANC leaders such as Nelson Mandela and Mr Oliver Tambo would have to take part in negotiations. The state of emergency would have to be lifted, the ANC unbanned, political prisoners and detainees released, troops and police withdrawn from the townships and the safe return of exiles guaranteed. In addition all discriminatory laws would have to be scrapped.

Asked to comment on Mr Gumede's list of preconditions, Dr van der Merwe said: "Each person has reasons for his preconditions.



UDF president Archie Gumede.

Soweto 15/6/87

Row over ANC ad over

THE Benoni councillor who proposed that the town withdraw its R150-million a year account from First National Bank (formerly Barclays) because of the ANC advert affair says he is satisfied with an FNB advert asserting the bank does not support the organisation.

Dr Phil Erasmus also said the town's money could now stay with

FNB. Dr Erasmus was quoted in the Afrikaans Sunday newspaper, *Rapport*, as saying the ad was a satisfactory answer.

The ad which appeared in several Sunday papers said FNB does not support the ANC or any political organisation or party — was signed by FNB managing director Chris Ball and

chairman Basil Hersov.

Dr Erasmus, underlining the importance of Mr Ball's personal involvement in drawing up and signing the ad, told *Rapport*: "There can be no doubt where Mr Ball stands (on the ANC). If anyone else had signed it (the ad), it would not have helped."

Benoni Town Council had demanded FNB repudiate Mr Ball over



MR CHRIS Ball.

the ANC adverts affair or it would withdraw the account.

Dr Erasmus also told the paper he would be telephoning Benoni's management committee on Monday to recommend the FNB stand be accepted.

"As far as I am concerned, the matter has been nicely resolved and Benoni's R150-million is safe at First National Bank." — Sapa.

MAYOR AND TOWN CLERK WARNED

THE mayor of Thokoza on the East Rand, Mr Gerald Lethebe Mamabolo (43), and the town clerk, Mrs Doris Thinane (40), were warned by a Johannesburg magistrate not to contact or communicate with State witnesses while they are out on bail.

Mr Mamabolo and Mrs Thinane appeared before Mr JJP Esterhuizen in the Johannesburg Regional Court

following the disappearance of R1,3 million from the funds of the Thokoza Town Council.

Mr Mamabolo (no fixed address), and Mrs Thinane, whose address was given as Jabulani Flats, Soweto, were not asked to plead, and the case was remanded to August 12.

Mr Mamabolo is out on R1 000 bail, and Mrs Thinane on R500 bail. — Sapa.

15/6/87

Benoni's Erasmus changes mind on FNB business

May

11A

11A

SUSAN RUSSELL

COUNCILLOR Phil Erasmus, who proposed that Benoni remove its R150m account from First National Bank (FNB), changed his mind yesterday after reading the bank's advertisement in the Sunday papers denying links with the ANC.

Erasmus said the advertisement had addressed the full spectrum of concerns, including the bank's logo and had in "no uncertain terms" rejected the ANC and terrorism.

"I can go back to the people of Benoni and assure them of the loyalty of our bank," Erasmus said.

"I intend going to the council and making a suggestion to them that I am satisfied with the assurances given by FNB and I would like to ask that this matter can be taken as settled."

Erasmus said he would be sending a letter to the town clerk this morning so the matter could be discussed at a management committee meeting tomorrow.

The advertisement, signed by FNB chairman Basil Hersov and MD Chris Ball, said: "We do not support the ANC, nor do we support any political organisation or parties. We are not the 'ANC bank'. We are totally opposed to violence and, therefore, condemn terrorism and revolution".

FNB senior GM Jimmy McKenzie said the advertisement was placed to end speculation and untruths about the bank and not intended as a response to the Benoni move.

But he hoped it would also help the council make a decision.

"We felt it was necessary in response to appeals from our branch managers in country areas where they have been picking up criticism from members of the public that FNB was the ANC bank," McKenzie said.

"We decided to help them respond to their clients and the public and to put the notice in the newspapers as an official statement from head office."

McKenzie said FNB also felt it necessary to end speculation about the "rabbit" which was said to be visible in the bank's new logo.

"There has been so much nonsense talked about the rabbit and the ANC that we thought we had to look into it."

But FNB, with the help of Dr Tom Lodge, had been unable to establish any authority for the link between the rabbit and the ANC.

"We wished to clarify the situation on the rabbit and its so-called association with the ANC."

"We also strongly deny that we have links with the ANC or any other political organisation."

McKenzie said the time had come to set it right "because we are being unfairly criticised".

There had been no more communication with the Benoni Town Council, but the FNB had written to it and was waiting to hear what it was going to do.

McKenzie hoped the council would change its mind about closing its account with FNB.

"We hope so because we have put it into perspective."

"We are a 100% South African bank and want to grow with SA."

The bank did not want to lose "old friends" with whom it had worked together for so long.

"Talking to other people, I have been delighted with the response we have had in deciding to run the advertisement," McKenzie said.

"I have been thrilled with their response to it."

"There is every chance the story will be put to rest and we can get on with our business."

Cayco granted court interdict

C.M. 7/10/76 16/6/77 (11A) 250
Supreme Court Reporter

THE Cape Youth Congress was yesterday granted an interim interdict restraining police from unlawfully entering or interfering with lawful Cayco meetings.

The interdict, which also restrains the police from assaulting or threatening to assault people at, or wanting to attend, such meetings, was granted in the Supreme Court by Mr Justice G Friedman.

The chairman of Cayco, Mr Mzwandile Xeshe, said in an affidavit that police had warned youths in KTC that they would not allow any meetings to be held in the township.

He said Cayco feared the police

would break up a meeting commemorating June 16, 1976.

Allegations in support of the urgent application were made in 11 affidavits filed yesterday.

The Minister of Law and Order and the Divisional Commissioner of Police have to show cause on August 6 why the order granted yesterday should not be made final.

They filed no opposing affidavits yesterday but an affidavit from the divisional commissioner offered an undertaking from police that Cayco declined, saying they wished to have the protection of a court order.

Mr S A Majiedt, instructed by E Moosa and Associates, appeared for Cayco. Mr W J Louw, instructed by the State Attorney, appeared for the respondents.

CPA 11075 16/6/87 (11/18/87)

Union calls for worker unity

JOHANNESBURG. — The Commercial Catering and Allied Workers' Union (Ccawusa) has called for organized workers to build a socialist programme that would unite members from rival political organizations.

More than 300 delegates to the 68 000-strong union's national congress resolved at the weekend to begin discussing the "importance of a socialist programme of action to build working-class unity regardless of political affiliation".

The congress made the decision as an alternative to adopting either the Freedom Charter, drawn up by the ANC and allied organizations in 1955, or the rival Azanian Manifesto, which was adopted in 1984 by a number of black consciousness organizations grouped in the National Forum. — Sapa

17/06/1976 16/08/87
June 16
quiet as
businesses
close all
over city

Staff Reporters

THE stayaway called by a wide range of community and union groups to commemorate the events of June 16 1976 in Soweto had a widespread response across South Africa today.

Most Soweto workers stayed home.

Industrial and commercial areas of Cape Town were quiet.

Normally bustling commercial areas such as Salt River and Woodstock were nearly deserted with dozens of businesses closed.

Both the Western Cape Traders Association and the Chamber of Muslim Meat Traders called for members to close in commemoration of the day.

At the Mowbray bus terminus peak-hour buses were less than half full and many had only a handful of passengers on board.

But a senior inspector of City Tramways said occupancy was "pretty good" earlier in the morning.

NO TAXIS

"I would say about 85 percent of our passengers arrived for work today, even though the black townships are quieter than normal," he said.

A commuter from Athlone, who declined to be named, disagreed.

"I catch a bus to work from here every morning and it is a lot quieter than normal. Only about 40 percent of the people are here today."

A taxi-driver said his business was normal, but there were no taxis from the black townships.

"They are most definitely staying away."

Buses were running on schedule, said City Tramways director Mr Francois Potgieter.

"But it's hard to say at this stage if our passenger volumes are up or down.

"One thing which is quite noticeable is that no taxis are running in certain of our operational areas."

TRAFFIC NORMAL

The lack of taxis could have an effect on the number of bus passengers, but this would take time to establish.

A tour of Cape Flats commuter routes seemed to bear out reports of almost normal traffic.

Bus services appeared to be running smoothly in the Mitchell's Plain area, with several buses carrying full loads.

In Lotus River and Grassy Park bus terminuses were quiet at 7.15 but buses appeared to be running with full loads.

Fewer taxis than usual were seen in the Lotus River area, but a steady shuttle service to Wynberg operated.

In Lansdowne industria a steady stream of workers headed for the factories. Several factories appeared to be in darkness while others were clearly operating as usual.

Athlone's central business
(Turn to Page 3, Col 4)

17/06/1976 16/08/87
Quiet as city marks June 16

(Cont. from Page 1)

district and the area around Athlone station were almost deserted and in darkness this morning.

On the Liesbeeck Parkway one placard-holder reminded motorists "Soweto 1976: The Struggle Continues".

South African Transport Services spokesman Mr Luther Diedericks said the suburban train service was not as busy as usual but trains were still "quite full".

"The situation is difficult to assess but there is at least 80 percent occupancy," he said.

There was a security presence on some stations, including Observatory and Salt River.

The stayaway was widespread in Port Elizabeth.

The chairman of the Chamber of Commerce and managing director of Port Elizabeth Tramways, Mr Carl Coetzer, said the stayaway appeared to be "about 90 percent".

NO PAY

Buses were running only to the perimeters of black townships and most were empty. No black bus drivers reported for work.

Buses to all other areas were running normally.

Some companies closed in anticipation of the stayaway.

Volkswagen in Uitenhage said it would be closing production lines in anticipation of a complete stayaway of African staff.

Most companies have adopted an attitude of "no work, no pay, no disciplinary action."

In the Transvaal Putco spokesman Mr Robin Duff said the June 16 "holiday" had been most widely observed in Soweto, where there was an almost total stayaway of its staff and about 50 buses were manned.

All Soweto businesses were shut following a call by the Greater Soweto Chamber of Commerce and Industry for traders to close.

Putco Staff turnout in the Pretoria area was estimated at between 50 and 60 percent, with about 250 buses being operated. Passenger demand was between 30 and 40 percent.

A South African Transport Services spokesman reported a more marked drop all round in train passengers.

11A
100
JUNE 16

Riding the punches

Many employers neatly side-stepped the emotive issue of June 16 by simply declaring a unilateral holiday. The day, of course, commemorates the Soweto uprising of 1976 in which more than 600 lives were lost.

Even the coloured House of Representatives decided, as a "gesture of sympathy" not to work on Tuesday. It will therefore be interesting to see how the President's Council, which is looking into the whole question of public holidays, deals with this one (see *Call for Reforms and Leaders*) especially as it falls so soon after the clutch of holidays in April and May.

Productivity, of course, is a complex subject but, according to Assocom estimates, the superficial cost of a paid public holiday, assuming it's 100% effective, is around R444m in lost emoluments and production.

According to estimates based on a survey carried out by labour lawyers Andrew Levy and Associates, about 60% of companies have conceded June 16 as a paid holiday for their workers, and more are regularly joining the list. In some cases it's treated as an additional day off, while some firms offset it against another, such as Ascension Day. This survey is based on responses from 80 major companies covering the main sectors and involves some 40 000 employees.

Further indication of sympathy with workers could be found this week in the fact that some employers booked hotel rooms *en bloc* for black employees they felt might be stranded in Johannesburg for want of transport on June 16. One hotelier says: "Both my hotels were fully booked for the nights of June 15 and 16 — mostly by companies on behalf of their black staff. I could have done with another 150 rooms, despite the fact that I increased my normal rate by R20 a night."

Based on employer telephone feedback, the Labour Monitoring Group (LMG) estimates that in the PWV area 75% of African workers in the manufacturing sector, 90% commercial and 44% in the public sector stayed away. Figures for the mining sector weren't available as the *FM* went to press, but it appeared that the stayaway on goldmines was "quite low" although higher on coalmines.

In Durban, the LMG reported a 46% stayaway for all sectors including African (55%) and Indian (22%) employees. Among coloureds and Africans in Cape Town it estimated that 43% observed June 16.

In the Port Elizabeth-Uitenhage area, seven out of 48 companies surveyed by the university's Industrial Relations Institute have conceded June 16 as a paid holiday, and two swapped it for another. The institute's Zoe Riordan says that among African workers in PE, 90% stayed away from work compared to 100% last year. Among coloured workers only 22% took the day off against 33% last year.

In Uitenhage, 98% (99% last year) of Africans stayed away as did 79% (75%) of coloureds. The lower observance figures are attributed to the State of Emergency and the detention of a number of community leaders. However, the trade unions' role seems to have been important in organising it since nearly all who *did* pitch up to work are employed at non-unionised concerns.

The Congress of SA Trade Unions, the United Democratic Front, Azapo and the SA Youth Congress all urged their supporters to mark the day with dignity and restraint. Various commemoration services had been planned in Soweto and elsewhere and, at the time of going to press, there were no reports of clashes with the police or violent protest.

A spokesman for the SA Police pointed out that public gatherings are prohibited in terms of the emergency, and that if organisations break the law "then naturally we will act. But each case will be judged on its merits." ■

17645 16/6/87

4 hurt as grenade rolls through door

Crime Reporter

FOUR people, including a four-year-old girl, were injured in a grenade attack on the Guguletu home of a community councillor.

The girl was seriously wounded but the others, including two special constables, were only slightly injured.

A spokesman for the police directorate of public relations in Pretoria said the attack happened about 8.15pm yesterday at the NY22 home of Mr. ... nis Loli.

There was a knock on the door and when the door was opened, a grenade rolled inside.

It exploded almost immediately.

Police said special constables had been guarding the house. They were slightly injured.

Mrs Miriam Loli, 46, had slight shrapnel wounds and Yvonne Loli, 4, was seriously wounded.

Police said no arrests had been made.

1170



HAND-GRENADE ATTACK . . . Mr Denys Lobi, his wife, Miriam, and their injured child, Yvon, at their home yesterday.

Five hurt in grenade attack on Guguletu home

Cape Times 17/6/87
(11A) *(11A)* *(2118)*

Staff Reporter

FIVE people were hurt when a hand-grenade was thrown at a house in Guguletu on Monday night.

The house belongs to a Guguletu community councillor, Mr Denys Lobi.

His wife and child were among the five people hurt.

Mr Lobi said yesterday that he remained undaunted and would "not be intimidated" in spite of the attack.

"I am annoyed because this is dastardly work by someone who has no value sense for human life," he said in an interview.

The attack took place about 8.30pm while the family were watching television.

There was a knock on the door and when it was answered an old man stood outside. Someone stood behind him, Mr Lobi said.

"Something rolled into the lounge and the next minute there was a blast. Nobody knew what was going on because of the noise."

Mr Lobi said his four-year-old daughter, Yvon, who was sitting on a neighbour's lap, started crying. She was wounded in the cheek, neck and right leg. His wife, Mrs Miriam Lobi, who was in the kitchen, was also wounded

in the cheek when she ran from the kitchen into the lounge when the blast occurred.

Mrs Lobi dragged her daughter through the back door to safety and neighbours took them to a nearby doctor, who took them home after treatment.

Two special constable guards, who were watching television at the time, were slightly hurt. They ran outside but could not see anyone who could have thrown the grenade, Mr Lobi said.

An ambulance later took Mrs Lobi, Yvon and the old man to Victoria Hospital, from where they were later discharged. The special constables were taken to Wynberg Military Hospital where they are in a satisfactory condition.

Damage to the house was still visible yesterday. Two large shatter-proof windows, which were protected by burglar bars, were blown out in the explosion.

Inside the house two chandeliers were damaged, a television set was destroyed and a wall was cracked. Pieces of shrapnel were still visible in the ceiling, which had started to sag, and the walls were pock-marked. A hole was ripped out of the floor where the grenade exploded.

CNA- TIMES 17/6/87

Demos march on SA mission in Zimbabwe

From MICHAEL HARTNACK

HARARE. — The South African trade mission here yesterday became the target for an anti-apartheid demonstration as hundreds of South African exiles and local sympathizers marched on it to commemorate the 1976 Soweto riots.

The protest passed off peacefully, but the attention drawn to the presence of the traditionally low-key South African diplomatic personnel here revived doubts about their future.

The chairman of Zimbabwe's Roman Catholic Bishops' Conference, Bishop Oliver Mutume of Mutare, conducted a service organized by the Zimbabwe Christian Council outside the seven-storey office block which houses the mission. Only three blocks away, in the same street, are the still unrepaired offices occupied by the African National Congress till a SADF raid on May 19 1986.

A strong force of uniformed Zimbabwean police blocked the doors leading to the South African mission, evidently fearing a repeat of last October's rampage, when University of Zimbabwe students stoned the building, to-

gether with the American Embassy, the Malawian High Commission, Air Malawi and South African Airways following the air-crash death of President Samora Machel of Mozambique.

For nearly an hour yesterday's demonstrators prayed and sang hymns and ANC "liberation songs". They mimed the massacre of African workers by South African security forces before an enthusiastic crowd of Zimbabwean office workers enjoying their lunch-time break.

Among some 20 African, coloured and white children, brought to the forefront to symbolize the pupils killed in Soweto, was five-year-old Timmy Mandela, a relative of the imprisoned ANC leader.

A collection was taken for the children of Mrs Tsitsi Chilisa, a Zimbabwean woman killed last month when a television set packed with explosives blew up in her Harare home. The Prime Minister, Mr Robert Mugabe, claimed South African agents had intended the device to kill local ANC representative Mr Reddy Mazimba.

ANC sources confirmed yesterday that the dead woman's husband, Mr Frank Chilisa, detained by Zimbabwean security police following his wife's murder, has now been freed.

Cape Times 17/6/87

Thousands at peaceful June 16 meetings

By CLARE HARPER and RONNIE MORRIS

THOUSANDS of people throughout the Peninsula yesterday attended rallies and prayer services peacefully commemorating the 11th anniversary of the 1976 Soweto uprisings.

At the Anglican Church in Bonteheuwel, a speaker told the 800-strong meeting that "our apparent silence today must not be misunderstood, our minds and hearts go back 11 years to Wednesday June 16".

"Thousands of schoolchildren poured out of schools on to the streets of Soweto in peaceful protest... the response of the SA Police is now part of history — a history not be forgotten," he said.

"A young boy, Hector Peterson, was never seen alive again. He was gunned down, picked up by Boyisa Makubu, who carried Hector in his arms with his teenage sister Tina walking at his side — it is a picture apartheid South Africa will never be allowed to forget," he said.

The clergymen paid tribute to "fallen martyrs, particularly our courageous youth and those in prison and detention".

The main speaker, Dr Charles Villa-Vicencio of the University of Cape Town's department of religious studies, said the government in South Africa was "morally and theologically illegitimate".

"Those rulers whom we are called to obey in the Scriptures are God's servants for our good. Any ruler who is not God's servant is not worthy of our obedience," Dr Villa-Vicencio said.

The 700 people killed in the events that followed the 1976 Soweto massacre and the subsequent countless acts of police violence, could lead us to no other conclusion than that they were "not God's servants for the good of the people", he said.

"Both theology and politics tell us that the God-given will to be free cannot and will not be repressed forever. History teaches us the oppressed have an unquestionable right to be free."

Dr Villa-Vicencio concluded by saying that no dictatorship lasted forever:

"I say to Mr P W Botha (the State President) watch therefore, you do not know when the master of the house will come."

□ At St Francis Hall, Langa, more than 200 people attended a Cape Youth Congress (Cayco) rally commemorating the anniversary of June 16. The meeting proceeded without incident and police kept a low profile, according to audience members.

□ About 400 people attended a prayer meeting at the Presbyterian Church in Guguletu.

PC report looks at social affairs

Politicising of young blacks 'frightening'

Political Correspondent
CAPE TOWN — Politicising of young black people within organisations "is taking on frightening dimensions", according to a President's Council report tabled today.

And, it adds, a reliable observer has stated that there are signs of an underground Press in urban areas and that ANC pamphlets are widely read.

The comments are found in a report of the Committee for Social

Affairs report on "Youth in South Africa".

Discussing political trends in South Africa, it says there is a "clearly perceivable and rightful urge to meaningful participation" in the political process by young blacks.

It adds that the first basic cause of the high level of political awareness should be sought in "a normal process of political awakening and a growing national awareness that in itself is not

wrong".

The report states that the dissatisfaction, particularly among black, can be largely attributed to the fact that they are not involved in the decision-making processes.

"There is therefore a perception on the part of many black and also some coloured and Indian young people that they are placed in an inferior position and wronged by the social order

The committee recom-

mends that constitutional reform should continue in order to grant all South African citizens political rights.

The report says that the second perceivable influence is communism, "which on the surface is aimed at a black-white confrontation, which encourages acts of violence and, in line with its methods elsewhere in the world, involves young people in the revolutionary onslaught".

Double attack on councillor

CAT Times 17/6/87 (114) (114) (114)

Staff Reporter

THE home of a Guguletu community councillor, Mr Denys Lobi, was last night attacked for the second time in 24 hours when a hand-grenade was thrown, a spokesman for the Police Public Relations Division confirmed in Pretoria.

The spokesman said a petrol bomb had also been hurled at the NY 72 home shortly before 8pm and damage was "slight". No one was injured, he said.

In the first attack about 8.30pm on Monday, Mr Lobi's wife, Miriam, their four-year old daughter, Yvon, and two special constables were injured by shrapnel when a grenade was rolled into the house.

The police spokesman said windows were broken in last night's attack and the councillor's car was damaged.

Elaborating in a telephone interview last night, Mr Lobi, 56, said special constables exchanged gunfire with a mob of youths responsible for the attack. A mob of "about 200" youths shouting slogans stopped outside his home just before 8 last night.

"We heard a bang. The curtains at the front started to burn and at the same time we heard shots. The special constables in my house fired back and the mob ran off down another street," Mr Lobi said.

Mr Lobi said that no sooner had he managed to extinguish the curtain blaze, when he heard another bang at the back of his house which he later established was a hand-grenade explosion.

□ Grenade attack on home — Page 3

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From Page 1

Attack

The grenade had exploded under his car, rupturing the petrol tank and two rear tyres, Mr Lobi said.

Seconds later more shots rang out from the direction of the mob and the special constable guards again returned the fire before a riot squad unit arrived, sending the youths scattering.

Mr Lobi said his special-constable guards had each fired "about five shots".

His daughter had been most upset by the explosions, but he had managed to placate both her and his wife by his "calm manner".

Mr Lobi, who was first elected as a councillor in 1983, attributed the attack to "jealousy because I do a lot for these children and their families. They've allowed themselves to be ruined by enmity, because I'm able to do these things for them", he said.

Mr Lobi said it was the sixth attack on his home since March 4, 1986.

"I'm made of steel. Nothing shocks me any more."

A spokesman for the Police Public Relations Division in Pretoria said that shortly before 8pm a petrol bomb was thrown at the front of a councillor's home in NY 72, Guguletu, and a hand-grenade was thrown at the back of the house.

Windows had been broken and the car slightly damaged.

"A tyre was burnt and the petrol tank was damaged by shrapnel," he said.

He "understood" that the councillor was at home at the time of the attack, the spokesman said.

Cape Times 11/11/87 111A

Labour must use its inside clout, or leave Parliament

A TORRENT of anger, bitterness and defiance swept the House of Representatives last week as emotional MPs laid into the government over the legacy of hate and injustice spawned by its love-child, the Group Areas Act.



Midweek Politics
By ANTHONY JOHNSON

Not even orders by the Speaker, Mr Louis le Grange, that words describing the law as "immoral, unchristian, nasty, dirty, foul and squalid" be withdrawn, could disguise MPs' feelings of naked contempt towards the apartheid statute.

And Labour Party leader Mr Allan Hendrickse — who later questioned the Speaker's ruling and repeated some of the offending epithets — interjected at the time: "But that's how we feel."

The minister chiefly responsible for enforcing the hated Act, Mr Chris Heunis, was noticeably absent from the chamber during the debate. Filling in as government lightning rod was the minister's deputy, Mr Piet Badenhorst, who observed rather obviously amid a hail of interjections that members had used the debate "to clear their hearts".

Given the LP's performance during the debate, the question inevitably arises as to why this party supported the National Party hierarchy's move last year to shelve the President Council's report on the Group Areas Act.

The question is made all the more intriguing since the report apparently called for a significant softening of racial zoning measures, including a system of local option that could have paved the way for a number of "grey areas" in the larger cities.

Some LP sources ascribe the party's decision to vote with the government in delaying the report as a "technical blunder" — but this can hardly be taken seriously given the pivotal nature of the issue.

Among the reasons for the party's inconsistency on this cornerstone of apartheid is clearly that not all its MPs are committed with the same vigour to the scrapping of the Group Areas Act. This can be ascribed to a number of factors:

First, a scrapping of the Act could have serious financial implications for LP members who own property in residential areas currently designated coloured.

The artificially inflated residential property market in coloured areas is expected to suffer a significant drop-off if and when people living in these areas are allowed freely to seek homes in white areas.

Second, while the Act clearly discriminates against people designated coloured, the government's racial

pecking order allows coloureds to carry the day against blacks when it comes to competition for scarce resources like desirably placed land.

Perhaps this is why the appeals by black Lawaakamp residents near George for the LP's Local and Housing Minister, Mr David Curry, to intervene to save their community from a Group Areas forced removal fell on deaf ears.

Third, the maintenance of existing Group Areas and the establishment of new ones, fits in with the grand plan for ethnic local authorities that will accord formal status to "system" politicians locked in heavy competition for legitimacy and economic power with extra-parliamentary rivals.

In particular, it will give those who play the ethnic game considerable power selectively to dispense and withhold patronage in areas such as housing and education.

Fourth, the ambiguous approach towards Group Areas also arises because the LP has been compromised by its entry into tricameral system, particularly the inclusion of Mr Allan Hendrickse in Cabinet.

Fifth, some LP MPs appear to have qualms about the outright scrapping of the Act for ideological reasons. Fears of consequences of non-racialism and a persistent "coloured nationalism" are some of the reasons cited by MPs who recently broke away from the LP to form the Democratic Party.

Following a strategy of pandering to coloured nationalist sentiments and falling in line with the government's ethnic designs, will probably make the white bosses more amenable to giving the LP a bigger slice of the cake to divide up among the coloured community.

But unless the LP escapes from the conflicting binds of being both part of government (and its ideological master-plan) and part of the anti-apartheid opposition forces, it will remain politically hamstrung.

The LP should get out of the Cabinet and start using the advantage of its massive majority in the House of Representatives to make government jump through non-racial hoops at every conceivable turn.

If this does not work then at least the LP can honestly tell its extra-parliamentary foes that it tried to destroy apartheid from within but failed.

If it comes to this, there will be only one course open to the LP — to get out.

Stayaway varies in Peninsula

CAT Times 17/6/87

11/11/87



PRAYER SERVICE... Part of the crowd of 800 at a service in commemoration of the 11th anniversary of the June 16 Soweto shootings, varied between 12% and 40%. The service was held at the Anglican church in Bonteheuwel.

ESTIMATES of the extent to which Cape Town workers stayed home yesterday, to commemorate the 11th anniversary of the June 16 Soweto shootings, varied between 12% and 40%.

Shops in the major part of the Peninsula — Rylands, Athlone, Nyanga, Langa, Guguletu, Bridgetown, Silverton, Mitchells Plain, Manenberg, Heideveld and Bontsheuwel — were closed and the streets almost deserted.

But the stayaway was most marked in the PWV area and in the Eastern Cape.

High police profile

Fears of violence and clashes between police and township youths proved unfounded, although police maintained a high profile in townships around the country.

An SAP spokesman said there had been virtually no unrest and police had had to contend with a "a number of isolated cases of stone throwing".

The overall stayaway figure for Cape Town yesterday was 40% of black and coloured workers, according to the Cape Town branch of the Labour Monitor Group, which is run mostly by academics and independent of both unions and management.

Dr Johan Maree, co-ordinator for the Cape Town group, said last night that the study was based on a random sample of companies who were telephoned throughout the day.

He said that of the 40%, 75% were black workers and 30% coloured. The discrepancy in the percentage figures reflected the fact that there was a greater proportion of coloured workers in the Western Cape work force.

Of the companies surveyed who had a Cosatu-unionized workforce, the stayaway rate was a higher 56% (88% black and 46% coloured).

Mr Colin McCarthy, a director of the Cape Town Chamber of Industries, said he estimated that the stayaway figure was "around 12%, much

□ Thousands at meetings — Page 3
□ Leading article — Page 12

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CAT Times 17/6/87

Stayaway

11/11/87

the same as in previous years".

The clothing industry had barely been affected at all, he said, but some industries heavily reliant on black workers experienced a stayaway of up to 60%.

Negotiations had taken place before June 16, he said, and he knew of at least one industry which had agreed to close for the day.

The monitoring group said that in the PWV area 75% of workers in manufacturing, 90% in commerce and 44% in the public sector stayed away.

In the Eastern Cape only 7% of black workers reported for work while 65% of coloured employees worked.

Natal was less affected with some firms reporting absenteeism rates of less than 50% in most sectors. The Free State and the mining sector were virtually unaffected.

In spite of there having been no official calls for a stayaway, labour observers emphasized

that June 16 had in effect become a national public holiday. Employers and government would come under intensifying pressure to make it a paid day off, they said.

Neither the Congress of SA Trade Unions (Cosatu) nor the United Democratic Front (UDF) had called for a stayaway, recommending instead the day be observed "with the dignity it deserves".

Mr Luther Diedericks, a spokesman for South African Transport Services, said he "guessed" that, in general, trains ran at 80% of their usual passenger levels yesterday.

A director of City Tramways, Mr Francois Potgieter, said there were noticeably fewer passengers on buses yesterday, but he would not quantify this.

□ In London, police yesterday arrested 28 people out of 100 demonstrating outside the South African Embassy. — Staff Reporter, Own Correspondents and Sapa

17/6/87

CAPE TIMES

Boesak
West
doesn't
give
a damn

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Britain backs UDF call, says envoy

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The outgoing British ambassador, Sir Patrick Moberley, said here yesterday that the British government agreed with the call by the United Democratic Front for a free, non-racial, democratic country.

However, Sir Patrick, speaking to the South African Institute of International Affairs, indicated that the British government did not support a one-man, one-vote system in a unitary South Africa.

He said the British government wished to see universal suffrage as a basic moral and democratic right for all.

"We have never attempted to say how it should be applied in the particular circumstances of South Africa," he said.

He said it did not necessarily follow that the British government expected the Westminster system to be adopted in all its details in other countries.

"Democracy and universal suffrage can be practised in many ways. We recognize the need for safeguards within any system which may suit the needs of a particular country."

Sir Patrick said the British government continued to call not only for an end to discrimination based on race and colour but for political rights to be extended to all South Africans.

The British government wanted to see the future of this country settled by negotiation between the South African government and freely chosen leaders of the black community.

"To talk to co-opted leaders would not be enough."

He said one reason why reforms over the past few years had not changed the perceptions of blacks was that the changes were felt to have come from above rather than emerging from deliberations.

"But in any case the reforms already tackled are only part of the problem.

"In the townships men, women and children still face many obstacles stemming for instance from the long-term effects of the Group Areas Act.

"Equally there is disappointment that a process of real dialogue, which we all wish to see, has yet to get off the ground."

STOCKHOLM. — Dr Allan Boesak said here yesterday that most Western nations did not "give a damn" about the plight of blacks in South Africa and would only start caring when white children were killed on the streets.

Dr Boesak criticized the West for ignoring deteriorating conditions for black people in South Africa under the state of emergency.

"I don't think that most of the Western countries in the international community give a damn about our children," Dr Boesak said. He is visiting Sweden at the invitation of Prime Minister, Mr Ingvar Carlsson.

Yesterday he addressed a news conference to mark the 11th anniversary of the Soweto uprising.

Sweden, one of the world's most outspoken critics of South Africa, has declared unilateral trade sanctions against the Republic. Firms have till November to sell their assets. — Sapa-Reuter

Belt-up call

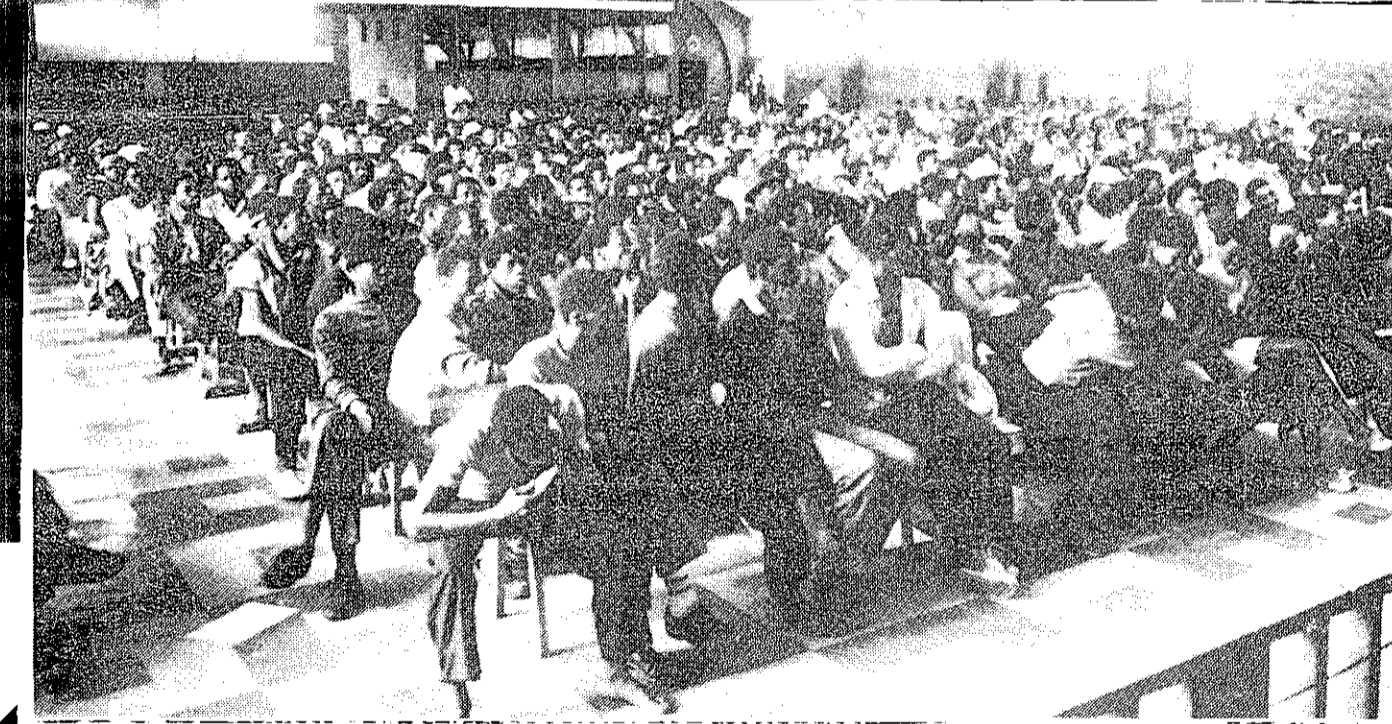
DURBAN. — Callers reporting drivers not wearing seatbelts have swamped the National Road Safety Council since the council's appeal to the public to report motorists not wearing belts. So far letters to owners of more than 12 000 registration numbers have been sent. — Own Correspondent



June 16 - A day of dignity



TOP LEFT: Azapo members during a lively moment at the Regina Mundi commemoration. **Above:** Mr Sam Mabe, chairman of the Johannesburg region of Mwasu, addresses a service at Regina Mundi Church in Rockville, Soweto, yesterday. **Left:** Hundreds of people attended a June 16 commemoration service at Regina Mundi Church in Rockville, Soweto, yesterday. **Below:** Four members of Fedtraw: Mrs Pauline Molosi, mother of executed guerilla Benjamin; Mrs June Mlangeni chairperson of Fedtraw; Mrs Albertinah Sisulu, one of the presidents; and Mrs Dudu Chili, an executive member of the organisation. The four paid tribute to Hector Petersen, first victim of the June 16 unrest, over his grave at Avalon cemetery yesterday.
Pics by Affrapix



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Mr Franklin, Sonn

12645 17/6/87
**Let blacks
choose a
leader in
referendum
— teachers**

By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Education Reporter

THE Cape Teachers' Professional Association (CTPA) has called on the Government to allow blacks to choose a leader in a referendum and to immediately start free and open negotiations without preconditions with that leader.

The president of the CTPA, Mr Franklin Sonn, said these negotiations could start only once all banned organisations were unbanned, exiles allowed to return home and detainees released.

The call was because the CTPA wanted peace "in our lifetime" and in the interest of all South Africans, Mr Sonn said in his presidential address at the CTPA's 20th annual conference in Port Elizabeth last night.

South Africa could not continue to live under a permanent state of emergency and negotiations with elected leaders on the future of the country were inevitable, he said.

COMMITTED TO SA

The CTPA was committed to South Africa and believed in the country and its future.

"We believe that all South Africans can live together under a non-racial banner," Mr Sonn said.

"We believe that in an open society South Africans will all participate in the development of their country and we would have freed ourselves of the nagging and worrying thought that somewhere in the future disaster may be awaiting us."

Apartheid had had its chance and had been a miserable disaster. But apartheid was still moving forward on crippled legs to institute constitutional options which few people believed could work.

A state of military siege was sapping and debilitating, he said.

PLEA TO WHITES

"It is not the kind of environment in which developmental activities like education can flourish. In fact, the pressures make education tortuous and at times well-nigh impossible."

Mr Sonn appealed to white South Africans to take bold initiatives to match the demands of the time.

"There may be people who say that the CPTA has gone too far this time.

"Our answer is simply that the times we live in demand that we say in a spirit of goodwill what others feel but are reluctant to articulate."

The CTPA represented a group which formed part of the extra-parliamentary movement, he said.

"We must not lose sight of this. The CTPA must articulate the wishes and desires of its constituency so that others understand them."

● See Page 2.

CITY/NATIONAL

40pc stayaway in Peninsula

Labour Reporter

ABOUT 40 percent of Cape Town's workforce stayed away to observe Soweto Day, according to the independent Labour Monitoring Group.

Shops over a large area of the Peninsula were closed in response to calls from the Western Cape Traders Association and the Chamber of Muslim Meat Traders.

In the Cape Flats, shopping areas were almost deserted and Salt River and Woodstock were considerably quieter than usual.

In other parts of the country the stayaway was much higher.

Estimates by the monitoring group — an academic group independent of unions and management — were that about 70 percent of black, coloured and Indian workers were absent yesterday.

The highest stayaway was in the Port Elizabeth-Uitenhage area, where about 93 percent of black and 35 percent of coloured workers were absent.

90 percent

In the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging region the black stayaway in the commercial sector was about 90 percent and in the manufacturing sector about 75 percent.

The Durban region had a stayaway rate of about 46 percent.

The monitoring group estimated that of the 40 percent who stayed away in the Cape Town area about 75 percent were black and about 30 percent coloured.

Companies organised by affiliates of the Congress of South African Trade Unions had a stayaway rate of about 56 percent.

The Argus Correspondent in East London reports that the vast majority of black workers in the area stayed at home.

The president of the East London Chamber of Commerce, Mr Nico Cloete, said that about 80 percent of workers in the central business district stayed away, with similar absenteeism figures reported in industry.

17/6/87 (11A) B/Day

June 16 commemorated peacefully

WORKERS stayed away in their hundreds of thousands yesterday, heeding calls by community organisations to commemorate peacefully the 11th anniversary of the June 16 uprising.

Fears of violence and clashes between

- Picture — Page 2
- Comment — Page 4

police and township youths failed to materialise. Police maintained a high profile in townships countrywide.

An SAP spokesman said there had

PATRICK BULGER

been virtually no unrest and police had had to contend with a "a number of isolated cases of stone throwing".

In White City Jabavu, Soweto, police with sjamboks dispersed a group of youths singing freedom songs.

In spite of no official calls for a stayaway, labour observers stressed June 16 had, in effect, become a public holiday.

Neither Cosatu nor the UDF had called for a stayaway, but recommended ob-

serving the day "with the dignity it deserves".

A spokesman for Assocorn said a June 16 stayaway had become so widely accepted, it made little sense to monitor its extent. He stressed that in many cases unions and employers had come to prior agreements on June 16.

In the Eastern Cape only 7% of black workers reported for work, while 65% of coloured employees worked.

The Cape Peninsula and Natal were less affected.

LEGAL experts have ruled out a possible clash between emergency regulations and an Industrial Court ruling that workers taking part in stayaways are not acting illegally as long as they do not make political or industrial demands.

And Times Media attorney David Hoffe said emergency regulations aimed at curbing the reporting of stayaways, such as yesterday's 11th anniversary of the Soweto riots, were not applicable.

He said the media could report on commemorative stayaways without violating the curbs.

Hoffe said: "The emergency regulations prohibit news and comment on the extent of unlawful stayaways or strikes."

"But the Industrial Court ruled in a separate finding last week that stayaways not coupled with a political or industrial demand are not unlawful."

He said, however, that a UDF pam-

Legal clash seems unlikely on stayaways

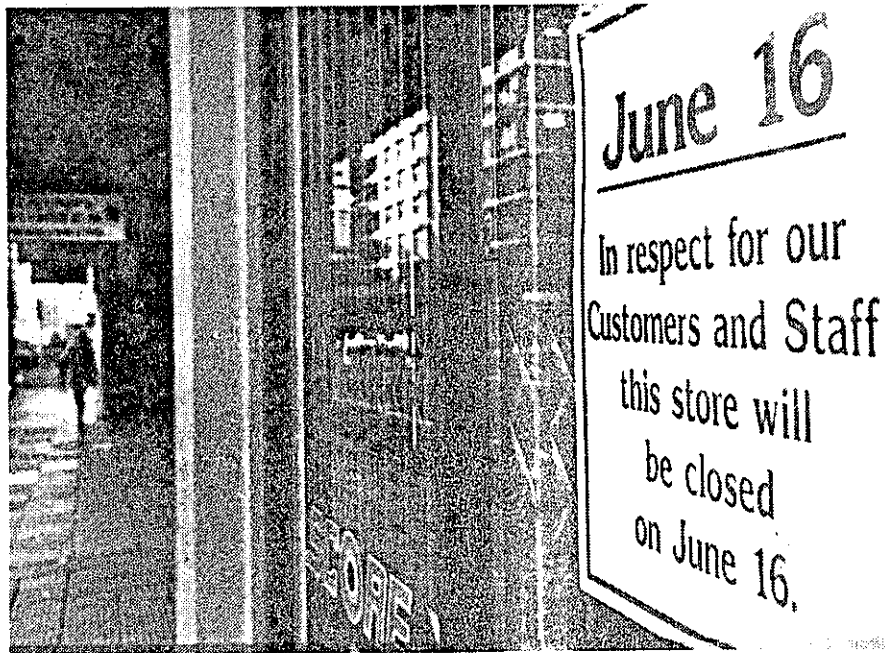
HAMISH McINDOE

phlet calling for June 16 to be declared a public holiday was "possibly unlawful" in terms of emergency regulations.

"Here, a direct political demand is being made."

The Industrial Court judgment followed Clover NCD's application last week for an interdict against the Food and Allied Workers' Union (Fawu) to prevent it calling on members working for the dairy to observe yesterday's stayaway.

Clover NCD was not granted its interdict on grounds that Fawu was not making any political or industrial demand.



Kerk Street, central Johannesburg, was virtually deserted yesterday as black workers stayed at home to honour the 11th anniversary of the June 16 Soweto uprising.

Picture: Philip Littleton

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ARGUS 17/6/87 (11A)

METROPOLITAN

June 16 1976 a turning point for SA, says lawyer

Staff Reporter

THE rulers of South Africa were morally and theologically illegitimate, a Western Province Council of Churches service commemorating June 16 was told.

Professor Charles Villa-Vicencio, professor of religious studies at the University of Cape Town, was speaking at the Church of the Resurrection in Bonteheuwel last night.

He said a succession of tyrants had placed a distorted emphasis on the injunction in Romans 13 that "everyone must obey the State authorities" because they failed to read it with the companion verse which outlined the kind of ruler people were required to obey.

Someone placed in office should be "God's servant for your good" and it was simple logic that any ruler who did not fulfil that condition was not of God and not necessarily worthy of obedience.



Professor Villa-Vicencio

"The problem is that the rulers of this country are the very source of fear for little children who are thrown into prison, old women and men who are ruthlessly oppressed and people of conscience and moral conviction persecuted for daring to do good," said Professor Villa-Vicencio.

"A government which is responsible for this kind of repression of the normal aspirations of people to be free and to know justice is simply not 'God's servant for our good'," he said.

Mr Dullah Omar, president of the Democratic Lawyers' Association, said that on June 16 1976 South Africa reached a decisive turning-point in its history.

The uprising started in Soweto and spread until it engulfed the whole country and, by firing the first shot, the South African regime signalled it had suffered a major defeat and lost the battle for the hearts and minds of the people.

Professor De Gruchy, professor of Christian studies at the University of Cape Town, told a congregation of about 300 that any reconciliation would be costly because it would be possible only once people "overcome themselves and live for others, make friends of enemies and share the resources of the country".

The Government was illegitimate in the eyes of black people because it did not represent their interests and the only future was if "all of us come together".

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BC Creed not only

for Azapo members

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31/8/81

BLACK consciousness is a movement which can be adopted and used by any organisation, the Rev Tebogo Jeff Moselane said yesterday.

Mr Moselane said it does not mean if a person is an adherent of BC he is therefore an Azapo member.

He said this under cross examination by State advocate Mr P B J Jacobs in the Delmas treason trial.

This was after Mr Jacobs had put it to Mr Moselane that he was a central figure at an anti-racist meeting held at St. Cyprian's Anglican Church on August 19, 1984, in Sharpeville, and that Mr Moselane believes in BC.

The meeting, it was said, was addressed by among others a fellow accused, Mr Tom Manthata who attended at the invitation by Mr Moselane.

Another accused Mr Patrick Baleka, who was introduced at the meeting as an interim member of the Azanian National Youth Unity (Azanyu), also addressed the meeting. A former Azapo branch chairman in the Vaal and also an accused in the marathon trial, Mr Oupa Hlomuka, was among the speakers at the meeting.

Under cross examination, Mr Moselane said

Priest tells Delmas trial

By ALI MPHAKI

he did not know if a person from Soweto was involved in any way with the issues of the Lekoa townships. The State advocate had put it to him that Mr Moselane would agree with him that a person from Soweto was not involved in any way with Lekoa issues.

"Even if Mr Manthata was invited by you at this meeting he had nothing to do with the rent increase in the Vaal," Mr Jacobs said.

The court earlier heard that Mr Baleka, accused number one, introduced himself to Mr Peter Hlubi who was chairing the meeting and requested to be given a chance to speak. Mr Moselane said Baleka wrote his name on a piece of paper which included his particulars and gave it to Mr Hlubi.

The State advocate, when asking Mr Moselane if he could explain why he allowed a man from Soweto to participate in their meeting, Mr Moselane replied: "I did not know where he came from. I only knew him as my fellow accused that he was from Soweto."

The trial involves 19 men, including UDF leaders such as Mr Terror Lekota, Mr Popo Molefe and Mr Moss Chikane. All have pleaded not guilty to the main charge of treason, alternatively subversion, terrorism and murder.

Five of the men were each granted bail of R15 000 but with stringent conditions among others that they should not visit any of the Vaal townships and that they submit their travelling documents and report twice a day at a police station.

Youths tell of cell beatings

CAPE Youth Congress members have alleged brutal beatings and sexual harassment by special constables who, they claim, held them for several hours at Nyanga police station after breaking up a Cayco meeting in a house in the KTC squatter settlement.

The allegations are contained in 11 affidavits filed in the Cape Town Supreme Court this week. Cayco won an application for an interim interdict restraining police from interfering with a planned June 16 commemorative meeting, and from assaulting or threatening anyone present or who wished to attend. The affidavits were not opposed by the respondents, the minister of law and order and the divisional commissioner of police.

The affidavits deal with a Cayco meeting on May 28 and allege that *kitskonstabels* (special constables) forcibly disrupted it with rifle butts and batons. Cayco members were taken to "a big room" at Nyanga police station where they were again assaulted before being taken, one by one, to cells where they were interrogated and further assaulted.

Wellington Jakeni, in his affidavit, said: "I was taken into a darkened cell where I was repeatedly assaulted. I was punched on the ears and in my face and was kicked in my private parts and on the left shin."

Cayco executive member Nontsikelo Kalolo, 17, said a special constable promised her she would be released if she had sexual intercourse with him. "I refused his promise but this angered him and he then forcefully touched my breasts and private parts ..." She said she was taken to a room and was kicked, punched and hit with rifle butts, belts and batons. A white policeman ordered the *kitskonstabels* to stop assaulting her.

Timothy Mfotulo said two white policemen and several *kitskonstabels* told him to remove his clothes and sit on the floor. "My hands and ankles were tied together. Thereafter, one

11A By GAYE DAVIS, "Cape Town"

special constable at a time came up to me and assaulted me with the butt of his rifle and kicked me".

Patrick Zolani, 19, alleged he was punched and kicked before being put in a metal box about a metre high. He said two white policemen and four *kitskonstabels* were present and he spent "a long time" in the box while being interrogated about "comrades". When he was taken out, a *kitskonstabel* hit him with a sjambok, he said.

Cayco chair Mzwandile Xeshe said in his affidavit that two previous Cayco meetings had been broken up by *kitskonstabels*, who, along with the police, had been warning KTC youths that they would not be allowed to hold meetings.

W/Mail
18-25/6/87

JUNE 16

Salute

the youth



THE march of the youth seems unstoppable. In the 11 years since 1976, the mobilisation of young people in communities, universities and schools throughout the country has continued undeterred by bannings, detention and relentless State repression. The recent secret launch of the giant SAYCO (South African Youth Congress), at the height of the last State of Emergency, was again an indication that the march of the youth cannot be stopped.

By MOIRA LEVY

THE Sunday afternoon meeting on June 13 eleven years ago, where student leaders from Soweto schools met to elect an ad hoc action committee to plan a protest march against Afrikaans in Bantu Education schools, was orderly and calm.

Possibly no-one was more taken aback by the surge of anger and militancy of Soweto students three days later than their own leaders who had gathered in that room.

What had originally been intended as a peaceful and disciplined march from 12 different points in Soweto to the Orlando Stadium — organised by the South African Students Movement (SASM) Action Committee — turned into a powerful uprising that in a sense left its leadership way behind.

That fateful day when police shot into the crowd of peaceful marchers and the students retaliated with

stones, bottles, bricks and anything else that came to hand marked a turning point in the history of South African protest. It also marked an irreversible and dramatic change in the style of student politics.

Student organisation has come a long way since then.

SASM leadership at that time was a small band of individuals who battled to interest their fellow students in political gatherings or discussions groups.

SASM worked closely with the South African Students Organisation (Saso) and the Black Peoples' Convention (BPC) at a time when the Black Consciousness movement was at its peak.

The Soweto Students Representative Council (SSRC) formed early in August provided a lead not only for the students, but at times for the community as

a whole.

The four stayaways called by the students in the second half of that year were their first attempts to gain the support of their parents and the earliest signs of students' identifying with community and worker issues.

Pamphlets extolling "Worker Power" were distributed by the students and they worked closely with the Black Parents Association (BPA) which represented leading figures in the communities.

The students were able to play a catalyst role in the community; they led a successful challenge to proposed rent increases in April 1977 and succeeded in getting the State-run Urban Bantu Council to resign.

But on the whole their intervention in the community was uneven.

The Mzimhlope Hostel incident in Soweto, in which migrant workers came out violently against a stayaway call and clashed

with students monitoring township exits, demonstrated just how far the students still had to go in mobilising worker support.

And end of year campaigns calls for a black Christmas, the closure of shebeens and a boycott of white shops did little to make the SSRC popular in the townships.

By the time the State clamped down with the bannings of several organisations on October 19, including the SSRC, the SASM and SASO, student leadership was already moving into a new phase of protest.

Many students left the country at that time to join Umkhonto we Sizwe, the armed wing of the African National Congress, among them SSRC leader Khotso Seatholo.

Others were arrested and tried for sedition. Many spent years on Robben Island where they came into contact with political leaders from the 1950s like Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and Govan Mbeki.

Out of a reassessment in June 1979, the Congress of South African Students (Cosas) was born. The Azanian Students' Organisation (Azaso) was formed in November.

The formation of these two groups marked a turning point in the thinking of the student movement with the endorsement of the Freedom Charter.

From the beginning of the 1980s students in these organisations committed themselves to the principles of a nonracial and democratic struggle, led by

workers.

By 1983 Cosas and Azaso were sharing platforms with the National Union of South African Students (Nusas) in a demonstration of nonracialism.

And in 1983, the year in which the UDF was launched and the tricameral parliament was formed leading to unprecedented protest action, Cosas activity surged with more than 10 000 students countrywide participating in class boycotts.

Student protest peaked in 1985 with boycotts around the country and street clashes with SAP and SADF.

The State's banning of Cosas in August that year did little to dampen student militancy.

The largely spontaneous student uprising of 1976 had given way just over a decade later to student organisation that has deep roots at rank and file level.

And it is based on clearly articulated political programmes that have emerged out of the students' efforts to educate and conscientise themselves.

The recent launch of the South African Youth Congress (Sayco) and the South African National Students Congress (Sansco) are evidence of this.

Sayco, launched in secret in Cape Town at the height of the last State of Emergency, demonstrated a discipline and resourcefulness within the student movement that has been built over the years.

His picture became 'symbol of Soweto'

YOU will find him in the bottle store in the Mhala district of Gazankulu.

Former colleagues might be a little surprised to hear that award-winning South African photographer Sam Nzima has given up his cameras in favour of a seemingly successful liquor business out "in the sticks".

He also founded the Phalalani Relief Committee which is rendering invaluable assistance to thousands of Mozambican refugees who have fled the Renamo war in their own country.

It was his internationally acclaimed photograph of young Hector Peterson (above) that symbolised the 1976 Soweto uprising. Sam was on the spot the day the boy was shot in the head by riot police in Soweto.

"I remember the day like it was yesterday," he said.

"How can I ever forget. I saw it all happening and I saw this weeping youth carrying the body of a young boy".

Nzima's photograph of the pathetic incident made world news.

The Johannesburg newspaper he was working for at the time sold the rights to a news agent who distributed the shot all over the world.

Each year the picture is redistributed and published to commemorate June 16.

Nzima never received a cent of the royalties.

"I could have been a wealthy man today, but then maybe I would not have wound up back here helping people," he said.

Mzima's life was now fully integrated with that of the refugees. "I consider it God's will that I ended up in Gazankulu", he said.



Sam Nzima

Whole page
11A



11 years on: Educa

By EDYTH BULBRING

IT IS 11 years since pupils in Soweto took to the streets in protest against the enforced use of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in schools.

This issue which sparked off resistance countrywide lasted throughout 1977 and culminated in the banning of the South African Students Organisation (SASO), the South African Students Movement (SASM), and 19 other organisations in October.

In 1980, class boycotts in the Western Cape in protest against "gutter education" spread nationally, affecting at least 140 000 students. Short-term demands for adequate educational facilities and the recognition of SRCs were voiced.

Richard Martin, one of the coordinators for the

Education Charter Campaign, says of the shift from 1976 in the long term demands: "In 1980 pupils moved away from the 'Afrikaans issue' and demanded a nonracial democratic education system.

Awareness

"Awareness programmes were held and it wasn't until 1985 that pupils saw these programmes as part of a future educational curriculum."

At the 1982 Annual National Conference of the Azanian Student's Organisation (Azaso), the education struggle was assessed. Students were no longer demanding an equal education to whites as they recognised the limitations of Christian National Education.

Out of that conference the idea of an Education

Charter Campaign was formed. Azaso, formed in 1979 to organise black university students had moved away from its stand on Black Consciousness by endorsing the Freedom Charter and was one of the first organisations to affiliate to the UDF.

Spearheaded by Cosas and Azaso, and later joined by the National Union of South African Students (Nusas), it aimed to gather educational demands.

"It was also to teach people about education and build organisations in the process" said Martin.

Guidelines

The cornerstone of the campaign is the Freedom Charter's "the doors of culture and learning shall be opened".

The demands, which will be made known at the

end of this year will serve as guidelines for education.

Cosas, formed in the vacuum left by the banning of SASO and SASM in 1979 embraced support for the Freedom Charter and from its conception adopted a nonracial position. It aimed to fight for a "free and democratic education in a democratic society". And the education struggle became closely linked to the democratic movement as a whole.

Sporadic boycotting of schools and universities continued throughout 1982 and in 1983 affected 10 000 students. The Congress of South African Students (Cosas) organised a national campaign around demands for democratic SRCs.

At the time of its banning on August 28 1985, Cosas had a membership of 500 000 students and

Fateful day for Cape

THE killing of Xolile Moss following a march to the Langa police station on August 11, 1976 sparked off a spiral of violence in the Western Cape.

Moss, aged 16, was shot dead when more than 500 Langa High pupils marched to the Langa police station to demand the release of two pupils held earlier.

Armed police waited for the crowd at the police station.

Two young boys later said: "Teargas was fired at the protestors and we tried to run away. In the confusion a shot was fired and Moss was struck in the back of the head.

"A woman passer-by screamed and tried to attend to Moss, but it was too late," he said.

At about 9.30 on the same day, 700 singing Fezeka High pupils marched to ID Mkize High School about two kilometres away. A short meeting was held at the school where the pupils resolved to march to Langa High.

Speakers stressed the "need to unite with fellow students in Langa High."

The crowd, which had grown to more than 1 000, marched to NY 1. Riot police, armed with rifles and batons, stopped the crowd about 400 metres from the Guguletu police station, opposite the NY 7 sportsfield.

The crowd then moved across an open field, now the Malunga Park residential area. From there they moved to NY 4 near the railway line.

There they were met by riot police.

Once again the crowd was told to disperse. The protestors scattered, but later regrouped at NY 1, where a policeman and an interpreter again warned them to disperse.

Police gave the crowd about five minutes to disperse before teargas canisters were fired. Police with batons also charged the crowd.

An hour later, about 500 pupils regrouped near NY 78, where it was decided to march to Nyanga. The aim was to ask Mabuwa Secondary, (then Sizamile high) and St Mary to join the protest action.

At about 1pm on the

same day, the youths gathered near NY 78 and resolved to return to Fezeka.

At this stage the news of the killing of Moss reached Guguletu. The pupils also heard that several pupils who had been carrying placards had been detained.

They then marched to the Guguletu Police Station where they addressed by a Mr Brandt. The four pupils were later released.

After dusk the violence increased and several Government structures were set alight at Guguletu, including a library and a post office.

About thirty minutes later, a Bantu Affairs Administration Board (BAAB) bottle store was looted before being set alight.

Shortly after that the BAAB offices were also burnt. A BAAB security guard tried in vain to raise the alarm.

Nyanga streets were also barricaded by burning tyres.

At the end of that fateful day a number of people were dead — a day which sparked off the worst cycle of unrest ever seen in the Western Cape.

A country mourns the dead

WORKERS throughout the country marked June 16, known as National Youth Day, by staying away from work.

Commemoration services were held in various centres and few incidents of violence were reported.

While trade unions had negotiated June 16 as a holiday at some big companies, thousands of workers simply took the day off.

Soweto was completely sealed off and tense as security forces patrolled in full strength, MONO BADELA reports. Bus company executives estimated that only 10 percent of Soweto residents went to work.

General secretary of the South African Youth Congress (Sayco) Rapu Molekane called for the formation of 'defence committees' to protect black leaders from death squads.

Earlier, a Federation of South African Women (Fedsaw) delegation, led by Mrs Albertina Sisulu, held a service in Soweto's Avalon Cemetery at the grave of Hector Peterson — the first child to be killed by police on June 16, 1976.

In Cape Town 40 percent of black workers stayed home from work, while MIKE LOEWE reports from Port Elizabeth that the stayaway figure there was 90 percent and 98 percent in Uitenhage.

The stayaway caused the country's largest car plant, Volkswagen in Uitenhage, to shut for the day. Hotels and major chain stores also came to a standstill and the city's bus service was drastically reduced.

Some cases in the city's law courts had to be postponed, including one against nine people charged with flying the banners of

the African National Congress (ANC), South African Communist Party (SACP) and the Soviet Union at a mass funeral in Cradock.

About 80 percent of workers in the East London central business district stayed away from work, FRANZ KRUGER reports.

The giant Mercedes Benz plant, one of the largest employers in the city, reported that only 20 percent of workers showed up, while other factories had closed altogether for the day.

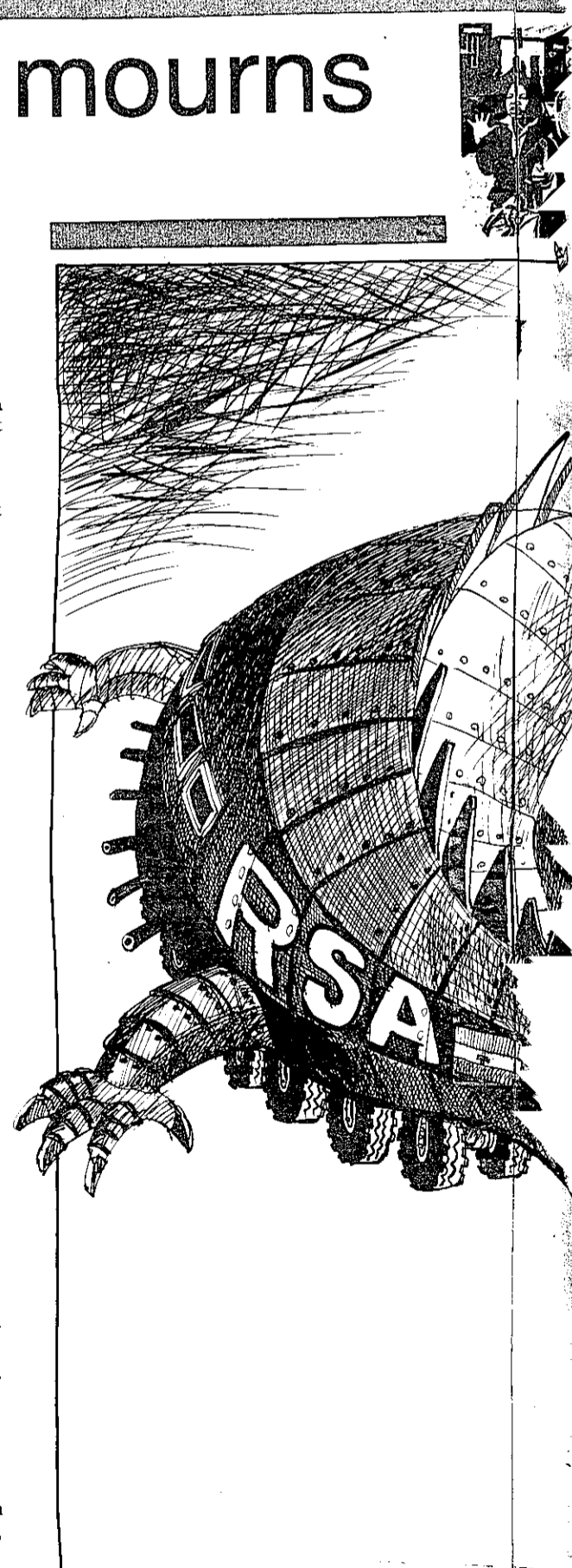
PRESS TRUST reports from Durban that Natal businesses and factories reported a stayaway ranging from 10 percent to 100 percent. Police maintained a heavy presence and used a helicopter to monitor the situation.

At a prayer service held in the Lamontville Catholic Church, action was taken against a crowd of about 1 000 people who left the church yard. But police have not confirmed details surrounding the incidents..

And in Cape Town Advocate Dullah Omar, addressing a religious service in Bonteheuwel, said since the Soweto massacre the Nationalist government had shown itself "unfit to rule this country."

"The liberation movement has declared to the world that South Africa's fallen martyrs have not died in vain," Omar told about 600 people at the Anglican Church of the Resurrection.

The launch of the South African Students Congress (Sayco) born in the last State of Emergency was a "fitting tribute to the memory of Hector Peterson and other young martyrs", he said.



Education still in gutter

was the largest UDF affiliate. The DPSC estimated in 1985 that one out of every five detainees was a Cosas member.

Boycott

Eight thousand school children were affected in the boycotts around the Tricameral Parliamentary Elections of 1984. Demands for Parents Teachers Students Associations (PTSA's) and the recognition of SRC's were linked with national demands of "troops out the townships".

With the banning of Cosas, the Western Cape Schools Congress (Wescos) was formed to continue the organisation of the schools.

On September 6, 1985, Carter Ebrahim, Minister of Education and Culture in the House of Representatives arbitrarily

closed all schools in the Western Cape. Later that month, the parents, teachers and students came together and opened the schools. When schools were officially opened in October SRCs were banned and security guards employed.

With no end to the boycotts around the State of Emergency in sight, a national conference of 161 organisations was convened in 1985 by the Soweto Parents Crisis Committee (SPCC) to discuss the future of education in the country. The call of the conference was "back to school" until March when an assessment would be made, the recognition of SRC's and the unbanning of Cosas.

The shift from "ungovernability" to organisation from within to take control of education gives rise to the concept of "Peoples Education".

This has important links with the establishment of "People's Power" in the townships.

Although there were murmurings of "liberation before education", the realisation was that students, like workers in factories, needed to be at schools to organise.

"People's education is not something new. It involves teaching in a democratic way, allowing space for criticism and discussion and something that is co-operative rather than competitive. It's an education that relates to the needs of the oppressed and exploited. It's not just a syllabus, it involves looking at it from a different perspective", says economics lecturer at UWC Graeme Bloch.

The NECC's Education Commission was set up in March 1986 under various subject categories. Its

aims are to "reorientate academic teaching to new ways of teaching. The process of drawing it up has to involve students and teachers. The most successful has been the history commission where a workbook for use in schools was produced".

In the white schools, all has not been complacent. The Pupils Awareness and Action group formed in Cape Town in 1985 aims to heighten pupils awareness of their education and to draw them into the political arena. At present, the action group is running an "Education for Change" campaign looking at issues like cadets, corporal punishment, SRCs and the inequalities in black and white education.

It is not allowed to operate in some schools and its first meeting in 1985 was banned.



Scars of 1976

By AYESHA ALLIE

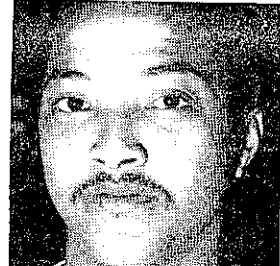
WHEN the lights went out in Manenberg on September 16, 1976, it almost went out for Jagja Boltman (right).

The Cape Flats township was a battleground with running fights between a stone-throwing crowd and the police. Almost every road was barricaded by burning tyres.

Jagja, 15 at the time, and a friend, had just left the mosque where they observed the nightly prayers during the month of Ramadan. He was shot a few metres from the mosque.

He received two bullet wounds, one just above his side and the other badly injured his right leg. He now has a permanent limp.

Jagja, interviewed this week at the joinery shop in



cried. A policeman came and pointed his gun at me and said: 'Ek skiet jou sommer vrek.'

Jagja said his mother found him lying in blood and in a lot of pain. "She thought that I was dead", he said.

Bystanders carried him to a nearby shop where they waited for an ambulance. He was taken to Conradie Hospital where he spent eight months. After his discharge, he had to walk on crutches for another five months.

He said the shooting had affected his whole leg and his knee has not fully recovered. Jagja, a keen footballer before the shooting, has not worn a shorts since that day as his thigh is badly scarred.

Woodstock where he is employed, recalled the incident: "When I came out of the mosque, I saw tyres burning and people were running in all directions. I did not know which direction was safe and decided to go to a friend's house. "Gunshots went off nearby and before I knew it, I was shot. I just felt a burning pain in my side and then in my right thigh. I fell on the ground and just

Turning point for trialists

THE year 1976 was a turning point for many of the 13 African National Congress (ANC) members whose trial under the Internal Security Act resumes on August 4.

Umkhonto we Sizwe trialist Theophilus Mzukwa, 26, a petrol attendant earning R85 a week when he was arrested last year, said in mitigation: "In 1976 I got another bitter taste of oppression and brutality. The Department of Bantu Affairs — which for us was a slave department — tried to force Afrikaans into our classes in the system of indoctrination which was called Bantu Education.

"All over our scholars protested against this. At first they begged and later they demanded that Afrikaans be scrapped. The only answer they could get was teargas, bullets, detention and imprisonment.

"I must say that this was the first time that I heard the sound of a gun so near me. It was the first time that I saw a dead person who had been killed by a gun.

"I thought I was dreaming then. Before that it was happening in bioscope films. I became so frustrated because it was clear that something insane or weird was happening in our country."

A similar story was told by fellow trialist Sazi Veldman, 29, a post office clerk and student of psychology.

"In 1976 I was doing standard 9 at Langa High School. It was in August 1976 when we were peacefully marching to Langa police station to demand the release of fellow students who had been detained without reason. On that day one of our fellow students was shot dead by

the police.

"This was followed by the death of my friend by the name of Mkululi, who was shot in front of me by the police and dragged towards the bushes.

"It was the very same year my home was burnt down by the riot police. Several houses in the vicinity were burnt down by riot police with the help of vigilantes.

"My Lord, a lot of tragic events happened in 1976 and it made all of us very sore and very angry."

Another witness to the violent end to the peaceful Langa High march was Joseph Ngoma, who was 17 years old when he saw a colleague shot dead in front of him.

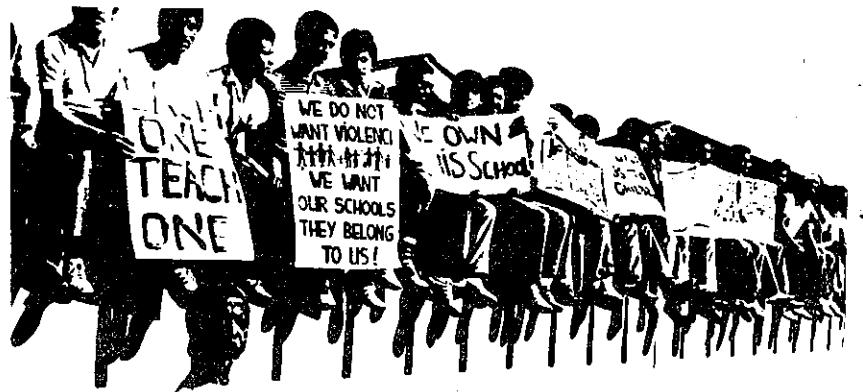
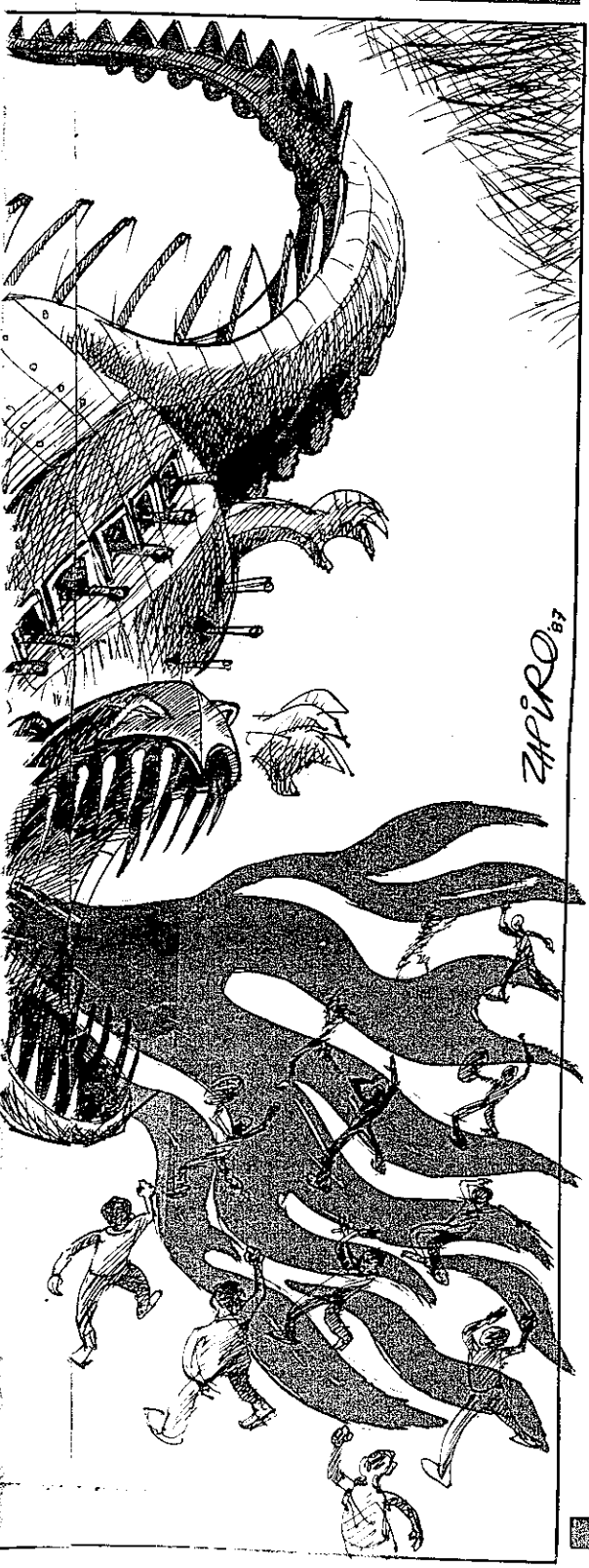
"Also during that time I saw a police van running down a child in Nyanga East and it never stopped."

Silverstream High teacher Quentin Michels, 27 years old and a committed Christian, was another person who saw a schoolfriend, Christopher Truter, shot dead before his eyes in 1976.

"A feeling of helplessness and shock descended on me. The same afternoon I was arrested because I was on the street. I was thrown into a police van among other bleeding students and after we rode around for hours through the teargas-filled suburb, we were taken to Langa police station.

"I was plucked out of the van and hit under the chin with a machine-gun butt. I was ordered to walk home. It is an incident that has always stayed with me."

Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Lizo Ngqungwana joined the ANC in 1978 after witnessing with horror how "the so-called maintainers of law and order" met 1976 peaceful protests with brutality."



House of Reps an 'unsympathetic bully'

THE Ministers' Council of the House of Representatives was an "unsympathetic bully" — an instrument of oppression which did not hesitate to act against its own people, Sonn told the conference.

"This realisation marks the end of the CTPA's 'wait-and-see' attitude of 1984. The evidence is too abundant for us to reach any other conclusion," he said.

"But when the Minister's Council is confronted by the white chamber, it crumbles pathetically and it dutifully undertakes to know its place."

Stressing the need for strong leaders, Sonn said: "The CTPA and its people want their rights. They don't want to be pacified."

Leaders were needed who would insist on an end to the State of Emergency,

FRANKLIN SONN, president of the 21 000-strong Cape Teachers Professional Association, called for the inclusion of Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo in meaningful negotiation for a new South Africa in his address at the CTPA's twentieth annual conference in Port Elizabeth this week.

the removal of casspirs from the townships, the immediate release of detainees, an end to repression, the unbanning of the African National Congress (ANC) and the inclusion of Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo in meaningful negotiation for a new South Africa.

Such meaningful dialogue can only be undertaken by equals. "It is not negotiation when one party is sitting high up in a casspir, while the other tries to whisper through an opening in the armour."

While he restated the CTPA's oppo-

sition to violence, Sonn said he understood apartheid itself was "conceived in and born out of violence".

Whether it was perpetrated by "coloureds" or "whites", apartheid would never be acceptable, he said.

He called on the government to allow all blacks to elect a leader to negotiate on their behalf as a prerequisite for community and educational peace.

"This of course pre-supposes the unbanning of organisations, allowing exiles to return, and freeing detainees," Sonn said.

Despite being "attacked and vilified

from all sides" in 1986, the CTPA grew by an average of six members a day.

Addressing the theme of the congress — "Education in strife" — Sonn said schools, colleges and universities were always the first to show the manifestations "of a diseased socio-political environment".

"Not only are our children highly politicised, but educational decisions are taken by politicians who are increasingly giving precedence to party-political rather than educational considerations," he said.

While it would be politically unten-

able to encourage boycotts, the CTPA should be sympathetic and supportive to students.

At the same time as respecting students' feelings and "identifying with them" teachers and principals should try to ensure minimal academic harm.

Sonn said that the CTPA's commitment to alternative education was best demonstrated in the fact that vice-president Mr Randall van den Heever was working towards setting up a "curriculum bureau" in which experts would develop alternative programmes, Sonn said.

One should not become depressed about the education crisis, he said. "History reveals that crisis and strife often prelude innovation and renewal. We must go forward with high hopes and in good spirit."



'We're up against a monster!'



ALMOST two years have passed since the mysterious and brutal murder of Cradock Residents' Association (Cradora) secretary, Matthew Goniwe and three other members — Fort Calata, Sparrow Mkonto and Sicelo Mhlawuli. The small Eastern Cape town of Cradock, including the township, Lingelihle, has since withstood two States of Emergency and repression that would crush a less organised community. Now his widow, Nyami, has stepped forward into the fray. SAHM VENTER spoke to her about her new role

"WE are up against a monster," Nyami Goniwe said.

Speaking in the relative calm of Cape Town, Goniwe, a social worker, painted a picture of a tiny town bracing itself against severe repression.

Her husband, a teacher, was a man respected by the community and known to be an organising genius.

In Cradock most of the community's leaders are in detention or in hiding. Meetings are illegal. Just inviting people to a workshop can lay one open to detention. Then there's the dreaded municipal guards or "amachakas".

"There are no support groups there — nothing. The community is all on its own," she says.

"In Cape Town you can still organise. Here and there meetings can still be held. But not back home.

"Cradock is part of me. It is part of my emotional experience. I don't intend leaving ever," she said.

Born in Port Elizabeth, she grew up in Cradock where as a student in 1968 she met Matthew Goniwe. He was her teacher and later

became her husband.

Goniwe matriculated in Port Elizabeth and did a social work degree at the University of Fort Hare.

She has been a social worker for four years and since November last year has been working for the University of the Western Cape's Institute of Social Development

This involves commuting

between Cape Town and Cradock — which is "quite tough".

Although spending a week to 10 days out of every month away from home puts a strain on her family life, the occasional break from the stresses of Cradock was "quite nice", she said.

Besides an academic and community role, Goniwe

has a third role as a single parent. This burden, however, is lessened by the support she receives from her parents-in-law, who look after the children — Nyaniso, 4 and Nobuzwe, 11 — when she is away.

"Often, whenever I've been away, Nyaniso will follow me wherever I go. When I phone home, he asks me when I'm coming

back," Goniwe said. "I suppose they just have to get used to it," she said.

Today, much in the way that her husband was looked to for inspiration and guidance, Goniwe and others are in demand.

"People expect so much. Cradock has always had people who could just reason things out. In a way I've just been pushed out there to try to advise and guide where necessary."

As in the early days of Cradock, the Goniwe door is open to those seeking advice.

'Govt lost legitimacy in '76'

WHY doesn't the African National Congress (ANC) field candidates in elections in the Transkei and Ciskei?

This was the startling question asked by Mr Justice J C Nel in the Cape Town Supreme Court during the trial of 13 men found guilty of various ANC activities.

The question followed a short history of the ANC which formed part of evidence in mitigation given by Dr Colin Bundy, professor of history at the University of Western Cape (UWC) and the University of Cape Town (UCT).

Grievances
Founded in January 1912, very much as a response by Africans to the creation of the Union of South Africa two years earlier, the ANC was intended to be a single national political vehicle for the aspirations and grievances of black South Africans, Bundy told the court.

Bundy said an important development of the 1940s was the formation of the ANC Youth League, brainchild of Nelson

Mandela, Oliver Tambo, Walter Sisulu and others of a less patient generation who were critical of what they saw as the overly cautious tactics and leadership of the ANC.

Action
In response to these pressures the ANC adopted in 1949 a programme of action sponsored by the Youth League which included civil disobedience and looked ahead to national liberation.

"The Defiance Campaign of 1952, in which groups of volunteers courted arrest by deliberately transgressing racist laws, was part of this programme, he said.

A working alliance between the ANC, the SA Indian Congress, the SA Coloured People's Organisation and the Congress of Democrats was entered into in the early 1950s and joined by the SA Congress of Trade Unions after it was formed in 1955.

On June 26 that year, the Freedom Charter was adopted at the Congress of the People in Kliptown and



TWO of the 13 ANC trialists, Lizo Ngqungwana, (right) the Umkhonto weSizwe commander and Joseph Mzukwa.

has been the "steering light" of the ANC ever since.

After the Sharpeville massacre on March 21, 1960, both the ANC and the breakaway Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) were banned by the government.

Bundy said the last major effort at non-violent appeal to the government was made in the first half of 1961. At the All In Africa Conference in Maritzburg in March-April, the ANC called for a national convention.

When that call went unheeded, a three-day

stayaway was called to coincide with the declaration of South Africa as a Republic, Bundy said.

He said the government responded with brute force. Troops and police were deployed in the townships. An estimated 10 000 people were arrested and legislation was passed providing for detention without trial for a period of up to 12 days.

In the aftermath, the ANC leadership took the decision to embark on "a policy of armed struggle in a particular form — a programme of sabotage against symbolic edifices

and economic installations", Bundy said.

"The perception of the ANC leadership was that non-violent forms of protest had been closed to them. They felt the movement's pacifism had been mistaken for a sign of weakness and that 50 years of non-violent protest had incurred violent forms of repression.

"The second major motive was an attempt to control, channel and limit violence. They feared that the eruption of violence arising from popular anger might precipitate civil war along

racial lines and this they sought to avert," he said.

In 1963, Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu were among ANC leaders arrested at Rivonia, tried and locked away for life.

For a decade after that the ANC operated almost entirely as an exile movement. At the 1969 Morogoro Conference in Tanzania, the ANC accepted criticism that it had not done enough to rebuild internal structures.

Legitimacy

This perception was translated into practice but, said Professor Bundy, "it is extremely difficult to establish or even to estimate how far this process had gone by 1976".

He said 1976 — which "runs like an unhealed scar across South African history" — was the year the government finally lost its legitimacy in the eyes of the people, the year when the mantle of moral authority began to fall increasingly on the shoulders of the ANC.

"You are forced to do something, or to try to link up with whoever you know that can offer assistance."

Much of Goniwe's time as a social worker is spent addressing the enormous unemployment problem in an area where the only big employers are the South African Transport Services (Sats) and various supermarkets. There are no industries.

The only available employment is mainly for labourers.

"There is no way what we can reduce the rate of unemployment. It needs a sensitive policy on the part of the government. But you still feel you have to do something about it."

Another mark of the community's resilience is that not a single Cradock resident signed up for the municipal guards.

"We are up against a very sophisticated opponent and it's not so easy. But no sensitive person who has a conscience can witness human suffering almost daily and just be quiet about it."

Call Times 18/6/87

Franklin Sonn says teachers must choose

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — As the struggle for liberation heated up, the situation may be reached where teachers had to choose between rejection by either the authorities or the community, Mr Franklin Sonn said yesterday.

Mr Sonn, president of the Cape Teachers' Professional Association, was addressing the CTPA congress here.

He said strife in black education stemmed from the teacher's conflicting task of performing his job responsibly while heeding the needs and aspirations of the community.

"Commitment means dealing with your own individual position. You cannot use the language of apartheid and claim to be part of the liberation struggle. This is the difficulty and many have opted out for the easy life."

Mr Sonn said many educationists had left the association, especially principals who were "conspicuous by their absence".

They had made their decisions under pressure from the authorities and in so doing estranged themselves from the community. "But we must not write off these careful principals, nor

lose patience with them. We should talk to them and tell them they are making a mockery of education."

Mr Sonn said school inspectors were in an invidious position and called on teachers to deal with them with sympathy, while challenging their instructions where necessary.

Teachers worked with the "pressure of the department down their necks" and under a minister who issued directives in conflict with the community.

"I cannot tell you to disregard these instructions, but they should be thought about and dealt with in such a manner as to retain the respect of the community and pupils."

On Tuesday Mr Sonn urged white South Africans to acknowledge the need for negotiations with the popular leaders of the black people.

Opening the CTPA conference, Mr Sonn called on whites to renounce apartheid "in word and deed".

He said they should "accept the extra-parliamentary groups and initiate the correct procedures to reach an agreement with them".

"It is not negotiation when one party sits high up in the Casspir, and the other whispers perplexedly through a hatch in the vehicle."

Call Times 18/6/87

Teachers claim political bias

ARGUS 18/6/87 (11A) ~~223~~
From PAT CANDIDO, Argus Bureau
PORT ELIZABETH. — Allegations of widespread political interference in the appointment and promotion of teachers were made at the Cape Teachers' Professional Association congress here today.

Delegates told of alleged incidents of teachers being overlooked for promotion, appointments conveniently frozen and preference given to teachers supporting the Labour Party.

The congress undertook through its executive committee to monitor appointments and expose party political manipulation.

Teachers were asked to report unprocedural appointments.

Teachers in Port Elizabeth spoke specifically of sport policy having a direct influence on promotion.

Mr Randall van den Heever, deputy-president, said a letter had been sent to the Ministers' Council of the House of Representatives last August asking about the function of a sports director in the area and whether the post had been advertised. No reply had been received.

There was strong evidence that teachers who did not support the policy of "normal sport" were not be promoted.

Teachers connected with the United Democratic Front or the South African Council on Sport were not be promoted.

(Turn to Page 3, Col 2)

ARGUS 18/6/87
(11A) ~~223~~

Teachers claim political bias

(Cont. from Page 1)

The appointment of white teachers in coloured schools was also condemned.

WHITE TEACHERS

Mr Franklin Sonn said the impression should not be given that the association was racist, but often white teachers who were racially biased were appointed and were interested only in salary.

White teachers could apply for jobs in any of the teaching departments — black, coloured or Indian.

Black teachers were discriminated against because they could not apply for jobs in white schools.

Delegates said that at some schools in country areas there were no coloured teachers.

● See Page 7.

Argus 18/6/77
(119)

'Reform industrialists should pay for RSCs'

WHITE industrialists who talked of reform would now have to pick up the price tab by funding the regional services councils, said the Minister of Local Government, Housing and Agriculture, Mr David Curry.

Speaking in the committee stage of the "own affairs" budget yesterday, Mr Curry said a negative campaign was being waged against RSCs, especially in the business sector.

"Many people talk about and make a noise about how people of colour are oppressed, but when something is done to improve the situation and somebody has to pay for it, then there is great dissatisfaction."

The private sector and white industrialists who talked about reform now had to contribute to the upliftment of people of colour.

He could understand the despair of people who believed that the Labour Party's participation in the tricameral Parliament was meaningless. He too was frustrated at the slow pace of change, but the LP aimed to bring about constitutional change as a matter of urgency.

"Are we as leaders going to withdraw ourselves from the system and shout revolution alone, or are we going to use our opportunities to uplift our people while we fight for constitutional change?" he said.

There were cases where bad relations at local level resulted in no progress. — Sapa.

111-7615 18/6/97 (111) 288

'Good evidence' from Inkatha youth



THE report of the PC Committee on Social Affairs said unrest, rebellion and school boycotts "hardly occurred in areas where youth organizations functioned effectively".

MORE REPORTS PAGE 13

Political Staff

THE President's Council Committee on Social Affairs did not have free access to black, coloured and Indian youth when it gathered evidence for its report on the youth of South Africa.

The committee's chairman, Mr Nic Treurnicht, said this to journalists at a press briefing previous to the tabling of the report in the PC yesterday.

The introduction to the report said the committee regretted that "a certain section of the youth as well as certain organizations" were unwilling to testify before the committee.

However, he said the Inkatha Youth Brigade gave "very good" evidence.

"The Inkatha youth conversed freely with us — candidly," he said.

The report noted that it was significant that unrest, rebellion and school boycotts "hardly occurred in areas where youth organizations functioned effectively". It said evidence to the committee supported this view with

regard to areas where the Inkatha Youth Brigade is active.

Mr Treurnicht said at the press briefing that youth groups in the areas of development boards like the Southern Free State, at Roodewal near Botshabello, were very positive.

The report gave quotations from a submission by the Development Board of the Southern Orange Free State on their youth programmes.

This included the identifying of youth leaders in "every town and school" and transporting them free of charge to the "Roodewal Open Air Centre" in groups of about 60.

The board had followed up these sessions by establishing 58 "Eagle Youth Clubs" in that area with usually teachers as presidents.

The constitutions of these clubs — who have their own emblems and T-shirts — include objectives like peaceful negotiation, better race relations, resistance to school boycotts and violence.

SPK 19/6/97
11A

Cosatu finds pullout methods disappointing

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Pullouts by foreign corporations from South Africa — there have been three this week alone — have not achieved much for black workers, according to the general secretary of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), Mr Jay Naidoo.

In a BBC interview here yesterday he said he had been disappointed by the way foreign companies conducted their pullouts.

ANC reacts to Ford's decision

The Star's Africa News Service

LUSAKA — The African National Congress has reacted to Ford's decision to pull out of South Africa, saying its disinvestment would have little or no effect, because it had merely sold its operation to South African interests.

Multinational corporations pulling out of South Africa would not create an impact on the South African Government unless they severed all direct and indirect business links with the country, a spokesman for the organisation said in Lusaka.

Citing General Motors as an example, he said most companies indulged in "warehousing" by simply putting their South African interests under a different name "until the campaign for disinvestment has died down".

Asked whether Cosatu was revolutionary and communist, as the Government claimed, Mr Naidoo said: "We demand the right to share the wealth in South Africa and to the Government that is revolutionary.

"If millions of workers who are struggling for a living wage is communism, then we are communists."

He said following the swing to the Right in the election the Government could clamp down even further on the unions.

Call to make 18/6/87

Franklin Sonn says teachers must choose

Own Correspondent

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lose patience with them. We should talk to them and tell them they are making a mockery of education."

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On Tuesday Mr Sonn urged white South Africans to acknowledge the need for negotiations with the popular leaders of the black people.

Opening the CTPA conference, Mr Sonn called on whites to renounce

Council asks to see Sonn opening speech

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — The Ministers' Council in the House of Representatives has urgently requested to see the opening address given by Mr Franklin Sonn, president of the Cape Teachers' Professional Association (CTPA), on the first day of the association's annual congress on Tuesday.

The CTPA deputy-president, Mr Randall van den Heever, told congress delegates of this development when the afternoon sitting began yesterday.

Mr Van den Heever continued to say that the association had nothing to hide and that the congress's documents were available to anyone who wished to see them.

"This is an open meeting at which the press is present and on which they can report freely," Mr Van den Heever said.

"It is clear to the executive council that reaction from the Ministers' Council can be expected, but the Minister's Council must realize that the president and his address have the full backing of the congress.

"People must know that if we do or say something on principal we don't apologize for it afterwards," Mr Van den Heever said.

He referred to fears expressed by delegates during debate yesterday that a witch-hunt may be instituted against the president, executive council and members of the CTPA.

"The road we have set out on is not without risks and after serious deliberation the president and the executive council is prepared to pay the price for following this road.

'Our turn to sacrifice'

"Our community's struggle is marked with individuals and institutions that have had to make sacrifices.

"Let us not be found wanting when it comes to our turn to sacrifice," Mr Van den Heever said.

Mr Sonn called on members not to lose heart but to walk the path with humility, faith and joy.

"I'm angry at no one, but I also say in humility that I am afraid of no one," Mr Sonn said.

Regarding a proposal by an anonymous member to confront the Labour Party, Mr Sonn said that the issue was not with people but with principles.

Killing or becoming oppressors, he said, was not the way.

"We have to reason things out in the Christian way," Mr Sonn said, adding that figures like Jesus and Gandhi had not fought people but issues.

"We must not become bitter or angry with people and this is where faith becomes relevant."



Men under 25 'must join Comrades or be beaten'

By Don Holliday

Men under the age of 25 years were expected to join the Comrades and not spend their time in shebeens, the Rand Supreme Court heard yesterday.

Giving evidence in the treason trial of seven men and a youth, an Alexandra shebeen owner said the Comrades had told him this during a raid on his shebeen.

The men and the youth have pleaded not guilty to the treason charge, as well as alternative charges of sedition and subversion.

The shebeen owner said a group of about 30 people were at his home one Friday night in June last year.

WEAPONS

His wife came to him and said the Comrades had arrived to search the people for dangerous weapons.

Four Comrades searched the guests. A short while later his wife told him his customers were being assaulted outside the house.

He asked three Comrades why they were hitting the people. They replied the people were under 25 years of age and were not meant to be in a shebeen. They were supposed to join the Comrades.

The shebeen owner said he protested and said they were all adults, some of them with families.

They said he should take any complaints to their headquarters at 64 15th Avenue.

He told the court he was in favour

of the Comrades searching his customers for knives, but did not like them assaulting his customers.

The next morning he went to the address in 15th Avenue, where there were many people. A hearing was in progress there at what was known as the people's court. He was told to come back the next Tuesday.

On the Tuesday, he was told to take his complaint to a church building in 14th Avenue, where the senior Comrades sat.

The church building was filled with more than 50 people. An argument was in progress. People were complaining that certain people involved in the anti-crime campaign were doing some house owners favours. They would not search the houses if they were bribed.

The argument continued for about 45 minutes, when the shebeen owner went home. His complaint was never followed up.

Later in June, a group of Comrades ordered the seven families staying on his property to hold a meeting to form a yard committee.

The shebeen owner was chosen to head this committee, which was answerable to the street committee and to the block committee.

His functions included cleaning the yard and toilets, settling disputes and collecting money whenever a funeral was held.

The committee was effective only in the collecting of money for the funerals, he said.

Cosatu to sue Buthelezi

DURBAN. — A civil action involving more than R412 000 has been instituted by the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) against Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi in his capacity as Minister of Police in KwaZulu, and against two Inkatha officials. The claim relates to the killing, allegedly by members of Inkatha, of Mr Phineas Sibiya and Mr Simon Ngubane, both members of the then Metal and Allied Workers' Union (Mawu) and former BTR Sarmcol employees, Miss Flora Mnikathi, the daughter of a former Sarmcol worker, and Mr Alpheus Nkabinde, a member of the Mpophomeni Youth Congress in Mpophomeni Township near Howick on December 5 and 6 last year.

11A w/ Mail

Walter Sisulu in surprise call from jail

19-2-57/87

By MONO BADELA

A MESSAGE smuggled out of prison from African National Congress leader Walter Sisulu was read out at a June 16 commemoration service this week.

In it, Sisulu, who is serving a life sentence in Pollsmoor Prison, endorsed growing opposition resistance to foreign funding of anti-apartheid activity in the country.

And the former ANC secretary-general backed the United Democratic Front's campaign to isolate vigilantes.

Sisulu's surprise message, "backed by all our leaders in Pollsmoor and on Robben Island", was delivered by General and Allied Workers Union president Samson Ndou to nearly 1 000 people at a South African Youth Day commemoration service held at the Lenasia Ci-

●To PAGE 2

Sisulu in surprise call from cell

●From PAGE 1

vic Centre outside Johannesburg.

"I bring you a message from Walter Sisulu in Pollsmoor Prison," Ndou told the meeting this week. "Sisulu tells us that in 1960, when the ANC was banned, our people went to the West to ask for help. That request was shunned — but our struggle continued and has entered a new phase.

"Today those same people, who shunned us in 1960, are coming to us with dollars in their back pockets and ideas on how to solve our problems. We do not need them — we will win our struggle ourselves."

Ndou added that Sisulu had called on all progressive forces "to close ranks to force all vigilantes out of our streets, our townships, our villages."

Ndou, who is also the vice-president of the Transvaal Indian Congress, said black leaders in South Africa would talk to State President PW Botha only on their own terms and in their own time.

11A

19-2-57/87

w/ Mail

Day of echoing silences

THE Reverend Bangisizwe Mbabane was disappointed, chidingly telling the congregation that they hardly filled a quarter of the small church in Jabavu, Soweto.

It was June 16, traditionally a day of huge church services to commemorate the 575 people who were killed in the 1976-77 rebellion.

Black teenagers played soccer in the dusty Soweto streets, stoically indifferent as armoured vehicles crammed full of white conscripts drove past.

The soldiers, their R1 rifles held at their sides, resting against the floor, looked out unsmilingly from the Hippos.

Adults could be seen in their tiny yards, warming themselves in the winter sun and chatting amicably to friends and neighbours. They, too, turned a blind eye to the patrolling soldiers.

Sowetans had stayed at home on the June 16 anniversary. But judging from churches in and near Jabavu, only a tiny minority attended commemorative services. Journalists converging on the Catholic Cathedral of Regina Mundi, traditional venue for June 16 services, struggled to find a church which was even half full.

Regina Mundi attracted only a hand-

ful of congregants and a disparate, shifting trickle of onlookers motivated more by curiosity than conviction. It had been advertised as the venue of a rally by the Azanian People's Organisation.

At the Anglican Cathedral of St Paul's, hardly 10 people turned up in time for the start of a service led by Father Cornelius Mphaki. At one stage it looked as if the Soweto worshippers would be outnumbered by diplomats and pressmen.

Another service was reportedly scheduled at a nearby Methodist Church. But, with the exception of one couple and a procession of journalists in search of a commemoration organised by the newly-formed South African Youth Congress (Sayco) and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), no one turned up.

The neighbouring Lutheran Church seemed equally unpromising, although there had been reports that a service would be held there. Shortly before 11am, when the service was

Yes, Soweto stayed home on June 16. But not, for the most part, to go to church.

PATRICK LAURENCE reports

due to start, there was hardly a person in sight. The iron gates were tightly shut.

It seemed that Soweto residents were prepared to stay at home on June 16 but that not a single church would be filled. The State of Emergency had worked too well. The restrictions had made advance publicity difficult. The severe curbs on political activity, backed by the troops and the police, appeared to have had the required intimidatory effect.

Five minutes later, however, the church was opened and people began to trickle in.

When Mbabane started his sermon the church was hardly a quarter full. The poor attendance caused him to ponder whether blacks were really ready to reject apartheid.

He blamed the poor turn out on divisions in the community, lamenting: "Every generation in our black community wants to come up with a new political body."

"Perhaps the moment of decision to say 'no' to apartheid has not yet come," he mused, wondering whether even a fifth of the black people were prepared to act decisively to end apartheid.

But even as he talked the church started to fill up, the new arrivals including Albertina Sisulu, president of the United Democratic Front, and Pauline Moloise, mother of executed ANC guerrilla, Benjamin Moloise.

By the time Mbabane finished his sermon, the church was full, ready to hear a rousing oration from Rapu Molekane, the general secretary of Sayco. He defiantly identified his organisation as part of a tradition reaching back to the ANC Youth League.

Rejecting an offer from President P W Botha to negotiate a new dispensation, Molekane said: "As long as Nelson Mandela is in Pollsmoor

(Prison), we are not going to accept anything from the South African government. As long as Oliver Tambo is in exile, we are not going to accept anything."

He said: "We must move to make Soweto a no-go area for the enemy. We must isolate the enemy. They must not get into our houses. No priest must allow them into his church. They must be outcast."

The crowd was on its feet, stamping its approval in unison, with a newly released detainee, Siphwe Tusi, leading them in rhythmic chanting and singing.

Before the singing died down Molekane — or, as he would prefer it, Comrade Molekane — was on his way, not wanting to be immobilised by arrest.

Most of the congregation had come from neighbouring houses. But within a short time the seemingly quiet newcomers were transformed into crusaders against apartheid.

Beneath the surface of Soweto's outward acquiescence in face of the iron fist of the Botha government the will to resist was still alive, waiting to be kindled into renewed activity.



JUNE 16, the anniversary of the 1976 Soweto uprising, has become a *de facto* public holiday for most South Africans.

The massive stayaway across the country — which left cities like Johannesburg and Port Elizabeth deserted — showed that support for June 16 is growing annually.

Although there were no calls for a stayaway, labour observers stressed June 16 had, in effect, become a holiday.

Assocom said the June 16 stayaway had become so widespread it made little sense to monitor its extent. It said many unions and employers had made agreements about workers taking the day off.

An Independent Labour Monitoring Group (LMG) said the stayaway was most successful on the Witwatersrand and the Eastern Cape.

In the Johannesburg area, 90 percent of blacks in the commercial, and 75 percent in the manufacturing, sectors stayed away, the LMG said.

The Eastern Cape, considered one of the country's most militant areas was hardest hit by the work boycott. Only seven percent of the black workforce went to work on Tuesday, the LMG spokesman said.

Many companies gave their workers the day off, often in exchange for another paid holiday. Several foreign embassies and consulates allowed their black employees to stay at home.

The Cape Peninsula and Natal were less affected by absenteeism. In Cape Town 75 percent black and 30 percent coloured workers stayed away.

Despite full-page newspapers advertising black workers to ignore

A holiday that's taken for granted

There's no longer much controversy over June 16: This year it was taken for granted as a public holiday. **By MONO BADELA**

stayaway calls, placed by Inkatha-sponsored United Workers Union of South Africa, there was almost a total stayaway in Durban.

The 11th anniversary of the Soweto uprising was generally peaceful after anti-apartheid groups called for dignity and calm.

At a service in the Lutheran Church, Soweto, the militant black South African Youth Congress called for the formation of "defence committees" to protect black leaders from the "government-sponsored death squads" and the police.

The call came from Sayco's general secretary Rapu Molekane, who said his more than a million-member youth organisation was planning an indefinite consumer boycott of white businesses.

Molekane also said the rent boycott, which started in Johannesburg in September 1984, would not be lifted, until Nelson Mandela was released.

Molekane said: "We demand that June 16 be recognised as a paid public holiday."



Different ways of remembering ... a women lays flowers at a vigil in Johannesburg (top), Fedtraw leaders visit the grave of the first victim of the 1976 uprising (left); and the national anthem is sung at a Lenasia meeting (bottom)

Pictures: Mono Badela and Eric Miller, Alrapix



fence committees in every street, block and area. We must be able to defend our leaders, our gains against the system's death squads. We must move to make Soweto a no-go area for the enemy."

After the meeting, scores of youths chanting such slogans as "Viva Mandela", "Viva Slovo" and "We will march to Pretoria" were dispersed by the police in armoured carriers.

But few other incidents were reported, although there was a massive security force presence in Soweto and many other black areas.

A bus company executive estimated that only 10 percent of Soweto residents went to work.

The Federation of South African Women (Fedsaw), led by Albertina Sisulu, wife of ANC leader Walter Sisulu, now serving a life sentence in Pollsmoor Prison, held a small service at Hector Peterson's grave in Soweto's Avalon Cemetery. Thirteen-year-old Peterson was the first child killed by police on June 16, 1976.

An SADF contingent, which watched the service from a distance, did not intervene.

our freedom during our lifetime. We will see Nelson Mandela released.

"We will see that each and every youth in the street is actively engaged in the struggle for freedom.

"You, as the youth, must form de-

He was wildly cheered when he said "We are not clowning when we say that June 16 should be paid holiday despite Inkatha and Uwusa being against this. Sayco is not just another youth organisation — we shall attain

Vandals wreck Langa deaths memorial stone

By MONO BADELA

THE huge R6 000 tombstone erected for the 29 Langa and KwaNobuhle victims shot dead by police on March 21 1985 has been desecrated by vandals.

Residents told *Weekly Mail* that six men wearing balaclavas were seen entering the KwaNobuhle cemetery at 11pm on Thursday last week.

Five figures carrying heavy hammers, alighted from a blue minibus, according to witnesses. They then started breaking down the tombstone. Only five names of the Langa shooting victims were legible.

The driver of the minibus started hooting when he noticed that they had been spotted by residents in the nearby homes.

One of the men was recognised as a former member of the Uitenhage Youth Congress. He has joined an opposition political grouping.

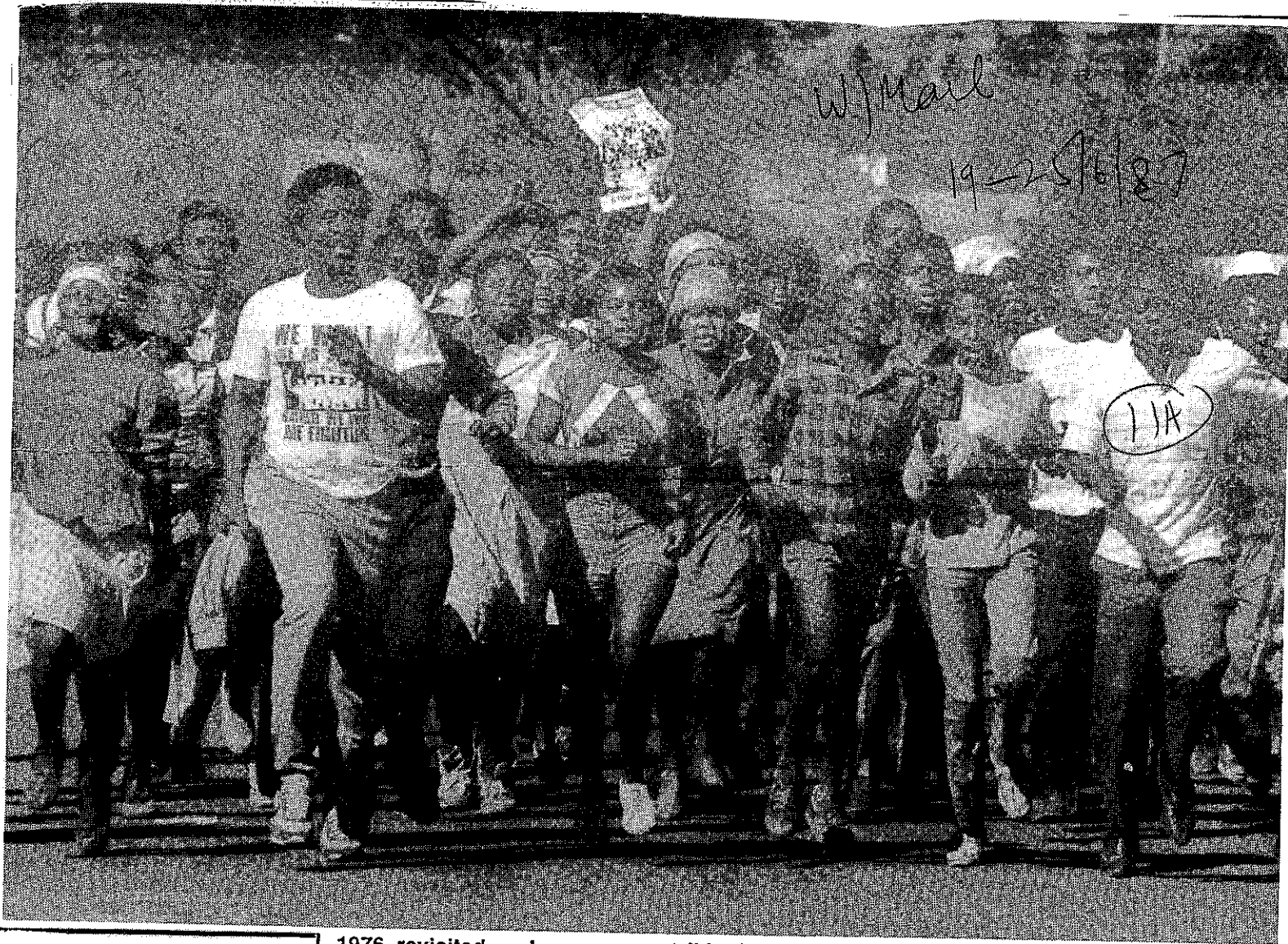
The tombstone was erected last year and unveiled at a ceremony addressed by the United Democratic Front's patron, Dr Allan Boesak.

A statement issued by the Uitenhage Residents Civic Organisation, the Uitenhage Youth Congress and the Uitenhage Students' Council has condemned the vandals' "Satanic act" and said it "revealed mental retardation on the part of those perpetrators".

Residents claimed that two days before the tombstone was desecrated, a blue Sierra car was seen arriving at the cemetery and two white men took photographs of the tombstone.

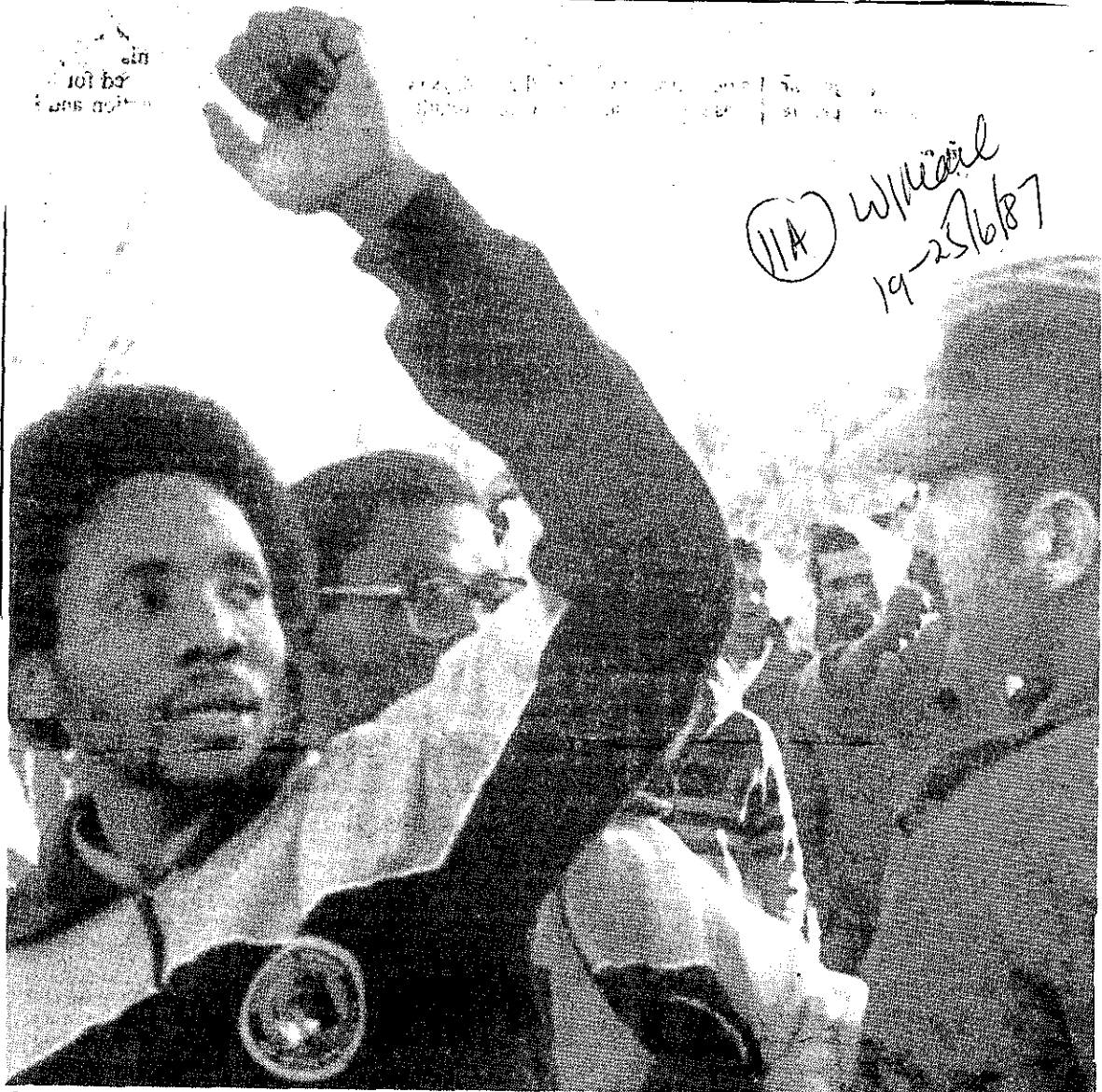
A group called AmAfrika has been terrorising KwaNobuhle residents since the beginning of this year.

In another development, residents of KwaNobuhle are to sue Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok following alleged connivance of the police in a vigilante attack in which three UDF members were killed.



1976 revisited ... In a scene strikingly reminiscent of the student uprising 11 years ago, youths commemorated the event this week with a march through Soweto.

Picture: GIDEON MENDEL



A second ago, the fist was raised in fierce defiance. Now it unclenches slowly and drops slowly back to waist level. An NUM membr is warned by police not to continue singing after a peaceful June 16 meeting in Lenasia, attended by about 600

Picture: Afrapix

EIGHTEEN months after its launch, the Congress of South African Trade Unions is having to face up to the contentious question of its open alliances with political organisations.

Since Cosatu's formation in Durban in 1985, several important developments have taken place within the federation. One of the most significant has been the shift into the political arena by some of Cosatu's biggest affiliates.

And it looks almost certain that one of the most pressing issues at the conference is bound to be a call for Cosatu to take a clearer political stand.

At its launch Cosatu stressed the economic, political and organisational independence of the federation and all its affiliates.

In a bid to "build unity", Cosatu resolved not to affiliate to "any political organisation within the democratic struggle in South Africa at the present time".

But the National Union of Mineworkers at its fifth annual conference in February noted that Cosatu's resolution on non-affiliation and co-operation with other "progressive" organisations was too loose and often led to misinterpretation.

The NUM sought a clearer definition of "progressive" in order to determine which organisations it could work with without compromising its policies, including its stand on non-

Political or not? Cosatu faces up to a question of alliances

racialism.

The union then adopted the Freedom Charter as a "guiding document in the struggle against national oppression and economic exploitation".

Although not explicit, the resolution was seen as an endorsement of the leadership role of the United Democratic Front in the democratic struggle.

Ironically the UDF has in the past avoided adopting the Freedom Charter as a working document. But the fact that one of its largest affiliates, the South African Youth Congress, has done so

A few weeks later the Food and Allied Workers Union also adopted the same stand as the NUM with regard to the charter.

Last month, after a heated debate, the second largest union in the country, the National Union of Metalworkers of SA (Numsa) adopted the charter.

At the press conference Numsa officials stressed that the resolution on the Freedom Charter should be read together with the one on the Workers' Charter "in order to be under-

Last year, Cosatu went out of its way to avoid open alliances with any political organisation. This year, the pressures may shift it closer to the UDF.

SEFAKO NYAKA reports

stood".

Numsa's stand, more cautious than the NUM's, was designed to appease those "workerists" in its ranks who opposed the adoption of the Charter.

Numsa will go to the July conference with a mandate to push for the incorporation of the Freedom Charter into a new "workers' charter".

And this week, a third position emerged.

At its national congress at the weekend, the 66 000 strong Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union (Ccawusa) avoided adopting either the Freedom Charter or the black consciousness Azanian manifesto because "endorsing either lays the union open to serious divisions".

Ccawusa opted instead for a

"socialist programme of action which will bind together all workers regardless of political affiliation".

The union regards the Freedom Charter as an historical document and believes that though its demands are important they are limited.

Ccawusa's stand is believed to be an attempt to "keep the door open" for co-operation with black consciousness groups in the National Forum, according to a labour expert who declined to be named.

"In South African terms political survival for extra-parliamentary anti-apartheid groups in the black community seem to hinge to a large extent on the support of the working class.

"And with Cosatu being the largest trade union federation it is important for the survival of some black political groups not to lose the support of such a powerful organisation," he said.

Ccawusa seems almost certain to be swamped at the conference. And the chances of its argument having any significant impact on the conference seem to be further eroded by the fact that Ccawusa is supposed to merge

with the Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union and the Retail and Allied Workers' Union into a single commercial and catering union, hopefully by next weekend.

Already there are signs the proposed merger might not go on as planned. Harwu claims Ccawusa is not interested in merging but wants to absorb the two smaller unions and retain the name.

Both Harwu and Rawu seem to favour the adoption of the Freedom Charter.

That Cosatu is bound to adopt the Freedom Charter is almost beyond dispute.

However what remains to be seen is whether it can do so without seriously damaging the unity it has built over the past 18 months.

●Ccawusa called for co-operation between rival union federations at the weekend. This call is seen as a bid to forge closer unity between Cosatu, the National Council of Trade Unions and independent trade unions.

Nactu, the product of a merger of the Council of Trade Unions and the Azanian Confederation of Trade Unions, recently extended a hand of friendship and it looks like Ccawusa is prepared to play the mediating role in this process.

Sisulu in surprise call from cell

Jo'burg to get lion's share of RSC vote

B Day
19/6/87

DOMINIQUE GILBERT

11A

JOHANNESBURG will get 48% of the vote in the Central Witwatersrand regional services council (RSC) — while Soweto's vote will be worth only a quarter of that at 12,9%.

Councillor Tony Leon yesterday told the Johannesburg City Council that he had been informed by a management committee chairman of an RSC constituent that the votes apportionment would be — Johannesburg 48%, Roodepoort 13,4%, Sandton 4,7%, Randburg 8,39%, Soweto 12,96%, Alexandra 0,44%, Indian suburbs 1,5% and coloured suburbs 2,11%.

Leon, who described the quota formula as "racist arithmetic", said they ignored the hidden or indirect contributions made by millions of blacks.

"This determination of voting strengths is an unsubtle form of racism, penalising population numbers and rewarding consumption... it can only be explained in terms of a determination to maintain white domination, dressed up as reform," he said.

Leon said total losses from the Soweto rent boycott, if it continued for the next financial year, would be the exact equivalent of the total income of the Central Witwatersrand RSC.

RSCs and the management committee's "cavalier disregard for democratic decency" continued to come under severe criticism from PFP councillors during the city's two-day budget debate.

Numerous PFP speakers said the

● To Page 2



PFP city councillors slam RSCs

committee ruled by "despotism" and did not consider itself answerable to the council or the public.

Leon said committee chairman Francois Oberholzer had "savaged the tentacles of State control" over Johannesburg with the tenacity of "a dead sheep".

And the RSCs, he said, "vest massive powers in a political functionary — the Administrator — answerable only to the man who appoints and removes him, the State President. Thus the entire operation of general affairs in this province and thus this city, vests in a non-representative, non-accountable, non-democratic clique".

The transformation of third-tier government was "constitutional engineering

11A
From Page 1
gone mad", he said.
Councillor David Neppe said the management committee perpetrated apartheid instead of eliminating it by operating on a "we'll-reform-it-later-syndrome".
Neppe mentioned two NP councillors' repeated statements to council that the RSCs were ill-conceived and flawed but who now said they felt the RSCs should be "given a chance".
"It becomes an NP excuse, at all levels, not to do the job right the first time round," he said.

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B Day

(Handwritten initials)

Shebeen owner describes beatings by the comrades

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AN—Alexandra shebeen owner described yesterday how members of the comrades searched his customers for weapons and assaulted some of them.

The man, who may not be identified, was giving evidence for the state in the Rand Supreme Court at the treason trial of seven men and a 17-year-old youth.

All eight have pleaded not guilty to high treason and alternative charges of subversion and sedition.

The shebeen owner told the court that in February last year he and his wife went to a meeting at the township stadium called by the comrades.

"What I heard was that nobody should report any matter to the police," he said.

SUSAN RUSSELL

"It was also announced that if one had a complaint they should go and report it to the comrades' office."

The witness said the crowd was also told to stop paying rent.

He went on to describe how comrades came to his house in June last year and began searching and assaulting people.

"They told me those who were being assaulted were those under 25 years of age. They were not supposed to be in the shebeen but supposed to be joining them.

"They said to me if I had a complaint about the assaults I should then go to their office."

The witness told the court he went to the comrades' office the next day — Saturday.

The office was known as the people's court. Cases were being tried.

Someone told him to come back on Tuesday.

He returned to the people's court on the Tuesday. There he was told that because he had a complaint against the comrades he had to go to a church building where senior comrades were.

At the church, the witness discovered the comrades were arguing among themselves about why some houses had not been searched.

He said he left and hurried home to watch "Dallas".

The witness said his complaint was never heard by the people's court.

The trial is continuing before Mr Justice Grosskopf.

Consul officials, ANC, Inkatha at sanctions conference

Pretoria shares US platform with ANC

19-25/6/87

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By PIPPA GREEN in New York and HILARY JOFFE in Johannesburg

SENIOR representatives of the South African government, the ANC, the Dutch Reformed Church, Inkatha, the US state department and US businessmen met at a closed-door meeting in New York last week, days before three of the largest American companies withdrew from South Africa.

The conference, organised by the US Council on International Business, came the week after the Reverend Leon Sullivan's call for a total trade embargo against South Africa and the week before the Ford Motor Company, Citicorp and ITT announced their intentions to disinvest.

It was addressed by a range of political leaders, including Thabo Mbeki, the ANC chief international spokesman, Tom Wheeler, the South African consul-general, Charles Freeman, deputy assistant secretary of state, Oscar Dhlomo, Inkatha general secretary, Johann Heyns, a Dutch

Those who were there

Thabo Mbeki (ANC), Tom Wheeler (SA Consul General), Oscar Dhlomo (Inkatha), Johann Heyns (NGK church), Tertius Myburgh (Sunday Times), Sol Marzullo (chairman, Mobil)

Reformed Church moderator, and Professor Sampie Terblanche of Stellenbosch University.

The keynote speaker, who was introduced by Sol Marzullo, head of the Mobil Oil Corporation and chairman of the Sullivan signatories in America, was *Sunday Times* editor Tertius Myburgh.

Sources here — both in the anti-apartheid movement and in Washington — say Sullivan's announcement might have affected the timing but not the substance of the corporations' decisions to withdraw from South Africa; and the conference organisers denied any link with the Sullivan announcement, saying it had been scheduled long before.

Proceedings of the conference have been kept confidential, but reliable sources say Mbeki addressed the question of economic relations between the US and South Africa in a post-apartheid society. According to a source, he said South Africa was — and would continue to be — crucially linked into the world economy.

While supporting a general sanctions position, he invited US businessmen to discuss their South African involvement with the ANC. He also asked South African businesses to take stronger positions against the government, including refusing to pay army conscripts and declining government contracts.

More than one source said Wheeler was harshly criticised by American businessmen, who "were really talking the language of human rights".

Closed US indaba on disinvestment

Myburgh, who opposed increased sanctions, quoted a Cosatu report saying sanctions would have a devastating effect on workers.

It is not the first time Cosatu has been quoted recently — by both the pro- and anti-disinvestment lobbies. In a public television debate on Ford's pending withdrawal, screened earlier this week, Alan Keayes of the State Department quoted a "draft Cosatu report" in support of his argument against corporate withdrawal.

Cosatu last week issued a statement to clarify what it called "deliberate confusion caused by the leakage" of the document. It said the document was still under discussion that Cosatu stood by its support for "all forms of international pressure against apartheid".

While there is still ambivalence about Ford's disinvestment — both in the State Department and the anti-apartheid movement — the divestment lobby has welcomed Citibank's announcement that it will sell its wholly-owned South African subsidiary to the First National Bank of Southern Africa, formerly Barclays National Bank Ltd, in a transaction expected to be completed by June 30.

"This will trigger a new wave of corporate withdrawals," predicted Tim Smith of the Interfaith Centre for

•From PAGE 1

Corporate Responsibility, who debated with Keayes on Ford's withdrawal. He reiterated his view that US companies — like IBM, Ford and the oil companies — had strengthened the apartheid state by selling products to the police and military.

An anti-apartheid demonstration scheduled outside Citicorp's plush Manhattan headquarters on June 16 turned into a celebration hours after the giant corporation announced its withdrawal from South Africa.

The 500-strong solidarity demonstration was the most manifest sign of a critical and far-reaching debate aired here recently about the current and future role of US business in South Africa.

Citibank has long been targetted by the American anti-apartheid movement as the only remaining US bank in South Africa. Recently 14 percent of its shareholders called on the bank to withdraw from South Africa. US churches have withdrawn \$125-million (R250-million) from accounts in protest at the bank's South African investments and New York City has voted to divest its stock.

Citibank has also been pressured in its home state, California, which is one of 21 American states to have

sold off investments in US banks and corporations involved in South Africa.

The sale of the South African subsidiary, which ranked 19th among South African banks in terms of assets and 23rd in terms of deposits, will probably have a more critical effect on the economy than Ford's withdrawal. Although Citibank's staff numbered only 185, compared to Ford's 15 000 employees, its significance lies in the size, influence and international financial clout of its parent body.

Although there is not yet clarity about the future of Citicorp's Diners Club subsidiary in South Africa, nor about whether they will continue to extend trade-financing loans, the divestment movement here pronounced Citibank's withdrawal as a "victory" and has now turned its attention to the Shell and Mobil Oil corporations.

The anti-apartheid movement is concerned, though, that Ford's withdrawal still leaves space for the use of the Ford logo and the sale of Ford vehicles in South Africa. They and the United Auto Workers' union, which discussed the terms of withdrawal at a recent World Ford Auto Council meeting, are reacting cautiously to the company's proposal to hand over a proportion of its shares to the organised workforce and to allow two un-

ion representatives on the new company's board of directors.

"We are awaiting guidance from the South African union before we do anything," said a UAW representative in Washington.

Ford effectively began the process of disinvestment a year ago when, in the context of a failing domestic auto market, it closed its Port Elizabeth operation and merged with the Anglo-American owned Amcar.

At least one of the divesting companies — ITT — may simply have been making political capital in response to these pressures.

Its decision to sell off holdings in South Africa was actually made in October, soon after the passage of the US Comprehensive Anti-apartheid Act, and the deal was completed by the beginning of May.

ITT's sale of the brake manufacturers, Alfred Teves Technologies, was to local management backed financially by First National Bank (then Barclays Bank).

Alfred Teves' managing director, John Brandtner, says nothing has changed in terms of the company's operations and its presence on the market.

But the company can now respond more flexibly and appropriately to local economic conditions and to the needs of its workforce, he argues.

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W/maile 19-25/6/87

ANC denies saying it formed the UDF

Argus Africa News Service

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ARC 45 19/6/87

LUSAKA. — An African National Congress spokesman today denied the organisation had formed the United Democratic Front — or that any such claim was made on the ANC's Radio Freedom.

The denial follows an SABC television news report last night that a broadcast of Radio Freedom, monitored on June 11, used the quote:

"We formed the South African National Youth Congress and the United Democratic Front, and others, right under the shade of martial law."

"SELECTIVE QUOTES"

The spokesman said "such lies" were possible only because the vast majority of white South Africans did not listen to Radio Freedom.

"The Government often uses selective quotes from Radio Freedom and ANC publications to distort what the organisation has said."

UDF president Mr Archie Gumede also denied the ANC was involved in forming the front.

"If anyone from the ANC said such a thing, they were speaking through their hat," he said.

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ANTHONY

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Mr Gandhi Reuter. *ARGUS 1968 110*
Slovo ends Mozambique visit

MAPUTO. — The secretary-general of the South African Communist Party, Mr Joe Slovo, has ended a visit to Mozambique during which he met President Joaquim Chissano. — Argus Africa News Service.

in kloze

UDF rejects PC youth report

THE President's Council Social Affairs Committee report on youth should be thrown into the dustbin, UDF publicity secretary Lechesa Tsenoli, said in Durban yesterday.

Tsenoli said the report should be rejected because it was useless and because it would cause confusion among some whites.

The report said the UDF was not only a front for the ANC, but received instructions from the Kremlin.

"The problem is far from being who controls us, which we reject completely, but the issue is that all South Africans have a right to participate democratically in the running of their affairs at all levels."

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Political Staff

End-Conscription Campaign spokesman Richard Steele, said the his organisation did not discourage young people from doing military service as alleged in the report.

"This would be against the law and against the principle of freedom of choice, upon which the ECC is founded.

"We are primarily an educational campaign, campaigning for a change in the law so that military service is no longer compulsory. We do not tell conscripts what to do - that is their own choice," he said.

19/6/87
● See also Pages 3 and 4
B. Day

(11A) DD 20/6/87

UDF, ANC react to claim

DURBAN — The United Democratic Front's (UDF) publicity secretary, Mr Lechesa Tsenoli, said in Durban yesterday that he could not confirm or deny alleged statements by the African National Congress (ANC) that it was behind the launch of the UDF.

Mr Tsenoli was responding to reports that the ANC's Radio Freedom reported on June 11 that: "We have formed the South African National Youth Congress and the United Democratic Front... and others, right under the shade of martial law."

He said it was impossible to confirm or deny these reports because the ANC was banned and if it operated in South Africa, it did so clandestinely.

Mr Tsenoli said the emergence of the UDF in 1983 arose from problems caused by the forming of the tricameral system and a "new dispensation for blacks".

"The alternatives which the UDF

pointed out became extensively supported throughout the country."

Mr Tsenoli said similarities between the ANC and UDF were that their members were South Africans and they believed in non-racialism and democracy.

"Where we differ is in the means to achieve those things."

Meanwhile, in Lusaka, the ANC yesterday denied a SABC report that it had claimed credit for the formation of South Africa's largest anti-apartheid coalition.

The SABC reported on Thursday that the ANC, in a broadcast on June 11, on its Radio Freedom network, had for the first time claimed it was behind the creation of the United Democratic Front.

The ANC statement said it was not responsible for the formation of the UDF or any other organisation. — Sapa-AP

Parliament and Politics

Carlisle, Marais defend UDF

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE banning of the UDF would constitute "a virtual point of no return" in the struggle to avert a civil war in South Africa, the PFP leader in the President's Council, Mr Robin Carlisle, warned yesterday.

Mr Carlisle was reacting to the decision by the PC to send its controversial report on the "Youth of South Africa" to President P W Botha in an unamended form — including the assertion that the UDF was a communist front that took its orders from the Kremlin.

An amendment which requested omission of the UDF-Kremlin claim was decisively rejected by the PC by 36 votes to 3, with the Conservative Party and the National People's Party abstaining.

The report was approved without changes despite strong objections by opposition parties, including allegations that it contained errors of fact.

Mr Carlisle said in a statement that the PC vote, when taken together with the "gleeful announcement" by the SABC that the ANC had claimed the parenthood of the UDF, was an indica-

tion that "a new iron age of repression" was in the offing.

"It must be clear to any political observer that the UDF is the latest organization in the sights of the security machine.

"Having failed to declare the UDF an affected organization, the possibility of an outright ban or other far-reaching steps against it cannot be discounted."

□ The leader of the People's Congress Party and PC member, Mr Peter Marais, said in a statement that the PC — by calling the UDF the surrogate of Moscow who received instructions from the Kremlin — had discredited its own constitutional affairs committee and its National Party chairman, Dr Dries Oosthuizen.

'Name-calling must stop'

Mr Marais, who said he had been refused permission to speak during the PC debate on the report, pointed out that the constitutional committee had, following its own invitation, listened to the evidence of UDF president Mr Archie Gumede "a bare three weeks ago".

"The name-calling must stop so that real negotiations with credible black leaders can begin," he said. "Without organizations like the UDF being a part to any future negotiations, it will be an exercise in futility."

Mr Marais said he rejected the PC's report on the youth "entirely" because "we cannot rehabilitate people who thirst for freedom and are prepared to die for it.

"We must rehabilitate the oppressors and not the oppressed.

"Our youth is normal. It is the society in which they live which is abnormal," he said.

TIC on conscription

JOHANNESBURG. — The Transvaal Indian Congress would oppose any attempts to "extend military conscription, cadet training, camps, and national service to Indian, coloured and African youth", the TIC said in a statement yesterday.

The PC report on the youth was "pure racist garbage designed to force conscription onto the black youth".

"The report attempts to discredit our youth by smearing their courageous resistance to apartheid as a disciplinary problem." — Sapa

CARL TIGHE 20/10/7

Govt denies child torture allegations slams ANC

Political Staff

MR ROELF MEYER, the Deputy Minister of Law and Order, yesterday strongly denied allegations that child detainees were being tortured.

In a speech at the opening of a Johannesburg symposium on Children and Violence, the text of which was released in Cape Town, Mr Meyer said a "calculated campaign" had been waged against the authorities in recent months to portray it as "insensitive" and "cruel and careless" and as a government which allowed child torture.

"At present only a handful of children under the age of 16 are being held, and there are not a great number between 16 and 18 in custody," said Mr Meyer.

However, the reasons for detaining children were being conveniently and deliberately ignored while child detention had become a "sensitive and mighty weapon in the propaganda onslaught against this country".

He quoted foreign news reports about "innocent" children being held in prison under the most "horrific" conditions.

"Not only are the allegations completely false, unfounded or exaggerated but the figures are so far-fetched and distorted that it clearly reveals the sinister motives of those who so desperately want to destroy this country," said Mr Meyer.

Hacked to death

A foreign report had said that children as young as 12 years old had been tortured and that incidents of "arbitrary killings" and "unlawful imprisonment of children" continued unabated since the declaration of a second state of emergency.

It claimed that at least 10 000 children had been detained and 1 000 shot dead while others were being tortured.

"This is the type of hair-raising report which is being sent into the world and any person in his right mind would find such actions, if true, horrendous and inexcusable," he said.

"The truth is that children are subjected to killings and torture, but not by the authorities.

"They have become the instruments best used by the callous revolutionaries and radicals in their ill-founded bid to overthrow Christian democratic rule in South Africa and replace it with Marxist rule."

Backed by the ANC and the Communist Party, these people had found children indispensable and a very powerful weapon in attempting to divorce South Africa from its allies.

He said he had seen video film of children being forced to participate in killings and how others, who had refused, were hacked to death.

"They are being forced to participate in necklacing. They are forced to sing and dance around the burning bodies. They are forced to rejoice in barbaric acts dating back to medieval times."

The authorities had been forced to act, and in the process children had been arrested, some charged and convicted, others released because of lack of evidence and others had been held in connection with serious charges or for their own protection.

Children were not held for longer than absolutely necessary but, because of fear of intimidation, it was often difficult to obtain evidence.

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

OPPOSITION parties have demanded a parliamentary select committee to determine whether the Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, offered the Labour Party a R1,5-billion housing "bribe" in return for the LP dropping its opposition to a finance bill.

Allegations that the minister diverted the sum from the Central Energy Fund (CEF) as part of a "quid pro quo" payment to the LP in favour of coloured housing, were made in Parliament yesterday by the chief whip of the PFP, Mr John Malcomess.

The Speaker, Mr Louis le Grange, ordered the PFP's transport spokesman out of Parliament when he refused to withdraw the "bribe" allegation.

Both the PFP's finance spokesman, Mr Harry Schwarz, and the Conservative Party's spokesman on economic affairs and technology, Mr Clive Derby-Lewis, last night called for a select committee investigation into the affair.

Mr Derby-Lewis said: "The alleged coercion is a further reflection of a ploy used by a desperate regime in an attempt to justify their colossal mistake... of the National Party's tricameral experiment.

"How do we know that the government is not digging into other funds to placate their co-governors into submission?"

Mr Schwarz said the CEF was created to contribute towards the stabilization of fuel prices for motorists and in order to help find new energy sources like Sasol and the Mossel Bay gas project.

Money obtained from motorists should not be used for purposes unconnected with South Africa's fuel situation, he said.

Speaking during the budget debate yesterday, Mr Malcomess

Bribe claim: Parliament probe call

CAP Times 20/6/87



Mr Du Plessis



Mr Malcomess

quoted from Hansard to show that the LP had withdrawn its opposition to the General Sales Tax Amendment Bill after Mr Du Plessis had given them R1500 million for black and coloured housing.

Mr Malcomess also alleged that this large sum of money could only have come from the CEF by "subterfuge" — a remark he was forced to withdraw.

When Mr Du Plessis was challenged by Mr Malcomess to confirm that he had "ended up in the

middle of a LP caucus", struck the deal and then swore the LP to secrecy, the minister replied across the floor: "All caucus meetings are secret."

Mr Malcomess asked Mr Du Plessis whether he would confirm the offer but the minister responded that he was "not prepared to break a confidence".

The PFP whip went on to say that he did not blame the LP for "accepting the bribe" because coloured people had been hounded out of many areas and there had been a totally inadequate provision of both land and housing for them. Mr Malcomess had to withdraw the word "bribe".

Mr Malcomess maintained the whole affair should never have happened. "If you require money for housing then vote for it, don't nick it out of another fund created for a different purpose.

"The taxpayer is entitled to know what his money is being spent on. This has been the largest sum of money ever paid as an incentive to persuade a party to change its mind," he said.

At the prompting of Mr Du Plessis, the Speaker ordered Mr Malcomess to withdraw any inference of bribery.

When Mr Malcomess replied, "I am afraid I cannot, sir," he was ordered to leave the House.

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More BC adherents held

MORE members of the Azanian People's Organisation and its sister organisations are reported to have been detained in Natal and the Northern Cape — in what appears to be a crackdown on the organisation.

Four people are said to have been detained under emergency regulations in Kimberley on June 17 — a day after services to commemorate the June 16 uprisings.

They are Thekiso Tlhatswane, an Azapo member and field worker

By NKOPANE
MAKOBANE and
LANGA
SKOSANA

for the South African Council of Churches; Monwabisi Vika, an Azapo chairperson and co-ordinator of Black Allied Mining and Construction Workers' Union in Kimberley; and Ngungunyane Madoba, Azapo's Kimberley branch treasurer.

The fourth person is Thomas Assegaa, a member of the Azanian

Students' Movement (Azasm) and a student at Ngyoye University.

In another wave of action against activists, at least 53 people — most of them members of Azasm — are also reported to have been detained this week in Sobantu township near Maritzburg. So says Azasnf publicity secretary, Mr Raschin Naidoo.

He said among those detained is Azasm's provincial organiser, Mr Chris Mathebe and the entire five-member

branch executive of Azasm in Sobantu.

Also detained is the deputy president of the Azanian Youth Organisation, Mr Jabulani Makhathini.

A telex sent by the *Sowetan* to police headquarters in Pretoria had not been replied at the time of going to press yesterday.

However, police in an earlier report said "we do not confirm state of emergency detentions."

● To Page 4

11A Sowetan 25/6/87

BC adherents

● From Page 1

Mr Naidoo said the clampdown on black consciousness members came days shortly after the detention of Azapo president, Mr Nkosi Molala, and other black consciousness adherents.

Azapo's deputy president, Mr Lybon Mabasa, said the crackdown was in line with what the Government had claimed was its mandate from the white electorate in the recent general elections.

"They are using the iron-hand tactics and gun mentality on innocent black people," he said.

Mr Mabasa also said

Azapo had briefed its lawyers to have president, Mr Nkosi Molala and five black consciousness activists released from detention.

Mr Molala, Mr Brutus Manana of the Azanian Youth Organisation; Azapo members Mr Thabo Sehume, Mr Philly Mosupye and Mr Vicky Matlala; and National Council of Trade Unions' legal counsellor, Miss Malebo Rammopo were picked up from their homes last Friday.

Police told their families they were being held in terms of emergency legislation.

CAPE TIMES
20/6/87

UDF
mum
on ANC
link

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — United Democratic Front publicity secretary Mr Lechesa Tsenoli said here yesterday that he could not confirm or deny alleged statements by the ANC that it was behind the launch of the UDF.

Mr Tsenoli was responding to reports that the ANC's Radio Freedom reported on June 11 that: "We have formed the South African National Youth Congress and the United Democratic Front ... and others, right under the shade of martial law."

He said it was impossible to confirm or deny these reports because the ANC was banned and if it operated in South Africa, it did so secretly.

Mr Tsenoli said the emergence of the UDF in 1983 arose from problems caused by the forming of the tricameral system and a "new dispensation for blacks".

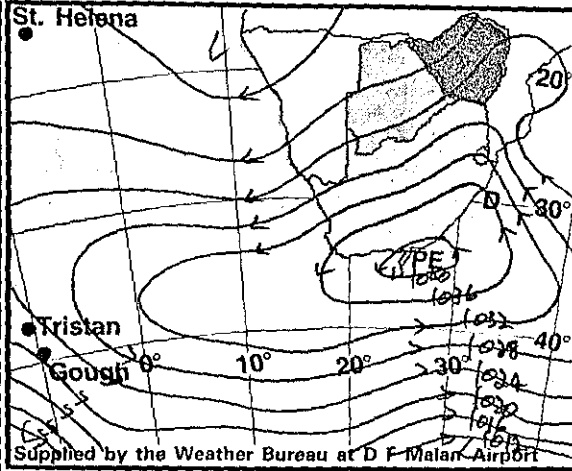
"The alternatives which the UDF pointed out became extensively supported throughout the country."

Mr Tsenoli said similarities between the ANC and UDF were that their members were South Africans and they believed in non-racialism and democracy.

"Where we differ is in the means to achieve those things."

Sapa-AP reports from Lusaka, the ANC denied the SABC report.

The ANC statement said it was never responsible for the formation of the UDF or any other organization.



Cold, warmer later

CAPE PENINSULA and vicinity and Western Cape Coastal Belt: Fine and cold but warmer later. Wind strong south-easterly over False Bay overnight otherwise light to moderate south-easterly to north-easterly. The minimum and maximum temperature will be between 04 and 23 deg C.

Coastal belt Cape Infanta to Plettenberg Bay: Fine and cold but somewhat warmer later.

Coastal Belt Plettenberg Bay to Port Alfred: Fine and cold becoming somewhat warmer later.

Namaqualand and the South-Western Cape interior: Fine and very cold but warmer later.

Pretoria, Witwatersrand and the Eastern Highveld: Fine and very cold with frost overnight.

Transvaal: Partly cloudy and cold with frost in the morning clearing later.

Free State: Fine and cold with frost overnight becoming warmer later.

Natal: Cold overnight but fine and warmer later.

Namibia: Cold overnight otherwise fine and mild.

Botswana: Partly cloudy and cold becoming fine and warm later.

YESTERDAY'S READINGS

| | | |
|-------------|----------|---------|
| | noon | 8pm |
| Barometer | 1036,7 | 1033,6 |
| Humidity | 60,0 | 85,0 |
| Temperature | 14,7 | 9,5 |
| | max 17,3 | min 0,9 |

(At D F Malan 24 hours to 8pm)
Hours of sunshine: 9,3
Wind (D F Malan) 8 pm: Calm
TIDES (TABLE BAY) TODAY
High: 1117 2334
Low: 0512 1722
Sun sets 1722 rises 0751
Moon rises 0218 sets 1349
TIDES (TABLE BAY) TOMORROW
High: -- 1220
Low: 0611 1823
Sun sets 1744 rises 0751
Moon rises 0320 sets 1417

PHASES OF THE MOON
New Moon, Jun 26.
First Quarter, Jul 4.
Full Moon, Jul 11.
Last Quarter, Jul 17.

POOL, SEA TEMPERATURES
Mulzenberg: Pool Closed, Sea 14
Sea Point: Pool 15, Sea 12
Newlands: 13,5
Long Street: 24

WEATHER ELSEWHERE

| | min | max | |
|-------------|-----|-----|--------|
| Athens | 20 | 31 | cloudy |
| Brussels | 05 | 19 | cloudy |
| Buenos A | 05 | 15 | clear |
| Geneva | 09 | 15 | rain |
| Hong Kong | 25 | 28 | cloudy |
| Jerusalem | 05 | 14 | clear |
| Lisbon | 14 | 24 | clear |
| London | 11 | 15 | rain |
| Los Angeles | 14 | 27 | cloudy |
| Madrid | 12 | 29 | cloudy |
| Miami | 27 | 31 | cloudy |
| Moscow | 16 | 26 | clear |
| New York | 17 | 31 | cloudy |
| Paris | 12 | 20 | cloudy |

television

TV schedules, supplied by the SABC, may be changed without notice

- TV1**
- 7.00- 9.00 Good Morning South Africa
 - 10.42 Programme Schedules
 - 10.45 Educational Television
 - 1.00 Teddie Hangoor, Die Skelm Kraai.

11A NP 22/6/87

Move to stop US money aiding ANC through UN

WASHINGTON — The House of Representatives has approved legislation directing the US Government to withhold funds from any United Nations project to help the African National Congress (ANC).

Without a formal vote, a series of amendments was adopted on Thursday to a Bill authorising funds for the State Department. One of the amendments, proposed by Representative Dan Burton, would add the ANC to the organisations for which US money is denied to the UN.

Those organisations at present are the South-West African People's Organisation (Swapo), and the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO).

"It is impossible to know for sure just how much the United Nations is giving to the ANC," Mr Burton told the House. "Estimates vary up to \$40 million (R80 million) a year."

The amendment still has a distance to travel before it becomes US law. The House is scheduled to vote on Tuesday on the Authorisation Bill as a whole. Later, the Senate will vote on a corresponding Bill. If the Senate Bill does not include the provision on the ANC, the question will have to be resolved in a conference committee by representatives of the two Houses.

Other amendments adopted on Thursday call for reports on detention camps run by the ANC and those run by the South African Government.

● In Geneva, the International Labour Organisation (ILO), overriding Western government reservations, voted today for mandatory economic sanctions against South Africa that would stop trade, loans, investment and dealings with Pretoria on the world gold market.

A report condemning South Africa's apartheid policies was adopted by 331 votes to eight with 26 abstentions at the ILO's annual conference. — Sapa-AP

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ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu told a June 16 rally in Maputo that apartheid destroyed homes and families in neighbouring states, as well as in South Africa.

"If there is going to be peace and prosperity, and if people are going to live happily together in South Africa and in all the other states of the region, we call on the international community to help us destroy apartheid before it destroys us," he said.

The archbishop is on an official visit to the diocese of Lebombo.

He has also paid courtesy calls on government Ministers and visited Maputo's Heroes' Square.

Tutu calls for destruction of apartheid

21/6/81
CP Press
(11A)

He told the June 16 commemoration rally that he wanted to thank Mozambicans, on behalf of millions of South Africans, for helping South Africans in their struggle to be free.

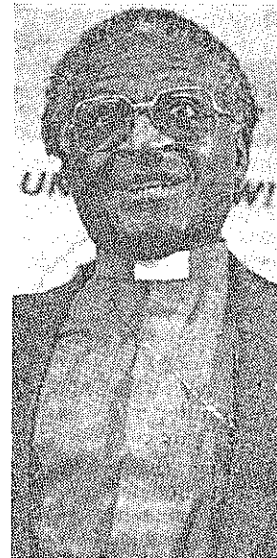
Tutu called on the international community to help the people of Mozambique,

South Africa to attack its neighbours."

The archbishop appealed to white South Africans: "For your sake and for our sake, for the sake of our country and all the neighbouring countries, apartheid must go.

"We say to them: We want to live peacefully with you. South Africa is our country. We did not come from overseas. We welcome you to come and live among us.

"We say to all oppressors and dictators everywhere in the world, we are going to be free, we don't doubt that at all. Our freedom is a gift from God." - Sapa.





A nation remembers with solemn dignity

A SOLEMN sense of dignity hung over Soweto townships this week as thousands of workers quietly stayed at home to commemorate the 11th anniversary of the June 16 uprisings.

The many thousands of pre-dawn commuters were reduced to a trickle and an uncanny silence hung over bus terminuses, taxi ranks and stations as the majority of the workforce heeded the call to regard June 16 as a paid public holiday.

There was a holiday atmosphere in the townships as hundreds of youths filled the streets and others gathered in groups inside yards.

Most business centers were closed for the day.

There was no sign it has often been the case of barricades and marauding groups of youths harassing dissenting workers and shattering windows of taxis and private vehicles suspected of ferrying workers to the city.

An eerie silence also hung over the whole of Johannesburg. A number of shops were closed for the day as a sign of respect for their customers' and staff's wishes.

For the first time in 11 years, there was a marked dichotomy between rival organisations in the townships when separate services were held within 100m of each other.

Ironically, at all services, speakers stressed the

need for rival organisations to unite and fight for the liberation of black people.

Observers believe that the trend is a reflection of the raging conflict between the rival organisations in the townships.

A quite and dignified service was held at Regina Mundi, attended by at least 1 300 people, mostly adherents of the Black Consciousness movement.

The service was convened by the National Council of Trade Unions - a federation of unions resulting from a merger between the Council of Union of South Africa and

the Azanian Congress of Trade Unions.

A large number of unions, youth groups and political organisations affiliated to the National Forum were heavily represented at the meeting.

The second commemoration service was held at the Lutheran Church in White City Jabavu and was organised by the local civic association, an affiliate of the United Democratic Front.

The meeting was attended by hundreds of youths, mostly members of the largest youth organisation in the country, the South

African Youth Congress.

Delegates and representatives from the Congress of South African Trade Unions, the Federation of South African Women and Soweto Civic Association delivered speeches.

Observers believe that the new trend reflects the conflict between the Black Consciousness camp and the Charterist movement which have been at each others' throat for the last two years.

About 1 000 people turned up at the commemoration service held at Jiswa Center in Lenasia.



The painful memory of June 16, 1976 is reflected on the face of this youth at a commemoration meeting held at Regina Mundi Hall in Soweto.

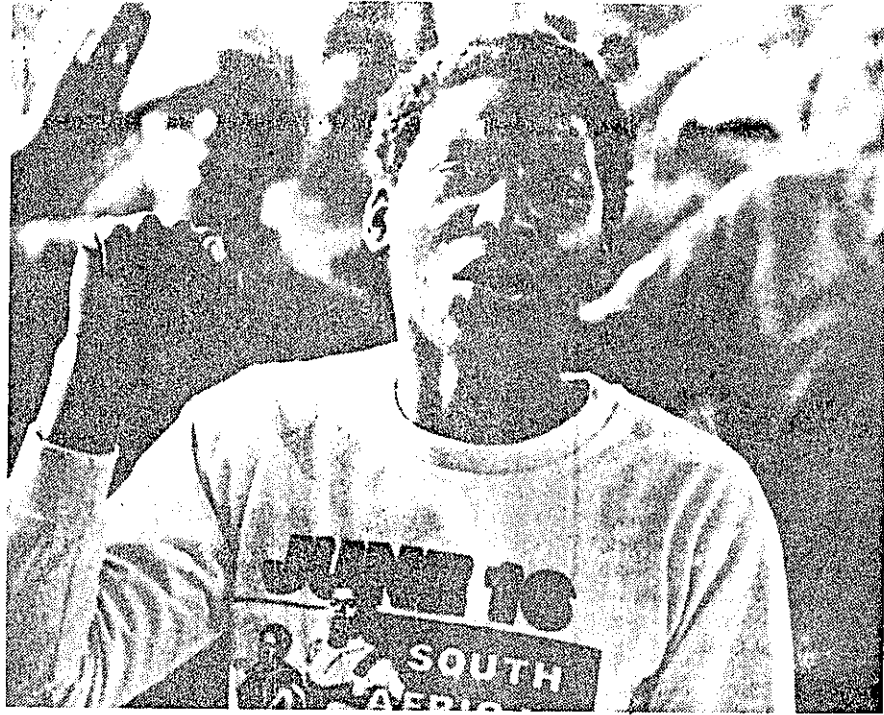


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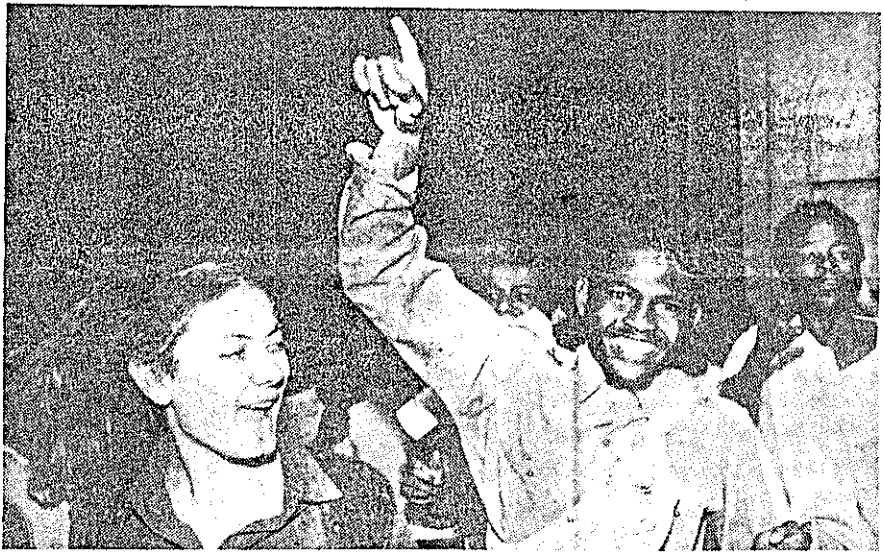
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The painful memory of June 16, 1976 is reflected on the face of this youth at a commemoration meeting held at Regina Mandi Hall in Soweto.



The Central Methodist Church in Johannesburg reverberated with freedom songs as people commemorated the events of 11 years ago.



At a meeting in Cape Town, human rights lawyer Dallah Omar said: "On June 16 we commit ourselves to the building of a free society."

ST 21/6/77

FIRST MAJOR RAID ON ZIM BY MNR REBELS

By DON JACOBS
Harare

THE Mozambique resistance movement has carried out its first mass revenge raid into north-eastern Zimbabwe.

The raid follows recent Zimbabwean strikes at MNR strongholds deep in rebel-held areas close to the Malawi border.

Zimbabwean troops boast they repulsed the raiders and gave them "a bloody nose".

But military observers fear the rebels' precipitate flight back into Mozambique's Tete province is only part of deliberate "hit and run" tactics.

A force of 110 MNR guerrillas clashed with the Zimbabweans last Sunday near the frontier settlement of Mukosa, where tens of thousands of destitute Mozambican civilian refugees are clustered around a UN-supervised relief camp.

Irony

A massive task force of Zimbabwean troops was rushed to the area following the incursion and the Zimbabwean authorities attempted to impose a news blackout.

Ironically, it was in the same area that Zimbabwe's present Zanu rulers launched their ultimately successful guerilla campaign against Mr Ian Smith's Rhodesian regime 16 years ago.

Between 6 000 and 13 000 Zimbabwean troops are currently stationed in central Mozambique.

Their main task is defence of the vital "Beira corridor" to the Indian Ocean, but their support of President Joaquim Chissano's government extends to offensives against rebel bases.

Refugees

Zimbabwe's border defence problem is compounded by the influx of 40 000 to 50 000 Mozambican refugees.

A UN spokesman in Harare confirmed this week that more than 1 000 were crossing the border each week, creating an "appalling" situation.

Mr Mugabe's one-time political chief, and founder of Zimbabwe's ruling Zanu Party, the Rev Ndabaningi Sithole, is now in exile in the United States.

He has vowed to form an alliance with the MNR to begin a guerilla war inside Zimbabwe in order to topple Mugabe's government.

Teachers seek closer links with radicals

By HENRY LUDSKI

THE Cape Teachers' Professional Association (CTPA) hopes to forge closer links with more radical extra-Parliamentary organisations such as the United Democratic Front (UDF). This was stated by the association's president, Mr Franklin Sonn, at the 20th annual CTPA congress in Port Elizabeth this week.

The move is likely to worsen the CTPA's relations with the Labour Party-dominated Ministers' Council. Relations became strained last year when the association withdrew its representatives from Government education committees.

At this week's congress, the 21 000-member CTPA again slammed the Labour Party and the Ministers' Council in the House of Representatives for their continued "political interference" in education matters.

Mr Sonn said his organisation had an obligation to enter into "more concrete" discussions with such "progressive organisations" as the UDF, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) and the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC).

Boycotts

Conceding that his association had neglected to maintain proper contact with such organisations, Mr Sonn said: "We now hope to correct this."

However, his organisation would not barter with its professional integrity, he added.

Defending his organisation from criticism that it was conservative, Mr Sonn said: "It's a bloody unjust description."

"Just because we are a professional body and respond to situations in a calm and rational way does not mean we are not radical."

His organisation would not condone school boycotts, said Mr Sonn.

"We are committed to education and believe boycotts should be seen only as an extreme option."

Mr Sonn told the congress: "We are looking for leaders who are strong enough to declare that the state of emergency should be lifted, that the Caspirs should get out of the townships, and that people who are being held in custody — especially children — should immediately be released from detention."

Mr Sonn called for the unbanning of the ANC and its leader, Nelson Mandela. Mandela and Oliver Tambo should be included in negotiations for a new South Africa, he said.

Growing 'yes' to June 16

By S'BU MNGADI

MORE and more companies in Natal are realising the significance of June 16 in SA's history - and they are prepared to recognise it as a paid public holiday.

This emerged during a survey conducted at 47 firms in the industrial and commercial sectors in Maritzburg by the Natal University-based Developmental Studies and Research Group.

According to DSRG findings, 38 percent of the firms interviewed were prepared to recognise June 16, a day in which about 600 people died during a confrontation between protesting pupils and police, as a paid public holiday in exchange for some holiday.

Fifteen percent were not prepared to recognise the day, while the rest made no comment.

Meanwhile, thousands of workers stayed away from work on June 16 in the Maritzburg-Durban area.

The 11th anniversary of the Soweto uprisings was marked by a massive stayaway of more than one-million people

countrywide. Discipline was maintained - as urged by various organisations.

Sixty six percent of the African workforce stayed away from work in the Maritzburg region, while the labour monitoring group in Durban reported that the figure was 55 percent.

The rate of the stayaway in Maritzburg was marginally higher when compared to May 5 and 6.

Ninety two percent of the firms interviewed were affected and more than 33 percent of them adopted a "no work, no pay, no penalty" policy as recommended by the Maritzburg Chamber of Commerce and Industries. Five percent told the DSRG that they would grant workers a paid public holiday, while the rest were undecided.

Businesses and shops in most Natal townships came to a standstill except for the Kwazulu government service, and 90 percent of the shops in the Indian sector of the cities were closed.

The extent of the stayaway was surprising in view of the state of emergency and the fact that Cosatu and the UDF did not call for a stayaway.

The Inkatha-backed United Workers' Union of SA, on the one hand, had placed full-page advertisements in several Natal newspapers urging its members and workers to ignore the call to observe June 16.

Five prayer services were held in Natal townships. The venues were kept secret until at the 11th hour, but the church and community halls were packed to capacity.

This was against threats by vigilantes to disrupt them and to march workers to work should bus drivers also stay away as they did on May 5 and 6.

The *City Press* team observed a massive presence of security forces, including the Kwazulu police, in Natal townships. A yellow helicopter hovered above Durban townships for most of the day.

The prayer services were incident-free except in Lamontville where police fired several teargas canisters as the crowds left the church grounds.

THE Pan Africanist Congress of Azania has supported various organisations and trade unions for continuing the liberation struggle and to fight against oppression and exploitation in South Africa.

Addressing the United Nations meeting called to commemorate the 11th anniversary of the Soweto June 16, 1976 riots, the PAC chief

PAC praises workers

Sowetan 22/6/87

By Joshua Raboroko

representative, Mr Lesaoana Makhanda, recounted the prowess of blacks to fight for dispossession of their land and exploitation.

He said many youths lost their lives in defence of their inalienable right

to determine their own destiny. He praised all those who died as "heroes and heriones."

He said the PAC had been the only exiled movement of national liberation, besides the

Black Consciousness Movement of Azania, to be charged with responsibility for the uprisings.

He praised the organisations of the workers and their federation — the

National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu), the Congress of South African Trade Unions, the South African Black Municipal and Allied Workers Union, youth organisations and the Azanian National Youth

Unity.

Referring to the state of emergency, he said the South African Government has renewed the stringent regulations, despite protest from the local and international communities.

He said the government was in deeper trouble than before because of the state of emergency.

He said the PAC will always remember the tears of the children who died in the Soweto uprisings.

"The PAC will do everything in its power to establish a nonracial democratic and socialist Azania," he said.

ST. BARNABAS

(11A) ~~(11A)~~ Sowetan 22/6/87.

LUSAKA — The African National Congress has described as a "lie" South African Broadcasting Corporation reports last week that the movement officially acknowledged on Radio Freedom that it was behind the formation of the United Democratic Front.

The ANC's official radio station was quoted in radio and television reports in South Africa which the UDF national co-president, Mr Archie Gumede, also called "lies" and an attempt

SABC was lying - ANC

by the Pretoria Government to "smear" the UDF and mislead the people into believing that the UDF was the internal wing of the ANC.

A spokesman for the African National Congress in Lusaka told the Africa News organisation the fact

that the South African Broadcasting Corporation reports did not mention which particular station of Radio Freedom was responsible for the allegation, shows that what was being reported in South Africa was a lie.

"Unless the reports identify which of Radio

Freedom's five stations quoted the ANC, they are not anything to go by and a lie," the spokesman said.

The ANC spokesman said that even during the recent all-white elections in South Africa, the State-owned media, the South African Government and those campaigning for the Government quoted from ANC publications and documents "selectively, twisting the meaning of what was actually said." — ANO.

Take the info

Do not project

Afrikaans report has PC man in hot water

11A
OWN Correspondent
DAILY TIMES 22/6/67

DURBAN. — The National People's Party (NPP) member on the President's Council, Mr Rajaram Mohangi, who signed a President's Council report recommending compulsory military service for all race groups without reading the report because he could not understand Afrikaans, should resign forthwith, members of his own party said yesterday.

In a statement yesterday, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, chairman of the Ministers' Council, House of Delegates, said the NPP would take "very strong disciplinary action" against Mr Mohangi for having signed the report and not expressing reservations at the plenary session of the President's Coun-

cil in accordance with NPP policy relating to conscription. "The NPP is opposed to conscription and has no objection to military training on a voluntary basis," he said.

The appointment of Mr Mohangi, a 70-year-old retired school teacher and sugar farmer on the Natal North Coast, gave the NPP a majority in the House of Delegates at the time.

Mr Mohangi yesterday confirmed signing the report. "The copy which was given to us for our signatures was in Afrikaans. I can't read or understand Afrikaans, but my colleagues, who are well versed in Afrikaans, signed the document, so I too signed it. We were told that we would be given English versions of it later."

1107
22/6/87
Cape Times, Monday, J

US move to cut ANC aid

WASHINGTON. — The House of Representatives has approved legislation directing the US government to withhold funds from any United Nations project to help the African National Congress.

Without a formal vote, a series of amendments was adopted on Thursday to a bill authorizing funds for the State Department.

One of the amendments, proposed by representative Mr Dan Burton, would add the ANC to the organizations for which US money is denied to the UN. Presently these are Swapo and the PLO.

"It is impossible to know for sure just how much the United Nations is giving to the ANC," Mr Burton told the House. "Estimates range from \$28 to over \$40 million (between R56 to R80m) a year."

The amendment still has a distance to travel before it becomes US law. The House is scheduled to vote tomorrow on the authorization bill as a whole. Later the Senate will vote on a corresponding bill. If the Senate bill does not include the provision on the ANC, the question will have to be resolved in a conference committee by representatives of the two houses.

Another Burton amendment adopted on Thursday calls for reports on detention camps run by the ANC and those run by the SA government. — Sapa-AP

'Not true' — ANC



Own Correspondent

22/1/82

The African National Congress "does not, has not and never will claim to have founded the United Democratic Front because it is not true", according to ANC national executive committee member Mr Pallo Jordan.

Mr Jordan said a sentence given by SABC-TV as evidence that the ANC was behind the launching of the UDF was "garbled" and out of context.

Azapo - Govt is silent

119
23/10/82
Some TV

THE authorities yesterday refused to say under what law the national president of the Azanian People's Organisation, Mr Nkosi Molala, and a number of other activists were detained.

Mr Molala was detained last Friday. Others detained with him on the same day include Azapo's Pretoria regional chairman, Mr Thabo Sehume, Azapo's Atteridgeville branch treasurer, Mr

Philly Mosupye, former branch chairman, Mr Vicky Matlala and the Azanian Youth Organisation's national organiser, Mr Brutus Manana.

Miss Malebo Rammpo, a legal counsellor of the National Council of Trade Unions, which has close links with Azapo and other organisations espousing the Black Consciousness creed, was also picked up.

A spokesman for the Bureau for Information

in Pretoria said only the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, was allowed comment on detentions and not the bureau.

The Minister could not be reached for comment.

Mr Phambili Ntloko, Azapo's national organiser said: "We do not see these new developments in isolation. They seem planned in such a manner that we are left in no doubt many more people are going to be taken away. We are gearing

ourselves for a total crackdown on our organisation."

He added that this year marked two important anniversaries on the Black Consciousness calendar.

"It is the 10th anniversary of the death in Security Police detention of Steve Biko, founder of the BC movement and also the 10th anniversary of the October 1977 State clampdown on the BC movement when 18 organisations were banned."

BOOKKEEPING AND ACCOUNTS

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* SOURCE DOCUMENTS



Weather

THE Weather Bureau's forecast summary for the Transvaal today: Very cold over the

Ribeiro trial told of hostility

CAPE TIMES 23/6/87

3334 11A

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Dr Fabian Ribeiro and his wife Florence may have died at the hands of black political opponents, police told a Pretoria magistrate yesterday.

Former riot policeman Brigadier Daniel van Wyk said as far as he knew Dr Ribeiro supported the UDF and there was hostility between the front and groups such as the Azanian Peoples' Organization.

The evidence was given in the Pretoria North Magistrate's Court at the preparatory examination to determine whether former Rhodesian Selous Scout Mr Noel James Robey, 34, was implicated in the killings. The Ribeiro couple, both aged 53, were gunned down at their home on December 1 last year.

Brig Van Wyk said the Ribeiros' son, Mr Chris Ribeiros's, actions had been consistent with political activists who accepted neither the authority of the State nor the SAP.

Magistrate Mr J N Pretorius heard Mr Chris Ribeiros had been "openly hostile" to murder and robbery squad detectives at the scene of the murders.

Earlier witness Mr Jacob Mampuru said the registration number of one of the get-away cars he gave to police was wrong.

He said he wrote down the number, KYK899T, on a piece of cardboard when he and friends chased the killers in a bakkie.

Mr Mampuru said he had not told Mr Frans Roets SC, appearing for the State, he had provided the wrong number, because the way Mr Roets looked at him had frightened him.

Mr Mampuru said he was about 15m away when the two men who had shot the Ribeiros' got out of their red Opel Kadett and into a Land Rover with the registration plate KYK899. The occupants of the Land Rover were two bearded whites. He said he would not be able to recognize them again.

The hearing continues today.

Dutch react to ANC office in Amsterdam

The Star's Foreign News Service

THE HAGUE — Questions have been asked in Parliament about what is considered a high-handed action by the Amsterdam municipality in agreeing to an ANC request to set up an office in the city.

Amsterdam's socialist mayor, Mr Ed van Thijn, announced at the weekend that the city authority had responded favourably to the request. He said he hoped this would help exert pressure on the government to take a firmer stance against apartheid.

Liberal MP Mr Frans Weisglas has tabled a question to Foreign Minister Hans van den Broek, saying a movement which fought against a country with which Holland had diplomatic relations could not be allowed to open an office in the country.

In the past Mr van den Broek has been critical of municipal authorities which act as though they pursue a foreign policy of their own.

Mr van Thijn unveiled an anti-apartheid memorial in the city's Transvaal district, in a street once known as Louis Botha Street, but now called Albert Luthuli Street.

Spokesmen for the Amsterdam municipality stress that the ANC office will merely be an information office. The municipality had consulted the Foreign Ministry before making the announcement, and the Ministry had not rejected the idea.

ANC five escape blast by minutes

The Star's Africa
News Service

LUSAKA — The bomb that exploded on the roof of an ANC house in Lusaka on Sunday night went off minutes after the five occupants had gone out for the evening, an ANC spokesman said today.

No one was injured in the blast, the spokesman said.

The spokesman said the explosion appeared to have been caused by an anti-personnel mine placed or thrown onto the roof. It had blown a hole in one of the asbestos roof panels and showered shrapnel into a room below.

The spokesman said the bomb must have been placed by "one of the South African agents who is always prowling around here".

Dutch split over ANC office

THE HAGUE — The planned opening of an African National Congress office in Amsterdam has sparked opposition from the Netherlands' two governing political parties, despite longstanding Dutch hostility to apartheid.

During the unveiling of an anti-apartheid monument in Amsterdam, the mayor, Mr Ed van Thijn, announced the opening.

Mr Ruud Lubbers' Christian Democrats and the right-wing liberals criticised Mr Van Thijn's stand as potentially undermining the government's conduct of foreign policy.

A Labour Party spokesman, Mr Relus ter Beek, said the office would be an "information outlet only".

The ANC, headquartered in Lusaka, has offices in London, Stockholm, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Tanzania.

A Dutch Foreign Ministry official said the office would not require the government's approval, because it would not have "official" status.

The spokesman compared the projected office with the Palestine Liberation Organisation information office that opened in Amsterdam three years ago.

No date has been set for the opening of the office, according to a spokesman for Amsterdam's City Hall, Mr Gijs van Stijgeren. — Sapa

11A

Govt on the UDF

~~11A~~

24/5/82

THE Deputy Minister of Information and Constitutional Planning, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, said the Government was still prepared to negotiate with members of the United Democratic Front on the future of the country, SABC Radio News reports.

This was the case even though the ANC had disclosed that it has been responsible for the formation of the UDF. Dr Van der Merwe said in Port Elizabeth that many UDF members did not support the aims of the ANC. He emphasized that the government would not negotiate with people who encouraged the use of violence.

• The ANC has denied it formed or helped form the UDF. According to it democratic forces within the country formed the UDF.

MARGIS 24/6/87. 1114

NATIONAL/INTERNATIONAL

Teachers cross Rubicon

By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Education Reporter

THE Cape Teachers Professional Association, once regarded as conservative, crossed its own Rubicon at the recent annual congress and emerged with a challenge to all organisations committed to reforming South Africa.

"Our challenge is that we set aside petty differences and devise a joint strategy by which we can liberate this country from the shackles of oppression and racism," said deputy president Mr Randall van der Heever in an interview.

He said the association was once seen as conservative.

There was a distinct difference between it and the "crisis-born" organisations which sprouted in 1985.

The CTPA operated when there was a dearth of community organisations.

More cautious

Before the formation of the United Democratic Front, the CTPA and the South African Council on Sport (Sacos) were the only community-based organisations active in education, he said.

"At that time we adopted a more cautious and, perhaps, more conservative policy because we were right up front."

The 21 000-strong association started changing its strategy after 1985.

The shift in strategy had its roots in talks CTPA president Mr Franklin Sonn had with an African National Congress delegation in December.

Since then leading activists, among them United Democratic Front patron Dr Allan Boesak and Dr Beyers Naude, then general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, had spoken at CPTA meetings.

The CTPA had informal discussions with the UDF, the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the National Education Crisis Committee.

He said the CTPA had also entered into talks with a number of student organisations.

"The students are very well-informed and have a clear picture of the new South Africa they want. Contact with them is important."

Mr van der Heever emphasised that the CTPA had not changed its principles.

The association first called for political rights for all in 1976 and it had steadfastly demanded one educational system and equality and justice in a non-racial democracy, he said.

Mr van den Heever said last week's congress in Port Elizabeth was characterised by a move away from



Mr van den Heever.

He acknowledged that there was a new awakening in the education fraternity.

"One respects this awakening, but one is wary of how the term 'progressive' is used. This can lead to political elitism which includes some people and excludes others.

"I stressed at our conference that teachers and the various community organisations must work together. From our side we want to maintain healthy contact with those community organisations striving towards equality and justice."

People's education was discussed at length at the congress.

At forefront

Mr van den Heever, who prefers talk of alternative education, emphasised that between 1976 and 1980 the CTPA was a lone voice protesting against inferior education and calling for the creation of a new education system.

"Mr Sonn and I were at the forefront of the battle to get the Department of Education and Culture to remove books that contained derogatory and racial remarks."

The CTPA was defiant at its congress and accused the Ministers' Council in the House of Representatives of meddling in education and of favouring Labour Party members.

"bread-and-butter" issues like teachers' salaries.

Delegates had focused their attention on the teacher's role in the thrust towards a non-racial society. This pattern was also discernible in Mr Sonn's presidential address, he said.

NEW YORK
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11A

STML 24/6/87.

Offer Mandela peace terms, Minister told

Political Staff

Minister of Justice Mr Kobie Coetsee was challenged yesterday to approach Nelson Mandela and all the other political prisoners with the message: "If you choose to walk the path of peace, nominate the day and I will release you."

Mr Peter Mopp, founder member of the Democratic Party (now official Opposition in the House of Representatives), called, in a private member's motion, for the lifting of the state of emergency.

He said it was within the Minister's jurisdiction in terms of the state of emergency to make an offer to Nelson Mandela and to all political prisoners "to get our country out of its political logjam".

If South Africa was to achieve peace and security, the political base needed to be broadened and there needed to be open communication with all members of all communities so that leaders with meaningful constituencies could come forward and have their say.

"Black majority rule is inevitable, but the nature of that rule depends on the settlement that can be reached now," Mr Mopp said.

He argued that legislation such as the Public Safety Act and the Internal Security Act was more than sufficient to ensure security in South Africa.

ADDRESS ROOT CAUSE

"We have never really addressed the root cause of the unrest. The state of emergency is an admission by the National Party that for 39 years its policy has been a dismal failure.

"The state of emergency should not be used to maintain white domination, to curtail the Press and to pass over the sovereignty of Parliament.

"The state of emergency is the National Party and its stubbornness in not scrapping apartheid and all discriminatory legislation.

"The problems are a direct result of the policy of apartheid, not of communism."

X-roads residents flee

CAPE TIMES (11)
24/6/87

Staff Reporter

LATE last night residents of Crossroads and KTC were reportedly fleeing the area with their belongings as rumours of more vigilante action spread.

Mr Jan van Eck, PFP MP for Claremont, said he had received reports that squatter homes on Oscar Mpetha Square in Nyanga were being burnt down and that KTC residents were evacuating their homes.

He said he had contacted the Divisional Commissioner of Police for the Western Cape, Brigadier Ronnie van der Westhuizen, to ask him to provide protection for these people to prevent loss of life and possessions.

CAP Times 24/6/87

Acquittal at Ribeiro hearing

PRETORIA. — Mr Noel James Robey has been acquitted at a preparatory hearing in a Pretoria North magistrate's court on two charges of murdering Dr Fabian Ribeiro and his wife Florence of Mamelodi.

The magistrate, Mr J Pretorius, said yesterday that there was no direct evidence linking Mr Robey to the shooting except that a light-cream jeep with the same registration number as Mr Robey's jeep was seen near the scene of the murder.

He said there were serious contradictions in the observations made by the witnesses at the scene. He said that if they could have been mistaken about the race of the gunmen they could have made a mistake about the registration number.

The court was of the opinion that after judging the evidence there had not been enough to try him on charges of murder.

The proceedings will be typed and referred to the attorney-general for a final decision.

Mr Robey had denied any involvement in the murder of Dr Ribeiro, 53, and his wife on December 1 last year.

In a statement handed to court, Mr Robey said he was at home when the Ribeiro's were gunned down inside their Mamelodi house.

He said he was the registered owner of a Land Rover with the registration number KYK899T. At the time of the incident he was employed as a security adviser with President Security Consultants in Pretoria, a firm he later left.

"On December 1, 1986 I was at work until about 4.30pm, when I left for home," he said.

He could not remember exactly what his programme was, but he remembered he spent his day working on his car.

"During the late afternoon and early evening I was at home with my wife and children having a braai. I never left the premises until the following morning."

He said his Land Rover was parked in the yard of his Hartbeespoort Dam home. It could not have been seen in Mamelodi that evening, he said.

Earlier yesterday, the slain couple's son, Mr Chris Ribeiro, broke down in the witness stand as he recounted events of December 1, 1986. The magistrate adjourned the hearing for about 15 minutes to allow him to recover.

Speaking with difficulty, Mr Ribeiro told the court that speculation in some sections of the media that his parents could have been the victims of faction fights between the United Democratic Front and the Azanian People's Organization were "absurd". — Sapa

Argus 24/6/87
3 ANC members held after Zambia explosion

Argus Africa News Service

LUSAKA. — Zambian police have detained three members of the African National Congress to help with investigations into an explosion at an ANC residence in Lusaka on Sunday.

Police said the men were held following reports that one lobbed a grenade on to the roof of the house after an argument with his colleagues.

Earlier an ANC spokesman said the explosion occurred shortly after the occupants went out for the evening.

However, reports here say that five people were injured.

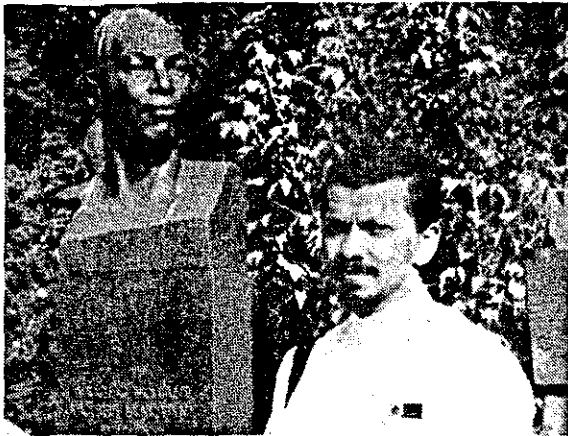
The ANC spokesman said the house, used as a residence for about five ANC members, was empty when the bomb went off and nobody was injured.

LAST ONE OUT

He said most of the occupants of the house in Kabwata township went to neighbouring houses to watch the news as there was no TV set in their own house. The last person out left only a few minutes before the blast.

The spokesman said the explosion appeared to have been caused by an anti-personnel mine placed or thrown on the roof. It blew a hole in an asbestos roof panel and showered shrapnel into a room.

The spokesman said the bomb was placed by "one of the South African agents who are always prowling around here".



IN MOSCOW . . Moulana Faried Esack next to the grave of the former secretary-general of the South African Communist Party, Moses Kotane, in Heroes' Acre in Moscow, the same graveyard where Josef Stalin is buried.

City man back from Russia

By BARRY STREEK

PEOPLE in the Soviet Union were "quite critical" of their government but they also displayed a deep sense of loyalty and patriotism to the state, Mr Faried Esack, the national co-ordinator of the Call of Islam movement, said yesterday.

Mr Esack, who recently returned from a two-week visit to the Soviet Union, said Party officials indicated there was a "tired image of the Soviet State" inside Russia — and at the same time tremendous excitement about "profound and far-reaching changes" that were taking place.

Mr Esack, the South African vice-president of an inter-faith organization, the World Conference of Religion and Peace, with headquarters in Geneva, went to the Soviet Union to represent the Archbishop

CAPE TIMES 24/6/84 (11A) (22)

of Cape Town, the Most Rev Desmond Tutu, one of the organization's presidents, at a meeting of its board of governors.

"My general impression of the Soviet people was that they came across as quite satisfied with living conditions and gave the impression of being well fed and well informed."

Though guides and interpreters were provided, he was "completely free to go where I wanted". In Moscow he had walked through the streets at night and talked to people he had met.

"A lot of young people had Western heroes such as David Bowie and Michael Jackson. They said they wanted to visit the West but I never met anyone who wanted to live in the West."

Mr Esack said South African students

studying at the Patrice Lumumba University in Moscow wanted to know when they could come home. He met about 30 ANC students who were studying law, medicine and mining engineering.

He also met the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee, which is responsible for formulating Soviet policy in Southern Africa and liaising with the liberation movements.

"The ANC does not have formal representation in the Soviet Union at all," he said.

He said he found the students "far happier with their conditions than exiles in other countries". Some were from Cape Town, including one from Manenberg, some from Kensington and some from Woodstock.

Charge me! Tutu challenge to Govt



ARGUS 25/6/87

11A

Argus Africa News Service

MAPUTO. — Archbishop Desmond Tutu has challenged the South African Government to charge him in court for his statements on violence.

At a Press conference, he accused the Government and its supporters of using "red herrings" to divert attention from the question of whether it supported Renamo violence in Mozambique.

He also said he told Mozambique's President Joaquim Chissano yesterday he was unhappy that some churches in the country remained closed on government instructions.

He said President Chissano said the question of reopening churches was receiving urgent attention.

Dealing with questions of violence, Archbishop Tutu said that during visits to Inhambane and Gaza provinces this week he saw evidence of "the atrocities committed by those who are called in Maputo the armed bandits".

He saw injured and orphaned children. He also saw children who were in hospital because of malnutrition, partly because of famine but also because some of their parents had been driven off their land by Renamo violence.

"The real issue relating to Mozambique is whether the South African Government supports those who seek to destabilise the people of Mozambique.

Children killed

"If it does, it is supporting terrorism. The bandits kill children. We saw a baby who was shot in the head, the bullet just missing its brain."

Archbishop Tutu said that at one stage the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, had said the Government supported Renamo.

"Where do they get their support if it is not from those who believe it will help them if there is trouble here and in Zimbabwe?"

Referring to his statement on violence in Maputo, he added: "I said here nothing that I have not said before. I have said nothing of which I am ashamed or repentant. I would repeat what I have said.

"It was a fairly straightforward statement — the church's teaching is that there can come a time when it would be justifiable to overthrow an unjust system violently.

Ready for charges

"I learn that some people have said that I'm going to stand up and say to the black people: 'You go ahead'. Who am I to take on such a presumptuous position?"

"If that is treasonable, I am returning (to Johannesburg) on Monday and I would want to challenge the South African Government and its supporters: If they wish to prefer charges of whatever sort — I learn that they want to lay charges of treason — well, I will be only too ready to face those charges."

Asked for his response to reports that some white Anglicans were upset about his remark, the archbishop said: "I'm not going to spend my life trying to please certain white people.

"If there are white Anglicans who are upset, then hard luck. They ought to be concerned about what their Government is doing in neighbouring countries."

More BC adherents held

MORE members of the Azanian People's Organisation and its sister organisations are reported to have been detained in Natal and the Northern Cape — in what appears to be a crackdown on the organisation.

Four people are said to have been detained under emergency regulations in Kimberley on June 17 — a day after services to commemorate the June 16 uprisings.

They are Thekiso Tlhatswane, an Azapo member and field worker

By NKOPANE
MAKOBANE and
LANGA
SKOSANA

for the South African Council of Churches; Monwabisi Vika, an Azapo chairperson and co-ordinator of Black Allied Mining and Construction Workers' Union in Kimberley; and Ngungunyane Madoba, Azapo's Kimberley branch treasurer.

The fourth person is Thomas Assegaa, a member of the Azanian

Students' Movement (Azasm) and a student at Ngye University.

In another wave of action against activists, at least 53 people — most of them members of Azasm — are also reported to have been detained this week in Sobantu township near Maritzburg. So says Azasnf publicity secretary, Mr Raschin Naidoo.

He said among those detained is Azasm's provincial organiser, Mr Chris Mathebe and the entire five-member

branch executive of Azasm in Sobantu.

Also detained is the deputy president of the Azanian Youth Organisation, Mr Jabulani Makhathini.

A telex sent by the *Sowetan* to police headquarters in Pretoria had not been replied at the time of going to press yesterday.

However, police in an earlier report said "we do not confirm state of emergency detentions."

● To Page 4

11A Sowetan 25/6/87

BC adherents

● From Page 1

Mr Naidoo said the clampdown on black consciousness members came days shortly after the detention of Azapo president, Mr Nkosi Molala, and other black consciousness adherents.

Azapo's deputy president, Mr Lybon Mabasa, said the crackdown was in line with what the Government had claimed was its mandate from the white electorate in the recent general elections.

"They are using the iron-hand tactics and gun mentality on innocent black people," he said.

Mr Mabasa also said

Azapo had briefed its lawyers to have president, Mr Nkosi Molala and five black consciousness activists released from detention.

Mr Molala, Mr Brutus Manana of the Azanian Youth Organisation; Azapo members Mr Thabo Sehume, Mr Philly Mosupye and Mr Vicky Matlala; and National Council of Trade Unions' legal counsellor, Miss Malebo Rammopo were picked up from their homes last Friday.

Police told their families they were being held in terms of emergency legislation.

Family visits Cassiem

THE family of detained political activist Achmad Cassiem left Cape Town this week to visit their father at Pretoria Central Prison.

Cassiem, 41, of Hanover Park, will appear in the Pretoria Supreme Court on Monday with six other men on various charges related to Pan African Congress (PAC) activities.

The other men are Mr Yusuf Patel, 35, of Paarl, Mabutu Enoch Zulu, 52, and Siyabulela Ndoda Gcanga, 26, both of Transkei, Vincent Alson Mathujawa, 34, of Springs, Sestiba Paul Mohlolo, 29, of Johannesburg, and the Rev Daniel Saul Nkopeli, 27, of Bophuthatswana.

The state alleges that Cassiem agreed that members of Qibla, the Cape Town Muslim organisation, should be sent for military training and that Patel had taken them to undergo training. The other men were alleged to be members or active supporters of the PAC.

11A

Sent 25-30/6/87

By MOIRA LEVY
THREE of the country's largest trade unions have recently endorsed the historic Kliptown Freedom Charter and included it in their programmes.

The National Union of Mineworkers (Num), the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (Numsa), the South African Allied Workers Union (Saawu) and the Food and Allied Workers Union (Fawu) have given official backing to the charter.

And at least two more unions are known to be considering adopting the charter. A decision is expected soon from the Chemical Workers Industrial Union following discussions at its national meeting in Johannesburg this week.

Congress

The giant Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) is believed to have placed discussion on its policy with regard to the charter on the agenda of its annual congress to be held in July.

The ANC's Freedom Charter was adopted on June 26, 32 years ago at a gathering of 3 000

Three big unions support charter

delegates at Kliptown outside Johannesburg.

The two-day congress organised under the leadership of the Congress Alliance Movement marked the culmination of months of canvassing by volunteers who travelled the length and breadth of the country collecting peoples' demands.

These were summarised into the Freedom Charter, a document that today commands broad popular support and is still hailed as the touchstone of the opposition movement.

The country's largest union, the National Union of Mineworkers, formally adopted the Freedom Charter at its Congress in February.

And the newly-formed National Union of Metal Workers of South Africa



The second vice president of Numsa, Mr Percy Thomas: The union plans to set up a workers' charter.

(Numsa), the second largest union representing about 130 000 workers, endorsed the Freedom Charter at its launch in Johannesburg in May.

Numsa qualified its endorsement of the charter by describing it as just the starting point of the workers' struggle.

The 500 delegates at the conference described the Freedom Charter as "containing the minimum political demands for a free and democratic South Africa" and "a good foundation stone on which to start building our working class programme".

One of the projects of Numsa is to draw up a workers' charter, the second vice president, Mr Percy Thomas, said.

Demands will be

collected from workers in Numsa and other unions, in much the same way that the Freedom Charter was compiled.

Volunteers will canvass workers using structures already established by the union like its shop steward committees, Thomas said.

Three weeks ago the giant Food and Allied Workers Union (FAWU) decided at its National Executive Committee meeting to endorse the charter.

A union spokesperson emphasised that the statement endorsing the charter went even further, committing the union to work closely with other progressive groupings that share the same objectives.

She said the decision was taken at last month's NEC meeting.

At least two unions are known to have decided not to include the charter in its programme. The National Union of Textile Workers (NUTW) and the Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers Union (Ccawusa) have said publicly that they have not adopted the Freedom Charter.

Tensions rise after 'witdoek threats'

By CHRIS BATEMAN

TENSIONS rose in the Nyanga area yesterday after conservative witdoeke gathered in Old Crossroads overnight and allegedly broadcast threats to "destroy the stone-throwers".

Their threats scared nearby Nyanga Bush women and children and many went into hiding.

In KTC yesterday morning, squatters whose homes were flooded by recent rains were prevented from rebuilding on land vacated during last year's fighting.

The Divisional Commissioner for the Western Cape, Brigadier Ronnie van der Westhuizen, yesterday issued a Government Ga-

zette notice reimposing last year's ban on "unauthorized people" entering "cleared" land.

The notice applies to "open, cleared or unoccupied ground" bordered by Mahobe Avenue, Klipfontein Road and Lansdowne Road in Nyanga Extension 3 and open, cleared ground bordered by Terminus Road, NY78, NY5 and the "Great Dutch Crescent" in Nyanga.

The brigadier's written permission is required for any presence in the areas.

The land referred to was occupied before last year's extensive violence which left about 100 people dead and 60 000 homeless.

Squatters said they feared a repeat of last year's fighting.

Brigadier Van der Westhuizen assured Mr Jan van Eck, Progres-

sive Federal Party MP for Grootte Schuur, on Tuesday night that he would not tolerate a repeat of last year's violence. A police spokesman confirmed the brigadier's assurance.

Residents of the Nyanga Bush camp opposite Old Crossroads yesterday said that large groups of witdoeke gathered in Old Crossroads about midnight on Tuesday, broadcasting the threat to "destroy stone-throwers".

Police had arrived after some squatters had grouped and others had fled.

Mr Van Eck and Mrs Val Rose-Christie, of the Unrest Monitoring Action Committee, said after touring squatter camps yesterday that a pattern similar to last year's build-up to fighting was evident.



UNREST MONITORS . . . Mr Jan van Eck, MP for Grootte Schuur, and Mrs Val Rose-Christie, of the Unrest Monitoring Action Committee, chat to squatters in Nyanga Bush after rumours of threatened violence yesterday. Picture: GLENN SHERRATT

meeting Fraser's psychol
: Cheers. Diana Meets Mom. D
the slaying of a 12-year-old
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Mr Justice Ludorff said th
cult to continue render-

Killers 'lucky not to go to gallows'

Cape Times 25/6/87

111A
289

JOHANNESBURG. — A judge yesterday sentenced a woman and two young men to life imprisonment and six others, aged between 16 and 33, to between five and 15 years for the murder by fire two years ago of a woman alleged to be a police informer.

They were convicted of murdering Ms Maki Skosana, 23, after a funeral in Duduza on June 20, 1985. They had accused her of being a police informer.

The three sentenced to life imprisonment are Sanna Twala, 24, Linda Hlophe, 28, and Daniel Mbokwane, 23.

Most of the evidence was based on television film shot by a foreign network. The film, widely screened abroad and in South Africa, showed the young woman being burned to death.

Young men and woman, whose faces were clearly visible on the video tape screened in court, dropped large rocks on her chest as she lay writhing on the ground and screamed for help.

Mr Justice J Hartszenberg said the three sentenced for life were ringleaders and were lucky not to be sent to the gallows.

Four other adults were jailed for terms of 10 and 15 years.

A girl, aged 14 at the time of the murder, was jailed for five years, with half the sentence suspended for five years. A boy who was then 15 was jailed for 12 years.

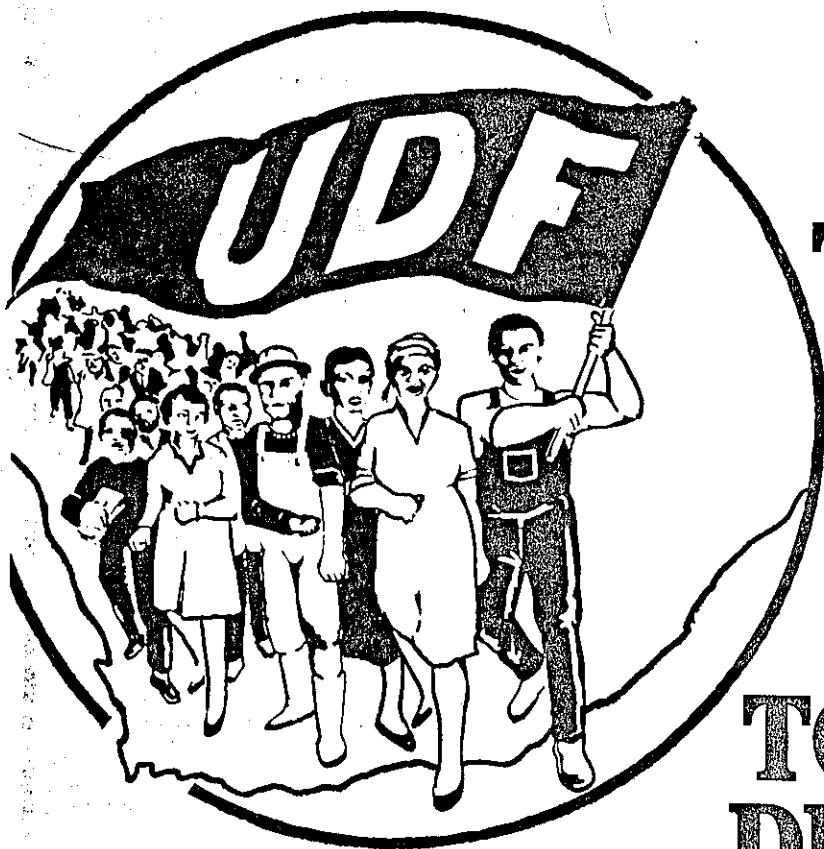
Ms Skosana was murdered at the height of the unrest and a day before President P W Botha imposed emergency rule for the first time on June 21, 1985. — UPI

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THE PEOPLE'S CHARTER



**NO
TO RACISM,
TYRANNY!**

**YES
TO PEOPLE'S
DEMOCRACY!**

- The Nats continue to impose racist solutions against the will of the vast majority of South Africans.
- They are unable to rule without greater repression, without further erosion of human rights, and without prolonged States of Emergency.
- Against this, the Freedom Charter continues to offer the most democratic and just vision of South Africa, embodying the hopes and aspirations of the overwhelming majority of South Africans — black and white.
- Hence, on this 32nd anniversary of the adoption of the Freedom Charter, the UDF calls on all freedom loving people of our country to rededicate themselves to the establishment of a united, democratic and non-racial society envisioned in this historic document.

JUNE 26 - SOUTH AFRICAN FREEDOM DAY

Whole Centre Press
 (11A)

The Freedom Charter

Adopted at the congress of the People,
 Kliptown, 26 June 1955

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 make 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.

All National Groups Shall Have Equal Rights!

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

The People Shall Share In The Country's Wealth!

The national wealth of our country, the heritage of all South Africans, shall be restored to the people; The mineral wealth beneath the soil, the banks and monopoly industry shall be transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole; All other industries and trades shall be controlled to assist the well-being of the people; All people shall have equal rights to trade where they choose, to manufacture and to enter all trades, crafts and professions.

The Land Shall Be Shared Amongst Those Who Work It!

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 implements, seed, tractors and dams to save the soil and assist the tillers; Freedom of movement shall be guaranteed to all who work on the land; All shall have the right to occupy land wherever they choose; People shall not be robbed of their cattle, and forced labour and farm prisons shall be abolished.

All Shall Be Equal Before The Law!

No one shall be imprisoned, deported or restricted without fair trial; No one shall be condemned by the order of any Government official; The courts shall be representative of all the people; Imprisonment shall be only for serious crimes against the people, and shall aim at re-education, not vengeance; The police force and army shall be open to all on an equal basis and shall be the helpers and protectors of the people; All laws which discriminate on the grounds of race, colour or belief shall be repealed.

All Shall Enjoy Human Rights!

The law shall guarantee to all their right to speak, to organise, to meet together, to publish, to preach, to worship and to educate their children; The privacy of the house from police raids shall be protected by law; All shall be free to travel without restriction from 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 recognise the right and duty of all to work, and to draw full unemployment benefits; Men and women of all races shall receive equal pay for equal work; There shall be a forty-hour working week, a national minimum wage, paid annual leave, and sick leave for all workers, and maternity leave on full pay for all working mothers; Miners, domestic workers, farm workers and civil servants shall have the same rights as all others who work; Child labour, compound labour, the tot system and contract labour shall be abolished.

The Doors of Learning And Culture Shall Be Opened!

The government shall discover, develop and encourage national talent for the

enhancement of our cultural life; All the cultural treasures of mankind shall be open to all, by free exchange of books, ideas and contact with other lands; The aim of education shall be to teach the youth to love their people and their culture, to honour human brotherhood, liberty and peace; Education shall be free, compulsory, universal and equal for all children; Higher education and technical training shall be opened to all by means of state allowances and scholarships awarded on the basis of merit; Adult illiteracy shall be ended by a mass state education plan; Teachers shall have all the rights of other citizens; The colour bar on cultural life, in sport and in education shall be abolished.

There Shall Be Houses, Security and Comfort!

All people shall have the right to live where they choose, to be decently housed, and to bring up their families in comfort and security; Unused housing space to be made available to the people; Rent and prices shall be lowered, food plentiful and no one shall go hungry; A preventive health scheme shall be run by the state; Free medical care and hospitalisation shall be provided for all, with special care for mothers and young children; Slums shall be demolished and new suburbs built where all shall have transport, roads, lighting, playing fields, creches and social centres; The aged, the orphans, the disabled and the sick shall be cared for by the state; Rest, leisure and recreation shall be the right of all; Fenced locations and ghettos shall be abolished and laws which break up families shall be repealed.

There Shall Be Peace And Friendship!

South Africa shall be a fully independent state, which respects the right and sovereignty of all nations; South Africa shall strive to maintain world peace and the settlement of all international disputes by negotiation not war; Peace and friendship amongst all our people shall be secured by upholding the equal rights, opportunities and status of all; The people of the protectorates Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland shall be free to decide for themselves their own future; The right of all the people of Africa to independence and self-government shall be recognised, and shall be the basis of close cooperation; 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."

JUNE 26 - SOUTH AFRICAN FREEDOM DAY

Police arrest two 'ANC terrorists'

Capt. T. 25/6/87

PRETORIA. — Police have arrested two "suspected foreign-trained African National Congress terrorists" and a number of suspected collaborators and recovered a large quantity of arms of Soviet origin.

The arrests and arms hauls were made in follow-up operations after a shoot-out in Emdeni, Soweto, on June 11 in which a suspected terrorist was killed and two policemen, Lt-Col S L Sauer and Const J H C Theart, were seriously wounded.

A statement from the police public relations division here said yesterday that "intensive investigations have led to the following arrests:

- Two suspected foreign-trained ANC terrorists.
- A number of alleged collaborators.
- A number of people suspected of having been trained locally in the use of terrorist weapons".

The statement said those arrested were being questioned in connection with the "alleged murder of three black men, an alleged shoot-out during which an innocent motorist, a black male, was killed, alleged shooting on members of the SA Police, alleged shooting on members of the Soweto Municipal Police".

Weapons and equipment of communist origin which were seized included a limpet mine, four AK-47 rifles, one Scorpion machine-pistol, three Makarov pistols, a loaded shotgun, seven hand-grenades, 15 AK-47 magazines, four Makarov magazines, 450 AK-47 cartridges, 32 Makarov cartridges, six detonators, two AK-47 ammunition bags, a revolver holster and 15 AK-47 cartridge holders.

The investigation was greatly helped by "information supplied by the local inhabitants", police said.

Those arrested would appear in court in "due course", a police spokesman said. — Sapa

111 25/6/87 S.M.

Inquest hears how UDF man 'dozed off' at confession

By Jo-Anne Collinge

SESHEGO — United Democratic Front Northern Transvaal president Mr Peter Nchabeleng "was dozing off" during the taking of a confession just an hour before he died in Sekhukhune police station in April last year.

This evidence was given yesterday at the inquest on Mr Nchabeleng by Mr David Mohwibila, the Lebowa magistrate who took the deceased's statement.

In cross-examination, Mr Mohwibila said that Mr Nchabeleng (59), who died within 12 hours of arrest, had appeared very sick.

NOT CONCENTRATING

"I realised he was not concentrating on what was taking place and asked him if he was not feeling well," the magistrate testified.

"Mr Nchabeleng said he was tired and had had nothing to eat since the morning."

A post mortem report has revealed that Mr Nchabeleng was severely beaten, causing serious subcutaneous bleeding which eventually caused unconsciousness during which he suffocated.

Mr Mohwibila described how Mr Nchabeleng "was always lowering his head. When I spoke to him he raised it a little."

Counsel for the Nchabeleng family, Mr Bob Nugent, reminded Mr Mohwibila that confessions normally were admissions of criminal acts and that a person might be hanged as a result of what he said in a confession.

"This man certainly wasn't alert enough to make a statement which could hang him. Do you agree?" — "I do."

Mr Nugent put it to Mr Mohwibila that it would have been proper for him to decline to take the confession. "I don't agree," the witness responded.

Earlier Mr Mohwibila acknowledged that the Nchabeleng confession was unusual not only because the man making it was not alert but because it contained no apparent admission of criminal involvement.

The officer in command of the Sekhukhune police station at the time, Warrant Officer Leslie Maserumule, was closely questioned by Mr Nugent on his failure to call a doctor to ascertain the cause of death.

Warrant Officer Maserumule said all phones in the area were out of order and there was no transport available.

Mr Nugent pointed out that police had alternative forms of communication. "The reason you did not get a doctor is because he is the last one you wanted to come on the scene."

Warrant Officer Monkoko Jacobs Mapetho, the Sekhukhune officer in charge of the investigation in which Mr Nchabeleng was arrested told the court: "A policeman may beat a person to death if he resists — but not intentionally."

Mr Mapetho said he became aware that Mr Nchabeleng was being interrogated in the police station garage at 7.30 am on the day of his death and that the interrogation was still in process at 10 am or 10.30 am.

Warrant Officer Mapetho, who opened an inquest docket immediately after the death, said he had not suspected Mr Nchabeleng had been assaulted.

The hearing continues today.

Farmer sues church minister

A Bethal farmer is claiming R10 000 in the Pretoria Supreme Court from a Dutch Reformed Church minister for allegedly spreading rumours that he was a polygamist.

Mr Hendrik Stephanus Kruger said in documents that Mr J P Blignaut, a minister of the Dutch Reformed Church in Marikana, had made allegations concerning him in front of four witnesses during August and September last year.

Mr Kruger said Mr Blignaut told the witnesses that he had broken certain church laws by having an affair with a Carla van Rensburg.

Mr Blignaut also allegedly said Mr Kruger was a polygamist.

Mr Kruger said his name and reputation was harmed by the rumours. — Sapa.

Hendrickse: Police probe charges

Political Staff

POLICE are investigating charges under the emergency regulations against Cabinet Minister the Rev Allan Hendrickse, chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Representatives.

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, indicated this in Parliament yesterday in reply to a question from Mr Peter Mopp, Democratic Party MP for Border.

Mr Vlok did not mention Mr Hendrickse by name but Mr Hendrickse's son Addo MP Mr Peter Hendrickse confirmed today the person referred to in the question was the Labour Party leader.

Mr Vlok's reply disclosed police had begun an investigation against Mr Hendrickse for an alleged infringement of emergency regulation 224, paragraph (1), published on December 11.

DEMOCRATIC PARTY

The clause forbids anyone from calling for a commercial boycott.

Mr Vlok indicated that charges had been laid against Mr Hendrickse in his home town, Uitenhage, on April 28.

Mr Peter Hendrickse said they had been laid by members of the opposition Democratic Party.

They followed a speech by Mr Hendrickse senior in which he had called on people not to buy from a Uitenhage shop owned by Mr Peter Muller, a nominated Labour Party MP who crossed to the Democratic Party.

THE FREEDOM CHARTER

As adopted at the Congress of the People on June 26, 1955

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 equal, 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.



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NO TO RACISM AND TYRANNY! **YES TO A PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY!**

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- They are unable to rule without greater repression, without further erosion of human rights, and without prolonged States of Emergency
- Against this, the Freedom Charter continues to offer the most democratic and just vision of South Africa, embodying

the hopes and aspirations of the overwhelming majority of South Africans — black and white

- Hence on the 32nd anniversary of the adoption of the Freedom Charter, the UDF calls upon all freedom-loving people of our country to re-dedicate themselves to the establishment of the united, democratic and non-racial society envisioned in this historic document

THE PEOPLE SHALL GOVERN!

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

ALL 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.

THE PEOPLE SHALL SHARE IN THE COUNTRY'S WEALTH!

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

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

All other industries and trade shall be controlled to assist the wellbeing of the people;

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

THE LAND SHALL BE SHARED AMONG THOSE WHO WORK IT!

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

The state shall help the peasants with implements, seed, tractors and dams to save the soil and assist the tillers; Freedom of movement shall be guaranteed to all who work 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 prison farms shall be abolished.

ALL SHALL BE EQUAL BEFORE THE LAW!

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

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

The courts shall be representative of all the people;

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

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

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

ALL SHALL ENJOY HUMAN RIGHTS!

The law shall guarantee to all their right to speak, to organise, to meet together, to publish, to preach, to worship and to educate their children;

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

All shall be free to travel without restriction from 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 officials and to make wage agreements with their employers;

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

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

There shall be a 40-hour working week, a national minimum wage, paid annual leave and sick leave for all workers, and maternity leave on full pay for all working mothers;

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THE DOORS OF LEARNING AND CULTURE SHALL BE OPENED!

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

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

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

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

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

Adult illiteracy shall be ended by a mass state education plan;

Teachers shall have all their rights of other citizens;

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

THERE SHALL BE HOUSES, SECURITY AND COMFORT!

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

Unused housing to be made available to the people;

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

A preventive health scheme shall be run by the state;

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

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

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

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

THERE SHALL BE PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP!

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

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

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

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

The rights of all the peoples of Africa to independence and self-government shall be recognised and shall be the basis of close co-operation.

Let all who love their people and their country now say, as we say here:

These freedoms we shall fight for, side by side throughout our lives, until we have won our liberty

The People's Charter

UDF to adopt Freedom Charter

11A
Soweto
26/6/87

THE national conference of the United Democratic Front will adopt the Freedom Charter as its political programme on August 20 — the fourth anniversary of the UDF.

The acting national secretary of the organisa-

By MZIKAYISE
EDOM

tion, Mr Murphy Morobe, yesterday said: "We will launch a campaign today to popularise and explain the Freedom Charter to

all the people of South Africa, black and white."

He said the Nationalist Government had done everything in its power to suppress and criminalise the Freedom Charter.

"They have failed utterly in this attempt.

The first aim of our campaign will be to make the Charter available to the many ordinary South Africans who have been deprived of its great vision by the Government," Mr Morobe said.

He added that the UDF aims to take the campaign "into every home, workplace and school."

"We want to ensure that no South African is left ignorant of the document which contains the dreams and aspirations and represents the interests of the overwhelming majority of South Africans, black and white," Mr Morobe said.

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Manure message for council man

By BASHEER LORGAT

PRESIDENT'S Councillor Ismail Jajbhay woke up on Tuesday morning to find the lawn of his home in Lenasia, near Johannesburg, covered with smelly garbage.

Bags of garbage had been emptied out on the front lawn of the luxury home of Jajbhay, who is at the centre of a controversy for signing the President's Council's recent youth report.

A group calling themselves "Youth of Lenasia" later issued a statement claiming responsibility for the garbage protest. In their statement they referred to the youth report of the PC's Social Affairs Committee as "a load of garbage and bull manure".

Jajbhay, an attorney, said he saw no reason for the demonstration against him. He saw himself as "a fighter within the system" who supports UDF ideals and vehemently opposes military conscription.

Jajbhay signed the report which recommended that conscription be extended to all male South Africans and attempted to link the UDF with the Kremlin.

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Weekly
mail

26/6/87

Azapo prepares for crackdown

By SEFAKO NYAKA

THE Azanian Peoples' Organisation believes the detention of over 70 of its members this week might be a prelude to a nationwide crackdown.

Among those detained are the Azapo president, Nkosi Molala, and Azanian Youth Organisation members Philly Mosupye, Thabo Sehume, Brutus Manana and Vicky Matlala, all from Pretoria.

In another swoop police are believed to have arrested over 50 black consciousness activists in Sobantu, near Pietermaritzburg, and more than half a dozen others in Kimberley.

Large meetings to commemorate the 11th anniversary of the Soweto uprising were held in these areas.

Azapo representative Lybon Maba-sa said yesterday that there were over 300 Azapo members in detention.

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26/6-2/7/87
Two 'necklace'
verdicts on same day: Six
to hang, three get life

By MONO BADELA
SIX PEOPLE were this week sentenced to death for a "necklace" murder in Queenstown on the same day three people convicted of committing a similar offence in Duduza, on the East Rand, escaped the gallows.

The Duduza three received life sentences.
Now lawyers for the condemned Queenstown people are hoping to call on expert evidence given as mitigation in the Duduza case — evidence that is believed to have played a key part in keeping the accused from the gallows.

The six who received death sentences in Port Alfred were Mzwandile Gqeba, Whanto Silinga, Lundi Wana, Thembinkosi Pressfeet, Mzwandile Mninzi and Monde Tingwe. They were convicted at a special sitting of the Supreme Court in Port Alfred of the 1985 "necklace" murder of 18-year-old Nosipho Zamela, in Mlungisi location, Queenstown.

A seventh accused, Thozamile Bacela, was also convicted of the murder but sentenced to 20 years imprisonment by the presiding judge, Mr Justice Kroon.

A further five accused were convicted of assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm and sentenced to 18 months imprisonment, of which 12 months were suspended for five years.

The Duduza trial centred on the "necklacing" of Maki Skosana in Duduza on July 20, 1985, an incident that was filmed in full and captured a great deal of international attention.

The three who received life sentences for their involvement in the murder were Sanna Twala, 23, Linda Hlophe, 26, and Daniel Mbokwane, 22. Six others were found guilty of murder and sentenced to a total of 62 years imprisonment.

All were granted leave to appeal.
The expert evidence given at the Duduza trial — and which the Port Alfred lawyers want to use — was given by, among others, Professor Edward Diener, a world expert in crowd psychology.

A defence lawyer in the Duduza trial, Krish Naidoo, said yesterday he believe Diener's evidence contributed to the decision by Mr Justice Hartzenberg to hand out life sentences rather than send the three to the gallows.

The defence team for the 11 accused in the Duduza trial invited Diener to explain to the court the mechanisms behind the grotesque attack, in what is believed to be the first time that an authority on mob psychology was used in a South African trial.

Diener, who was brought from Illinois, told the court that "most people accused of beating and burning to

●To PAGE 3

Necklace deaths: 3
get life, 6 to hang

●From PAGE 1

death (the victim) in a vicious attack at a funeral in Duduza were churchgoers while one of the accused plans to become a nurse". They all believed their actions — kicking her, hitting her with sticks, jumping on her and stoning her — were, in retrospect, quite wrong and he found that people who knew them were surprised at what they had done.

He said these people would go down in psychological literature as a classic case of "deindividuation", where the individual loses his or her self-awareness and cannot regulate his or her own behaviour.

"Because of the forces existing in crowds, they often commit actions which are often against their moral beliefs," he said.

Diener watched the film of the incident and said at a press conference later: "I did not like what I saw, but knowing what I know about crowd behaviour, it did not surprise me that good people are capable of doing these sorts of things if the circumstances are right."

He said several of the accused he interviewed told him they had not thought about what they were doing, they had not realised their actions would kill the woman, nor were they worried about being arrested, despite the presence of cameras.

"In this case, we have a very clear example of factors such as conformity, imitation and deindividuation. These factors reduced the ability of the accused to make rational judgements about their behaviour."

He added that the accused were impaired in their ability to appreciate that death could ensue and the large, chanting crowd which was present could have led to impulsive behaviour.

"The psychological forces making up for aggression were very strong in this case. Such forces mitigate the level of responsibility of the defendants," the professor said.

Also an important factor was the mitigating evidence given by a field worker employed by the South African Council of Churches, the Rev Ross Olivier of the Methodist Church in Nigel, that Skosana was killed during a period of anger, suspicion and turbulence in Duduza. Pleading in mitigation, Olivier also described the period as abnormal.



Expert defence witness Edward Diener

Picture: MONO BA

Last time Elliott Shabangu was here, it looked exactly the same



Picture: AFRAPIX

Last time Elliott was here, he signed the Freedom Charter

A VETERAN REVISITS THE SPOT WHERE THE FREEDOM CHARTER WAS SIGNED 32 YEARS AGO TODAY

By MONO BADELA

WHEN the history of the South African struggle is written, the small and squalid area of Kliptown, south-west of Johannesburg, will merit more than a chapter.

In fact Kliptown will get "a shrine or a statue of liberty — far bigger than the Voortrekker Monument outside Pretoria".

This opinion was expressed by former African National Congress stalwart, now a leading United Democratic Front personality, 60-year old Goldberg Elliott Shabangu, on a visit to the area — 32 years after the Freedom Charter was adopted there at the Congress of the People. The day, June 26, is marked as "Freedom Day" by resistance organisations. This year it marks the culmination of the UDF's call for a period of protest that began on June 16.

Shabangu's sentiments were echoed by another former ANC stalwart and trade unionist, 75-year-old Frances Baard, who said the Congress was "perhaps the first really representative gathering in the country's history".

Some 3 000 delegates representing various organisations — including the then legal ANC, South African Indian Congress, Congress of Democrats, and South African Coloured People's Congress — formally and unanimously adopted the charter.

Shabangu was one of the 10 delegates representing the ANC's Dube, Soweto, branch on the chilly day of June 26, 1955.

Weekly Mail accompanied Shabangu on his sentimental journey to Kliptown, and talked to the Indian traders, some of whom were there for the Congress of the People. "Nothing has basically changed here," said one trader. "It is the same old Kliptown, completely neglected by the Johannesburg municipality."

He suspected it was a deliberate act on the part of the government to leave Kliptown as it is. "It is completely forgotten."

Shabangu said events at Kliptown provided a backdrop for the 1956 treason trial, the imposition of the first State of Emergency in 1960 and the "arbitrary" banning of organisations like the ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress in March 1960.

Dormant, virtually forgotten for almost 20 years, the charter is today more popular than it has ever been. It has been formally endorsed by organisations claiming to represent more than 1 000 000 people, 10 times the combined membership of the organisations which gave it form at the Congress of the People in 1955.

The charter, pushed into a corner with the banning of the ANC in March 1960, nudged its way back

into the limelight in the late 1970s as "progressive" ideologies began to challenge the decade-old dominance of black consciousness in opposition activity.

Endorsed by the now-banned Congress of South African Students in 1979, the charter has pushed its way to the centre of the opposition stage over the past eight years.

In the early 1980s, thousands of young anti-apartheid activists learned it by heart and could recite all 10 clauses, plus the preamble and the closing sentence — "These freedoms we shall fight for, side by side, throughout our lives, until we have won our liberty."

A major breakthrough came with the decision of the Publications Appeal Board in 1983 to overturn the banning of a copy of the charter.

But while support for the charter has grown enormously in the last six years, the past four months have seen an eruption of formal endorsement of the document and intense debate about its contents.

In late February, the 369 000-strong National Union of Mineworkers formally adopted the charter.

A few weeks later, the militant South African Youth Congress (Sayco), with claims more than 700 000 members, adopted the charter during its secret launch in Cape Town.

Then in May, 131 000-strong National Union of Metal Workers of SA and the 63 000-strong Food and Allied Workers Union endorsed the charter, with Numsa stating that it contains the "minimum set of demands of the workers".

Frank McIntjies, publicity officer for the Congress of SA Trade Unions, said in an interview the charter was "certain to come into our discus-



Part of the crowd which adopted the Freedom Charter

sion on the movement's political direction at the national congress to be held in just over two weeks' time."

He said discussion on the charter would be linked to an examination of what it meant for workers "to play the leading role in the struggle for total emancipation".

Frances Baard was a delegate to the Congress of the People. Speaking at the Mabopane house, where she had been banished in 1969 after serving a five-year prison sentence for furthering the aims of the ANC, she said the congress had been "truly national".

"Everyone was invited to come. Even Sactu (the SA Congress of Trade Unions) sent delegates, although they hadn't joined the Congress Alliance yet."

In Port Elizabeth, "we went from door to door, telling people that we were going to have a conference for all the people of South Africa, black and white."

"We got people together in small

groups, maybe 10 at a time, and we asked them, 'If you go to this conference, how would you like South Africa to be handled? How would you like things to be here?'

"We collected demands from all the people. We collected demands from the workers. People from the movement would go to the various churches and tell them about our wanting to write the Freedom Charter, and collect their demands."

"Then we held a meeting where we compiled all these demands."

The Federation of South African Women also compiled demands for the congress.

"We made a list, so that women would not be forgotten in the Freedom Charter. We had already written the Women's Charter at the Federation Conference in 1954 and we wanted to see some of these things in the Freedom Charter."

"We wanted proper care and help for pregnant women. We wanted free

education for everyone. We demanded proper housing that we could afford, with proper electricity and proper toilets, because our houses did not have these things.

"We wanted enough food for everyone and better prices for food, because we all knew what it is like when your child is crying and you have no money to buy him food."

"And then, too, we demanded that the women be considered equal with the men in everything, and that all women in South Africa be given the vote."

Baard said more than 100 delegates from the Eastern Cape went to Kliptown. She and the late Florence Matomela represented the ANC Women's League.

The Congress of the People was held over two days in an open field. Shabangu said there had been bigger political meetings in South Africa, "but the Kliptown gathering was and still is unique in our history."

"There were some 2 884 delegates and not just observers and spectators. All, without exception, adopted the historic document which will form the basis of the constitution of post-apartheid South Africa."

High spirits marked the Congress of the People, he said. There was a lot of singing, reading, discussion and the distribution of pamphlets.

The National Action Committee had also invited the government to attend the conference, Shabangu said, but instead, on June 26, the police arrived. "First they came on horseback, then in trucks, and lastly the Saracens arrived."

"We were not moved. We had a very important task to complete. Despite a drizzle, we completed our task. Finally the charter was read, clause by clause, and adopted without a dissenter raising his hand."

"It was the first time I had seen so many people in one place, saying one thing."



THE FREEDOM CHARTER

As adopted at the Congress of the People on June 26, 1955

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 equal, 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 make 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.

ALL 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.

THE PEOPLE SHALL SHARE IN THE COUNTRY'S WEALTH!

The national wealth of our country, the heritage of all South Africans, shall be restored to the people;
The mineral wealth beneath the soil, the banks and monopoly industry shall be transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole;
All other industries and trade shall be controlled to assist the wellbeing of the people;
All the people shall have equal rights to trade where they choose, to manufacture and to enter all trades, crafts and professions.

THE LAND SHALL BE SHARED AMONG THOSE WHO WORK IT!

Restriction of land ownership on a racial basis shall be ended, and all the land re-divided amongst those who work it, to banish famine and land hunger;
The state shall help the peasants with implements, seed, tractors and dams to save the soil and assist the tillers;
Freedom of movement shall be guaranteed to all who work 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 prison farms shall be abolished.

ALL SHALL BE EQUAL BEFORE THE LAW!

No-one shall be imprisoned, deported or restricted without a fair trial;
No-one shall be condemned by the order of any government official;
The courts shall be representative of all the people;
Imprisonment shall be only for serious crimes against the people and shall aim at re-education, not vengeance;
The police force and army shall be open to all on an equal basis and shall be the helpers and protectors of the people;
All laws which discriminate on the grounds of race, colour or belief shall be repealed.

ALL SHALL ENJOY HUMAN RIGHTS!

The law shall guarantee to all their right to speak, to organise, to meet together, to publish, to preach, to worship and to educate their children;
The privacy of the house from police raids shall be protected by law;
All shall be free to travel without restriction from 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 officials and to make wage agreements with their employers;
The state shall recognise the right and duty of all to work and to draw full unemployment benefits;
Men and women of all races shall receive equal pay for equal work;
There shall be a 40-hour working week, a national minimum wage, paid annual leave and sick leave for all workers, and maternity leave on full pay for all working mothers;
Miners, domestic workers, farm workers and civil servants shall have the same rights as all others who work;
Child labour, compound labour, the tot system and contract labour shall be abolished.

THE DOORS OF LEARNING AND CULTURE SHALL BE OPENED!

The government shall discover, develop and encourage national talent for the enhancement of our cultural life;
All the cultural treasures of mankind shall be open to all, by free exchange of books, ideas and contacts with other lands;
The aim of education shall be to teach the youth to love their people and their culture, to honour human brotherhood, liberty and peace;
Education shall be free, compulsory, universal and equal for all children;
Higher education and technical training shall be opened to all by means of state allowances and scholarships awarded on the basis of merit;
Adult illiteracy shall be ended by a mass state education plan;
Teachers shall have all the rights of other citizens;
The colour bar in cultural life, in sport and in education shall be abolished.

THERE SHALL BE HOUSES, SECURITY AND COMFORT!

All people shall have the right to live where they choose, to be decently housed, and to bring up their families in comfort and security;
Unused housing to be made available to the people;
Rent and prices shall be lowered, food plentiful and no-one shall go hungry;
A preventive health scheme shall be run by the state;
Free medical care and hospitalisation shall be provided for all, with special care for mothers and young children;
Slums shall be demolished and new suburbs built where all shall have transport, roads, lighting, playing fields, creches and social centres;
Rest, leisure and recreation shall be the right of all;
Fenced locations and ghettos shall be abolished and laws which break up families shall be repealed.

THERE SHALL BE PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP!

South Africa shall be a fully independent state which respects the rights and sovereignty of all nations;
South Africa shall strive to maintain world peace and the settlement of all international disputes by negotiation, not war;
Peace and friendship among all our people shall be secured by upholding the equal rights, opportunities and status of all;
The people of the the protectorates of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland (Lesotho, Botswana and Swaziland) shall be free to decide for themselves their own future;
The rights of all the peoples of Africa to independence and self-government shall be recognised and shall be the basis of close co-operation.

Let all who love their people and their country now say, as we say here:

**These freedoms we shall fight for, side by side,
throughout our lives, until we have won our liberty**

LETTERS FROM A LINKSFIELD LIBERAL



Mon-Imali
Linksfeld
Monday, June 22

My son,

This week, for the first time, I was relieved that you "attend" that middle-of-the-road, moderate bastion of 19th-century liberalism, once visited by Alan Paton, the London "School" of Economics (the economics are mostly mine, by now).

It turns out that Wits University, your alma mater (not to be confused with your mother, the alter mater), has appointed as right-hand men/women to Karl Tobias the likes of Josef Stalin, Fidel Castro, Michael Foot, Michael Heseltine, Princess Michael, Karl Marx, Shula Marks, Zeppo Marx, Sammy Marks, Marks and Spencer, High Water Marx and various other fugitives from the long right arm of our "law". I suspect they are all alleged to be suspected members of suspected parties.

This is the good news.

There is more.

The Lavatory and Allied Workers Union (Lawu), the future inheritors of your past inheritance, has voted to split. Not, as you would imagine, into La and Wu, but into Loo and Wa.

The issue over which they have split is a particular Charter setting out minimum demands for all people who work in this industry. Here are a few of the less controversial clauses:

There shall be freedom of movement.

There shall be freedom of expression and association.

The seat of parliament shall be redesigned.

The people shall flush out all collaborators.

The doors of cloak and ablution shall be opened to all.

Meanwhile the Radical Feminist Bidet, Douch and Ladies' Room Disposal Unit has declared itself separate from the Urinal Defence Force, who are male separatists of the first water, and so the factory is being torn asunder by these rival factions.

In addition, a small group of libertarians has decided to set itself up in a pyramid formation called the Rival Foremen group of toilet products to redistribute the resources of the poor.

For brevity, let us call the Wa faction the "workerists", and the Loo the "populists". The rest I leave to your imagination.

The "workerists" are "advised" by a fellow called Solly "Big Bok" Vhemvhibhubhu, and they are concerned with such vital issues as the workings of stomachs, or how much they will get for their shares once my assets have been redistributed to their satisfaction.

The "populists" are not interested in shares or stomachs but deal more with what one may describe as "gut issues". Their adviser is Idris "Solly" Naipaul, known to the people as Krishna.

The Disposal Unit ladies have declared themselves unwilling to be led by men or anyone else, for that matter, for they are an autonomous non-hierarchical collective turning out several jerseys every week, mostly in shades of grey.

The Urinal Defence Force, on the other hand, have, for some reason known best to themselves, nominated your Uncle Barney as their mascot, probably because he inspired their motto, "We shoot straight, so you'd better get out the way".

Good old Basil Tshabalenskaya, in the meantime, seeing the shop over which he was, for a brief spell, the shining steward, is distraught about the lack of unity. He is twittering around, wringing his hands dry, in an attempt to effect some broadly democratic principles amongst his erstwhile constituents.

"Come the ablution, we will wash our hands of all of this," I hear him say whenever he encounters an audience of consisting two or more workers at the water fountain. "Come," he adds, "let us spray."

The bad news, my son, is that — not to put too fine a point on it — your inheritance is going down the drain.

Your father,

Dad

OTHER PEOPLE

Why Sarah asks Bill to lock her away in the cupboard

w/ Mail 26/6 - 27/87

Nobody stares anymore when Bill, who is white, and Sarah, who is not, walk around together. Their problems start when they get home.

CARMEL RICKARD reports

SOUTH Africa 1987. She spends the whole weekend behind closed curtains, afraid of being seen.

When there's a knock on the door she pretends no-one is at home.

If a sound wakes them up at night she asks him to lock her in the cupboard.

He is white, she is "coloured"; but this is 1987 and it is the Group Areas Act, not the Immorality Act, that threatens them.

"Bill" and "Sarah" (they asked that their names be changed) have already been forced out of one flat because of a landlady who insisted "no non-whites allowed" — not even for supper.

With no place to meet, their relationship seemed doomed.

"I was so humiliated," she recalls. "I said that if we could only meet on the street corners I would rather end it. You know what people think when they see a coloured woman meeting a white guy on a dark corner — they think you are a slut. I couldn't stand that."

In their new home they hoped for some peace because the owner and agent were sympathetic.

Then came the post-election shock of eviction notices served on possibly hundreds of families in the central Durban area. The Department of Constitutional Development and Planning has told companies owning "affected" blocks that the Group Areas Act is being contravened and that unless the situation is rectified, the properties will be sold.

Bill and Sarah have not yet received an eviction notice, but their lives are dominated by the fear that it will arrive at any time — "I look in the post box every day," he says. "Sunday too, just in case."

Even marriage plans have been shelved until the situation is resolved. "Where could we stay?" she asks.

"If we try in a white area we live on the run, waiting to be thrown out."

"I don't mind living in Wentworth or Newlands East as a coloured," he says. "But we asked about a place and before we can even get on the list we have to be married and then there's an eight or 10 year wait until your name comes up on the list. Where would we live until then?"

"If you are in love with a white you can't take him there," she interrupts. "Whites aren't used to living like that"



"Bill" and "Sarah" — living in fear of the Group Areas Act — so congested. We would have to live with my parents and family in their two-bedroom flat.

"We are trying to find a better environment — living like that, your relationship starts breaking up. Nothing goes well if you have to live on top of each other."

The irony is that they rarely cause even a flicker of interest walking around together — "Some aunts stare, but on the whole no-one seems to notice. You see a lot of couples like us now since they got rid of the Mixed Marriages Act."

"But we don't understand how they can get rid of that law and keep the one that says we can't live together."

Bill says the situation has made him much more aware and prepared to speak out, criticising the law. "If it comes up I tell them this Group Areas Act has go to go. Scrap it. It's madness."

The worst time for both of them is coming home from work in the evening and wondering what might have happened during the day — whether they have been "found out".

All the way back she fantasises about it: "I worry they will suddenly have started security at the building and they will chase me out of there. I think where will I find a bus to Wentworth at that time of night. Maybe I'll be attacked, raped even."

"Sometimes in the middle of the night I imagine they will come and look who is here and throw me out into the streets."

"When there's a knock on the door," he says, "she begs me not to

open it. She's scared it's someone coming to check who lives here.

"Last night there was a knock and we just sat here quietly and waited for them to go away. I've never lived like this before — afraid in your own home."

Sarah has a four-year-old daughter who lives with her parents in Wentworth. They visit her when they can and Sarah says she can hardly be the child's weeping when it's time to go.

"We can't bring her here. It would draw attention to the place and they would throw me out," she says.

"She would have to stay locked all day here — like me. What if I'm working and someone comes knocking here in the afternoon and the child here and they try to find out who we are?"

"When we leave she says 'Mum, don't go. Take me. I want to come with you.' My heart gets so sore. She says she will be good and won't open the door or make any noise."

"We can't invite black friends here in case people begin taking notice. If you have to start looking your friend up and down and thinking, 'Can you come? Will you pass?'"

So what will they do when the door comes and they are "found out"?

They speak almost at the same time. "If it comes to the worst I'll go on hunger strike. Bobby Sands the second. Serious I will, they will have to listen then," he says.

"I'll sit in the street with my child and surely someone will take pity on us," says Sarah.

WHO'S LEFT?

by Ster

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11A



NO TO RACISM AND TYRANNY!

YES TO A PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY!

- The Nats continue to impose racist solutions against the will of the vast majority of South Africans
- They are unable to rule without greater repression, without further erosion of human rights, and without prolonged States of Emergency
- Against this, the Freedom Charter continues to offer the most democratic and just vision of South Africa, embodying the hopes and aspirations of the overwhelming majority of South Africans — black and white
- Hence on the 32nd anniversary of the adoption of the Freedom Charter, the UDF calls upon all freedom-loving people of our country to re-dedicate themselves to the establishment of the united, democratic and non-racial society envisioned in this historic document

June 26 — South African Freedom Day

Freedom Charter's appeal grows

CAPE TIMES 26/5/87 11A
By SHAUNA WESTCOTT

THIRTY-TWO years ago about 3 000 delegates to the Congress of the People in Kliptown adopted the Freedom Charter, completing the final clauses while they were surrounded by police armed with machine-guns.

"Comrades, this is the hour! Please do not do a thing! Let's sing," delegates were told, as anger soared when a police officer mounted the platform in an attempt to stop proceedings.

So the national anthem was sung and the last clauses of the historic document were adopted before 156 people were arrested and charged with treason.

Charges were dropped against all but about 30, who were subsequently acquitted at the end of a marathon trial during which prosecution attempts to

paint the Charter as treasonous and communist-inspired were dismissed by the judge.

But, from 1955 till 1984 — when the Publications Appeal Board ruled it was not an "undesirable" document — possession of a copy of the Freedom Charter was an offence. Several publications were banned because they quoted it.

It has the appeal of the universal language of fundamental human rights. It envisages a non-racial democracy based on universal suffrage. It guarantees various civic and human rights and commits itself to the rule of law. It proposes social-welfare measures — including free and compulsory education, adequate housing and free medical care — and envisages aspects of a mixed economy.

The Charter has not gone uncriticized. It has been attacked for language that is imprecise, sweeping and vague in places — notably the clauses on land and wealth — and for a vocabulary at odds in certain instances with its non-racist ideals.

Another criticism, sympathetically put, is that it can hardly be said to exhaust the question of workers' interests.

However, it has the support of both the largest legal resistance organization and the biggest trade union in the country — the UDF and the 369 000-strong National Union of Mineworkers (NUM).

It has been backed by the Food and Allied Workers' Union and the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (Numsa), a new super-union launched in May and represent-

ing 130 000 metal and motor workers across the country.

There was an important qualification in the resolutions adopted by these three unions, said a Cosatu spokesman. They identified the Charter as the starting point for a programme of struggle — the "minimum demands for a democratic society", as Numsa president Mr Daniel Dube put it.

Informed opinion is that this view of the Charter as a minimum or transitional programme will be adopted increasingly by political organizations informed by working-class interests.

That it is being discussed and employed in evolving definitions as the trade union movement comes of age is adequate evidence that the Freedom Charter remains a vital document despite its age and imperfections.

Black talks: Gov't's dramatic new move

Mc Tim's 26/6/82 Political Staff (11A) (11A)

IN A dramatic new gesture to get negotiations with black leaders off the ground, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, who was recently appointed to spearhead the drive, said yesterday that he would be prepared to talk to people in jail or detention.

Dr Van der Merwe, who was appointed Deputy Minister of Constitutional Planning by the State President, Mr P.W. Botha, last month to head the negotiations, also said he would not demand that black leaders renounce violence before talking to them and that he would not rule out speaking to "elements" of the UDF.

Dr Van der Merwe's conciliatory approach reflects a significant shift in government thinking. It seems determined to initiate discussions with a far wider range of black people and organizations than ever before, including organizations strongly opposed to government policies.

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□ Interview, page 12

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The People's Charter

COMMUNITY COUNCILOR M. J.

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Mr. Tim's 26/6/82 Political Staff (11A) (200)

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Dr Van der Merwe's conciliatory approach reflects a significant shift in government thinking. It seems determined to initiate discussions with a far wider range of black people and organizations than ever before, including organizations strongly opposed to government policies.

But he would "think twice" before speaking to someone who was publicly committed to violence.

□ Interview, page 12

B/Daw
26/6/87
11A

Indaba 'has support'

DIANNA GAMES

THE view that the general election outcome in Natal indicated strong feelings against the KwaZulu-Natal Indaba was not likely to be borne out by a referendum, John Kane-Berman, Indaba chairman and South African Institute of Race Relations director, said yesterday.

Speaking at a South Africa Britain Trade Association lunch in Johannesburg, he said that despite the electoral swing to the right, support for the Indaba among Natal and KwaZulu residents stood at about 73%, including NP voters, with only about 8% against it.

He said the Indaba was still awaiting Government's response on whether a referendum to test support for it would be held.

11A ~~11A~~

THE politics of Archbishop Desmond Tutu have quietly enraged many of the Anglican church's white (and moneyed) members since his enthronement two years ago. Now his alleged statement in Mozambique on violence has pushed the quarrel into the open.

This week Anglicans were locked in a holy scrum when Tutu, visiting two dioceses in Mozambique, reportedly said he would advise when the time had come to call for violence in SA. A Mozambican newspaper went further. It quoted Tutu as saying the "time for violence has now come".

A spokesman for Tutu later claimed the Archbishop was misquoted — but the damage was done.

The conservative Anglicans Concerned for Truth and Spirituality (ACTS) entered the fray by saying Tutu's venue for thumping Pretoria's undemocratic ways was risible given the country's Marxist government.

Toughening

But the anger was not limited to Anglican hardliners. Attitudes are toughening among many white Anglicans over the church's growing politicisation.

The Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg, Duncan Buchanan, tried to rest fears over Tutu's speech at a Fairmount parishoners' meeting on Monday. Just what was said is not known, as the Press was barred, and Buchanan asked the 50 parishoners present to keep quiet about the meeting. They did.

Buchanan, in an interview, criticised ACTS and said: "I just wish they would be a little less political, especially when airing right-wing views." He added much of the "Ma-

Anglicans angered by Tutu's 'politics'

HAMISH McINDOE

puto anger" was heavily manufactured by the Press. "It was blown up for the usual reasons".

So was it just a muddle over a misquote? Tutu's Press secretary John Allen later explained an American journalist asked Tutu if the stage had been reached where "black South Africans will give up and turn solely to violence as part of their liberation struggle".

Replied Tutu: "I will tell you the day I believe we must tell the world that now we have reached a point where we must use violence to overthrow an unjust system... I do not believe we are there yet."

Buchanan dismissed speculation that Tutu's fighting talk and liberation theology generally was causing deep divisions in the Anglican Church. "Frankly, Archbishop Tutu is no more politically prescriptive than many other so-called troublesome Anglican priests; look at Trevor Huddleston.

"The Anglican church generally tries to avoid making absolute political points, but the rejection of apartheid is a non-negotiable," he said.

But Tutu's political sniping at Pretoria has caused several ructions. Witness the scuttling of Coretta King's proposed meeting last year with President Botha and KwaZulu Chief Minister

Mangosuthu Buthelezi by Tutu and World Alliance of Reformed Church's president Allan Boesak.

Tutu's patronship of the UDF has also left many Anglicans cold.

Most of SA's two-million Anglicans are black but it is the white 20% that bankroll the major share of church's costs in tithes.

And ACTS sources say many of the church's white purse-holding parishoners are now withholding tithes or simply defecting to other denominations because of the church's growing politicisation. Specifically, Tutu's.

'Moved out'

The parish at Fairmount's St Augustine's Church has halved to 600 family's over the last two years but this, Buchanan made clear, was only "marginally due to Archbishop Tutu". "Many Anglicans have simply moved out of the area and been replaced by Italians, Portuguese and Jews," he said.

Buchanan was unable to disclose the extent of Anglican defections. "I represent a church whose followers are 80% black and 20% white, but I'm expected to behave by the 20% as if it was 100% white.

"We're faced with the daily consequences of apartheid; only most white people just don't see it," he said; blaming the Group Areas Act for ensuring that people of different races just don't meet each other.

9/10 Day

(11A) 4/26/6/87

Duduza back to normal after convictions

SOPHIE TEMA

THE turbulence of Nigel's Duduza township has waned and with it the anger of its residents.

Township people are beginning to go about without fear of bodily attack or of seeing their homes burnt down.

Earlier this week, three of nine people convicted of killing Maki Roseline Sikhosana in the East Rand township were jailed for life by the Pretoria Supreme Court.

The other six were jailed for five to 10 years.

Sikhosana was killed at a funeral by a mob who accused her of being an "informer".

Yesterday, most residents were sympathetic towards the nine. But one said the "gruesome death of Sikhosana was equally painful, and until now no one has produced reasonable proof that she was indeed an informer".

Sikhosana's family has left Duduza temporarily for Soweto.

Rosy Twala, the mother of Sanna Twala, one of the three jailed for life, said she wanted to appeal against her daughter's sentence, but would first consult her lawyers.

Pensioner Sophie Motaung, mother of Elizabeth Motaung, who was jailed for 10 years, said: "The sentence passed on my daughter is heavy, and if I had the means I would appeal against it.

"My heart is full of grief and sorrow, but I cannot forget how painful it must have been for Sikhosana's mother — her child was so brutally killed by a mob, stoned and then set alight.

"We are both mothers and I feel sorry for her, too." Motaung said Sikhosana and her daughter Elizabeth had grown up together. Elizabeth, who is older, used to carry Sikhosana on her back.

UDF to wage RSC protest

DOMINIQUE GILBERT

THE UDF said yesterday it would support its affiliate, the Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC), in a campaign to protest against the regional services councils (RSCs).

UDF national treasurer Azhar Cachalia said the form of its opposition against RSCs still had to be "worked out".

He said the RSCs were considered to be part of the "oft-repeated government structures imposed on people without consultation".

The TIC has meanwhile challenged the "discredited Indian collaborators" who will participate in the RSCs, to hold mass meetings to test their mandate.

Describing the RSCs as "unwanted apartheid monsters", the TIC said none of the Indian representatives on the Central Witwatersrand RSC had obtained a mandate from their constituents.

11A

26/6/57

B/Day

2676-211181
FIA

Two 'red flag' accused freed

By MIKE LOEWE
Port Elizabeth

A PORT Elizabeth magistrate this week acquitted two Vaal residents on charges of making and hoisting the banners of the ANC, SA Communist Party and Soviet Union during the mass funeral of Matthew Goniwe and three fellow Cradock leaders on July 20, 1985.

On Wednesday prosecutor Herman Goosen informed the court that he had been instructed by the Attorney General to withdraw charges against Johannes Maishe Bopape, 25, of Mamelodie East, and Obed Kopang Bapela, 28, of Alexandra.

The remaining accused are seven Cradock residents, charged with supporting and furthering the the aims of and ANC and SACP.

They are: Mpumelelo David Faxi, 21, Mtuthuzeli Ntombela, 29, Vulindlela Puwani, 24, Thami Madolo, 40, Lwandile Nquru, 21, Jimmy Basini, 41 and a 16-year-old who may not be named.

They all pleaded not guilty.

Bopela was remanded in custody pending his appearance in the Alexandra treason trial. Four of the accused are detained under the emergency, some for up to ten months, while the others are on bail.

There were courtroom scenes of jubilation and regret when Bopape and Bapela were acquitted.

Judgement on the other accused has been reserved.

11A
2
3
2 Cape Times, Friday, June 26, 1987

Death sentence for necklace 6

PORT ALFRED. — Six people were sentenced to death on Wednesday at a special sitting of the Supreme Court here for the "necklace" murder of a 19-year-old woman, Miss Nosipho Zamela, in Queens-town in December 1985.

The six people sentenced to death are: Mzwandile Gqeba, 22, Wantu Salinga, 27, Lundi Wana, 20, Them-binkosi Press Fiti, 30, Mzwandile Roro Mninzi, 27, and Monde Trevor Tingwe, 23.

A seventh accused, Thozamile Bacela, about 19, was convicted of murder but sentenced to 20 years.

A number of other people were given prison sen-tences after they were convicted of assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm. — Sapa

26/6/87

UDF to adopt Freedom Charter

(11A)
SMA

By Adele Baleta

The United Democratic Front will adopt the Freedom Charter as its political programme on August 20 — the fourth anniversary of the UDF's founding.

Today, on the 32nd anniversary of the adoption of the Freedom Charter at the Congress of the People, in Klip-town, near Johannesburg, the UDF has launched a campaign to popularise and explain the charter.

The national conference of the UDF recommended last month that the front adopt the Freedom Charter. This was referred back to the nine UDF regions, which agreed.

The Freedom Charter is being adopted because "it clearly sets out the front's vision of a nonracial and democratic South Africa," said UDF acting national publicity secretary Mr Murphy Morobe.

The Freedom Charter had the overwhelming support of the voteless majority, growing support among whites, and was being put forward as the people's alternative to divisive and undemocratic schemes such as the kwaNatal Indaba, said Mr Morobe.

The UDF had moved from opposing the Koornhof Bills to addressing a broad range of political issues. As the largest anti-apartheid movement, it needed a comprehensive political programme.

The majority of the front's affiliates, including its largest, the South African Youth Congress, had endorsed the charter, said Mr Morobe.

The National Union of Mineworkers, the National Union of Metalworkers, and the Food and Allied Workers' Union, which are affiliated to Cosatu, South Africa's biggest union grouping, recently adopted the charter.

Mr Morobe said the first aim of the two-month campaign would be to make the Freedom Charter available to many ordinary South Africans who had never read the document.

"The Government has done everything in its power to suppress and criminalise the Freedom Charter," he said.

To make the document familiar, the UDF has today taken out advertisements in major newspapers.

"Through the advertisements, the complete text of the Freedom Charter will be made available to every home in South Africa," Mr Morobe said.

'Charter offers SA a vision of hope'

11/14
SAPA 27/6/87

The growth of the United Democratic Front(UDF) to the largest legal anti-apartheid movement in the country, opposing the Government on a whole range of issues, demanded that the organisation adopt a comprehensive political programme setting out a vision of a non-racial and democratic South Africa, the UDF said in a statement released yesterday.

It was for this reason the organisation decided to adopt the Freedom Charter as a programme.

"It has the overwhelming support of the voteless majority, and growing support among sections of the white community. Increasingly it is becoming the programme of national unity of all those opposed to the Nationalists," the statement said.

"The majority of the Front's affiliates and key organisations outside the UDF have adopted the Freedom Charter."

Highly significant have been the recent adoption of the Charter by three of the country's biggest trade unions — the National Union of Mineworkers, the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa and the Food and Allied Workers' Union.

ANC pledges its support

LUSAKA — The African National Congress has pledged in a statement issued here to uphold the 32-year-old Freedom Charter.

The charter was drawn up by representatives of all South Africa's races.

The statement attacked offers by South Africa's white leaders to negotiate with black leaders, saying meaningful negotiations could only be about how to transform South Africa into a united, democratic and non-racial entity. — Sapa-Reuter.

The UDF's largest affiliate, the South African Youth Congress, has adopted the Freedom Charter.

"In addition, growing numbers of people and organisations in religious, business, professional, sporting and other bodies have either endorsed the charter or have acknowledged as the authentic and legitimate expression of the demands of the majority," the statement continued.

The decision to adopt the Freedom Charter has not merely a

symbolic one, but represented the moving of mass democratic opposition on to a higher level of political unity and direction.

"The overwhelming majority of South Africans, black and white, are counterposing the vision contained in the charter to the bankrupt and dead-end road of the Botha Government.

"Organisations in all sectors of the community, civics, youth, professional, women, student, trade union, religious and so on, will now be bound together in a programmatic unity.

"We expect that increasingly groupings in the white community will also see that the Freedom Charter is the only vision that offers South Africa the way forward.

"We want to ensure that no South African is left ignorant of the document which contains the dreams and aspirations, and represents the interests of the overwhelming majority of South Africans, black and white.

"Let the Freedom Charter be emblazoned not only on the walls of our homes, but also in the hearts and minds of every South African patriot," the statement concluded. — Sapa.

UDF adopts Charter — four years after

ON the eve of "Freedom Day" — the anniversary of the signing of the Freedom Charter — South Africa's biggest extra-parliamentary organisation, the United Democratic Front, has decided in principle to adopt the document.

This follows the decision at the UDF's secret national conference three weeks ago to launch a campaign to popularise the charter. It referred the question of adopting the charter to its nine regions.

UDF publicity secretary Murphy Morobe emerged briefly from hiding yesterday to say the nine regions had voted for the adoption of the charter.

The organisation, which has always been closely associated with the charter despite never actually adopting it, will do so formally on August 20 — the fourth anniversary of the UDF.

And today, the 32nd anniversary of the drawing up of the charter at the Congress of the People, the UDF launches its campaign to explain the document — and make it accessible — to South Africans.

In another development, the militant South African Youth Congress called for rallies and discussions to celebrate the 32nd anniversary of the charter.

"We are also calling the progressive labour movement in our country, Cosatu, to fully discuss the importance of the charter to our struggle with a view to officially adopt it as a guiding document."

Sayco said in a statement that the charter still stood as the most democratic document embodying the true aspirations and wishes of the majority of South Africans.

"It is the true reflection of a future South Africa — free of racial prejudices, racial tensions and white minority domination."

Sayco adopted the charter at its

By MONO BADELA

founding conference in Cape Town earlier this year.

The Release Mandela Campaign, said in a statement that "the 32 years of the undented Freedom Charter and all the challenges enshrined in it are still standing out like a piercing spear that pricks the conscience of the fascist and racist Pretoria regime".

The RMC said the charter continued to be a beacon of hope and would remain the "cardinal demands of the people of South Africa in their quest for a just society based on the realisation of its 10 noble clauses".

The organisation welcomed the "increasing espousal" and adoption of the charter by the labour movement in South Africa. A number of major unions have recently adopted it.

The general secretary of the Southern Africa Catholic Bishops Conference, Father Smangaliso Mkhathshwa, recently released after a year in detention, said: "The Freedom charter provides a broad-based progressive forum for those who are committed to self-determination for the majority of the people. Nothing could be more Christian than waging a struggle for freedom."

The UDF is holding a concert at The Venue in Cape Town tonight. Peta, Raakwys and Ntsikane will be performing and the Cape Flats Players will stage *Aluta Continua*.

There have been calls for bonfires to be lit in various townships, including Soweto.

Thousands of leaflets about the charter were distributed in Atteridgeville last weekend.

Police set up a road block outside the township and cars were searched.

● See PAGE 7

ANC's far too socialist, says USSR expert

By HOWARD BARRELL,
Harare

A LEADING Soviet expert on Africa believes South Africans should set aside hopes of a quick victory over apartheid and look instead at a time-scale of 10 years or more. The analyst also thought the African National Congress was laying what he saw as too great a stress on socialism.

It should concentrate its energies on issues of "national liberation", according to Dr Victor Goncharov, deputy director of the Institute of African Studies in Moscow.

In an interview in the latest issue of the magazine *Work in Progress*, Goncharov discloses that the United States recently told the Soviet Union that, if the Soviets were to persuade the ANC to go to the negotiating table ready to give group right guarantees to whites, then the South African crisis could be resolved.

But, said Goncharov, the Soviet Union would not impose upon the ANC in this way — "first of all because we don't want to dictate and because we know the ANC is against it, against group right guarantees".

The ANC has said in the past it has no objection in principle to rights guaranteed on an individual basis, but that racially derived group rights would be unacceptable and would smack of neo-apartheid.

On hopes of a quick victory over apartheid, Goncharov says in the interview: "This emotion of the past three years has given birth to hopes of a quick victory, but it will not be very quick ... maybe 10 years, I say not less than 10 years."

He said that, although the ANC should not stop all socialist propaganda it should not "put before the national liberation movement now the tasks of the socialist revolution".

Those who were arguing that socialism should be on top of the agenda were suffering from an "infantile disorder", he said, quoting the Russian revolutionary leader Vladimir Lenin.

The immediate practical task before the ANC was to build a strong and stable political organisation inside South Africa, he says.

The Soviet Union would welcome flexibility among all parties to the crisis in Southern Africa and Soviet-US co-operation in a joint peace process, Goncharov says in the interview.

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27/6/97

Freedom Charter adopted (1/1)

JOHANNESBURG — The growth of the UDF since 1983 to the largest legal anti-apartheid movement in the country, opposing the government on a whole range of issues, demanded that the organisation adopt a comprehensive political programme setting out a vision of a non-racial and democratic South Africa, the UDF said in a statement yesterday.

It was for this reason that the organisation had decided to adopt the Freedom Charter.

"It has the overwhelming support of the voteless majority and

growing support among sections of the white community. Increasingly, it is becoming the programme of national unity of all those opposed to the Nationalists," the statement said.

"The majority of the Front's affiliates and key organisations outside the UDF have adopted the Freedom Charter.

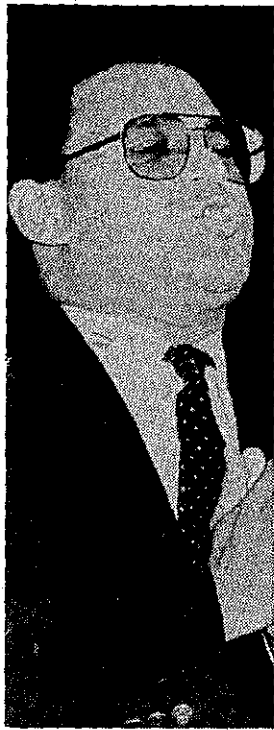
The decision to adopt the Freedom Charter has not merely a symbolic one, but represented the moving of mass democratic opposition on to a higher level of

political unity and direction.

"The overwhelming majority of South Africans, black and white, are counterposing the vision contained in the Charter to the bankrupt and dead-end road of the P. W. Botha government.

"The adoption of the Freedom Charter by hundreds of organisations will now give programmatic expression to this fact. Organisations in all sectors of the community ... will now be bound together in a programmatic unity," the statement said. — Sapa

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Allan Boesak

Trials after Boesak visit

28/6/87
CP Press
IIA

CP Correspondent

A SPATE of trials – arising out of a visit to King William's Town by UDF patron and president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches Rev Allan Boesak – are being held in the town.

Boesak was invited to King William's Town in March last year to hold a service celebrating the first birthday of the Breidbach Civic Association.

The service was banned, however, and a last-minute appeal against the ban was unsuccessful.

While the Grahamstown Supreme Court was still hearing the application, people were already flocking to the township to hear Boesak and police took ac-

tion to disperse the crowds.

A minor enough incident in itself, but it was to have an aftermath which is still continuing.

Three people were subpoenaed to appear before a Section 205 hearing into the question of whether an illegal gathering was held.

The hearing was held, but the three people involved have since been charged with statutory perjury on the basis of what they said.

One of them, Rev Hendrik Pillay, was recently found guilty and fined R750. An appeal has been noted.

Finally, the possibility of people being charged with holding an illegal gathering has not yet been ruled out. – Elnews.

IN LONDON, in the afterglow of Mrs Thatcher's famous victory, the speed of change is matched only by the quicksilver flow of events in South Africa.

In the past month in particular we have seen significant shifts in position by all the main actors which are likely to make life interesting.

First, of course, there was President Botha's election win, which has transformed the National Party into the equivalent of the old Rhodesia Front.

Whether history will repeat itself remains to be seen, but Mr Botha already appears to some to have forfeited important opportunities to settle peacefully with our black majority on terms not far removed from those availed by Mr Ian Smith in pre-Lancaster House days.

So therein lies a parallel. The Zambian Foreign Minister on a visit to Britain recently saw another parallel. This herding-together-dumping-of-the-liberals instinct of white voters had happened before in Northern Rhodesia before it became Zambia and, in Southern Rhodesia before it became Zimbabwe.

He drew comfort from this trend; it proved that things were nothing if not on track.

This historically deterministic assumption is shared by Mr Oliver Tambo, who is likewise absolutely convinced of the inevitability of ANC government and told a recent business audience in London as much.

He may even have convinced some of his listeners, and at least one spokesman for British business appeared to echo Mr Tambo's certitude. Who can say that either of them are wrong?

Only time will tell, but Mr Botha, at least from this perspective, seems to be oddly wrongfooted in terms of present strategy. Mr Tambo's position is rather like that of a chess player who finds his queen in the position of an enviable defence, and who can seemingly answer every challenge with one of his own.

He loses a few pawns from time to time, true, but

How Tambo is turning the screws on SA business, and how Botha is playing into his hands . . .



By DAVID WILLERS
London Director of the S A Foundation

the board often appears tilted in his favour.

Take the following example: for some time now we have heard rumblings of disquiet in COSATU's ranks about the wisdom of further disinvestment.

COSATU are naturally worried that the black unions will be weakened by job losses. But they still support the broad objectives of the ANC in terms of sanctions, liberation, etc.

Even before the Government can successfully exploit this contradiction, Mr Tambo makes his move. He announces in London that companies must from now on distance themselves from the "system", come off the fence, change sides,

etc, and choose between an ANC government of the future and Mr Botha's government of the present.

He suggests a number of practical steps, eg non-payment of salary disparities for employees called up to do township duty, non-secundment of executives to government planning committees, defence committees and Regional Services Councils, and non-supply of certain manufactured products to the SADF and other government agencies.

Whe suggests that COSATU "exceptions" may be made in the case of companies

its identification with broad "liberation" objectives.

The Government, by way of unintended response, then announces that rents owing by the township tenants are to be collected by business direct from pay-rolls.

Result? Predictable outrage in corporate Johannesburg. Not only will this result in business becoming unacceptably politicised, but it brings into question the validity of the whole concept of an expanding free economy eroding apartheid.

After all, when the mainstay of economic activity,

tivists who have thus far held back from such a dire step.

When Mrs Thatcher attempts later this year in Vancouver to stave off further sanctions on the grounds that it will destroy the economy of South Africa and arrest the positive work British and other companies are doing through the EEC Codes of Conduct and the like, she will be told to save her breath.

Even the Codes of Conduct will be attacked as gilding the lily of appreciation under these circumstances.

This is all quite apart from the deterioration in labour relations generally and the further stoking of fires in the ranks of COSATU that rent deduction garnishee orders will provoke.

But even at this moment the ANC has triggered the next move.

Black workers will apparently now be advised not to take up Trusteeship offers by foreign companies bailing out of the Republic, because they will then be conspiring in their own oppression, and breaking their own strike.

This will put further pressure on foreign companies to sever links completely when they do leave, increasing the perception of undignified withdrawals under pressure.

What can Mr Botha do at this stage?

He seems trapped in a web of logic forced on him by the relative success enjoyed by the "comrades" in making the townships ungovernable during 1985/86.

The state of emergency has changed nothing. Residents of Soweto still fear the hot breath of a necklace if they break the rent boycott. There is nothing the State can do to break the mould and the reality of this fear short of posting a soldier at the door of every house 24 hours a day.

By requesting companies to collect rents in a way that is beyond the reach of employees to control, the Government hopes to lift the yoke of intimidation from township residents.

The result will in fact be to shift the focus of intimidation to the business world for the first time.

What a supreme irony, if the turbulence of the past four years, which has left

2. Wage Grade 1 (minimum, e.g. floor sweeper)
four weeks bonus. (R1 340 per annum.)
3. Wage Grade 5 (e.g. machine operator):

ANC blames SA

(IA) CP 28/1/78

THE African National Congress said this week that men suspected of being South African agents threw a grenade on Sunday at a house in Lusaka used by some of its members.

An ANC spokesman said an explosive device believed to be a grenade was thrown onto the roof of the house, where it exploded, blowing a hole in the roof and scattering shrapnel into the living room.

The occupants, who work in the ANC's head-

quarters in central Lusaka, were out at the time.

In April, South African commandos staged a dramatic raid on Livingstone, 500km south of Lusaka, on the Zimbabwe border.

In a separate incident, a 20-year-old Zambian, on trial for spying for South Africa, has told a court in Livingstone he was tortured by police and forced to sign a confession.

The trial continues. - Sapa.

SADF

CP Correspondent

Azapo plans to challenge detentions

CP Correspondent

THE Black Consciousness movement, the Azanian People's Organisation, plans to challenge the state of emergency regulations in court following the detention of at least 121 of its members in the past week.

An Azapo spokesman said on Wednesday that the organisation would bring an urgent application in the Johannesburg Supreme Court by this weekend for the release of all its detained members countrywide.

The move comes shortly after six senior Azapo officials, including its national president, Nkosi Molala, were detained earlier this week.

It also follows the first major legal challenge to the new emergency regulations launched last week by the Release Mandela Campaign and its national co-ordinator, Aubrey Mokoena, *The Weekly Mail* and a Durban emergency detainee.

Their challenge was directed at a number of new regulations imposed on June 12 when State President PW Botha renewed the state of emergency.

According to Azapo's national deputy-president, Lybon Mabasa, Azapo would not only challenge the detention of its six officials, but also the detention of other Azapo members since the declaration of the state of emergency.

He said at least 121 Azapo members had been detained countrywide in the past 12 days, and the total number of Azapo members currently in detention under the state of emergency regulations was about 500.

The move by Azapo follows after a security law expert, Prof Tony Matthews, of the University of Natal, said that he believed that the introduction of a 30-day period of detention before it was reviewed was the one particular development that could present the judiciary with a challenge. - African News Organisation.



Azapo's deputy-president, Lybon Mabasa.

(11A) C/Pres 28/6/87

foreign exchange swindle
- Sapa.

Six get death for necklace

CP Correspondent

SIX people were sentenced to death at a special sitting of the Supreme Court in Port Alfred for the "necklace" murder of an 18-year-old woman, Nosipho Zamela, in Mlungisi, Queenstown, in December 1985.

A seventh accused, Thozamile Bacela, was also convicted of the murder but sentenced to 20 years' imprisonment by presiding judge Kroon.

A further five accused were convicted of assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm and sentenced to 18 months' imprisonment, of which 12 months were suspended for five years.

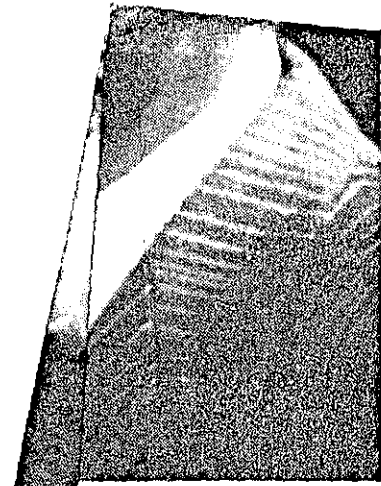
Two of the accused, Xolani Ngqolowa and Phumlani Nqayi, were acquitted.

Zamela was alleged to have had an affair with a Zulu policeman, who was an Inkatha member. She was "punished" with sjamboks before being set alight with tyres.

Sentenced to death were: Mzwandile Gqeba, Whanto Silinga, Lundi Wana, Thembinkosi Pressfeet, Mzwandile Mninzi and Monde Tingwe.

Convicted of assault were: Nnodana Matshoba, Andile Mbuqe, Sonwabo Kwaza, Bandile Xelo and a youth of 17.

Those convicted plan to appeal against their sentences. - Albany News Agency.



dent, Lybon Mabasa.

Handwritten notes: a scribble in a circle, a circle containing '11A', and 'CP Press 28/6/87'.

Handwritten initials 'LK'.

Handwritten letter 'T'.

THE FREEDOM CHARTER

As adopted at the Congress of the People on June 26, 1955

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 equal, 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.



NO TO RACISM AND TYRANNY! YES TO A PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY!

(11A)

- The Nats continue to impose racist solutions against the will of the vast majority of South Africans
- They are unable to rule without greater repression, without further erosion of human rights, and without prolonged States of Emergency
- Against this, the Freedom Charter continues to offer the most democratic and just vision of South Africa, embodying

the hopes and aspirations of the overwhelming majority of South Africans — black and white

- Hence on the 32nd anniversary of the adoption of the Freedom Charter, the UDF calls upon all freedom-loving people of our country to re-dedicate themselves to the establishment of the united, democratic and non-racial society envisioned in this historic document

THE PEOPLE SHALL GOVERN!

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

ALL 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.

THE PEOPLE SHALL SHARE IN THE COUNTRY'S WEALTH!

The national wealth of our country, the heritage of all South Africans, shall be restored to the people; The mineral wealth beneath the soil, the banks and monopoly industry shall be transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole; All other industries and trade shall be controlled to assist the wellbeing of the people; All the people shall have equal rights to trade where they choose, to manufacture and to enter all trades, crafts and professions.

THE LAND SHALL BE SHARED AMONG THOSE WHO WORK IT!

Restriction of land ownership on a racial basis shall be ended, and all the land re-divided amongst those who work it, to banish famine and land hunger; The state shall help the peasants with implements, seed, factors and dams to save the soil and assist the tillers; Freedom of movement shall be guaranteed to all who work 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 prison farms shall be abolished.

ALL SHALL BE EQUAL BEFORE THE LAW!

No-one shall be imprisoned, deported or restricted without a fair trial; No-one shall be condemned by the order of any government official; The courts shall be representative of all the people; Imprisonment shall be only for serious crimes against the people and shall aim at re-education, not vengeance; The police force and army shall be open to all on an equal basis and shall be the helpers and protectors of the people; All laws which discriminate on the grounds of race, colour or belief shall be repealed.

ALL SHALL ENJOY HUMAN RIGHTS!

The law shall guarantee to all their right to speak, to organise, to meet together, to publish, to preach, to worship and to educate their children; The privacy of the house from police raids shall be protected by law; All shall be free to travel without restriction from 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 officials and to make wage agreements with their employers; The state shall recognise the right and duty of all to work and to draw full unemployment benefits; Men and women of all races shall receive equal pay for equal work; There shall be a 40-hour working week, a national minimum wage, paid annual leave and sick leave for all workers, and maternity leave on full pay for all working mothers; Miners, domestic workers, farm workers and civil servants shall have the same rights as all others who work; Child labour, compound labour, the tot system and contract labour shall be abolished.

THE DOORS OF LEARNING AND CULTURE SHALL BE OPENED!

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

All the cultural treasures of our country shall be open to all, by free exchange of books, ideas and contacts with other lands; The aim of education shall be to teach the youth to love their people and their culture, to honour human brotherhood, liberty and peace; Education shall be free, compulsory, universal and equal for all children; Higher education and technical training shall be opened to all by means of state allowances and scholarships awarded on the basis of merit; Adult illiteracy shall be ended by a mass state education plan; Teachers shall have all the rights of other citizens; The colour bar in cultural life, in sport and in education shall be abolished.

THERE SHALL BE HOUSES, SECURITY AND COMFORT!

All people shall have the right to live where they choose, to be decently housed, and to bring up their families in comfort and security; Unused housing to be made available to the people; Rent and prices shall be lowered, food plentiful and no-one shall go hungry; A preventive health scheme shall be run by the state; Free medical care and hospitalisation shall be provided for all, with special care for mothers and young children; Slums shall be demolished and new suburbs built where all shall have transport, roads, lighting, playing fields, creches and social centres; Rest, leisure and recreation shall be the right of all; Fenced locations and ghettos shall be abolished and laws which break up families shall be repealed.

THERE SHALL BE PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP!

South Africa shall be a fully independent state which respects the rights and sovereignty of all nations; South Africa shall strive to maintain world peace and the settlement of all international disputes by negotiation, not war; Peace and friendship among all our people shall be secured by upholding the equal rights, opportunities and status of all; The people of the the protectorates of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland (Lesotho, Botswana and Swaziland) shall be free to decide for themselves their own future; The rights of all the peoples of Africa to independence and self-government shall be recognised and shall be the basis of close co-operation.

Let all who love their people and their country now say, as we say here:

These freedoms we shall fight for, side by side throughout our lives, until we have won our liberty

The People's Charter

UDF adopts the charter

TODAY is the 32nd anniversary of the Freedom Charter and also the end of the 14-day period of national action and protest against the re-imposition of the state of emergency and other government measures.



28/6/87
C/News
11A
DERRICK LUTHAYI

The charter, which was signed in Kliptown on June 26, 1955, is to be adopted by the United Democratic Front and its affiliates during the UDF's fourth anniversary on August 20.

A campaign has been launched to popularise and explain the charter to all South Africans, irrespective of colour, creed or religion.

A statement by the UDF said: "The Nationalist government has done everything in its power to suppress and criminalise the charter.

"It has failed utterly in this attempt. But there are still those in the white community who have never even read the charter."

The Release Mandela Committee added its voice of protest when RMC secretary Seth Mazibuko said: "The charter continues to be a beacon of hope and shall remain the cardinal demands of the people in their quest for a just society on the realisation of its 10 noble clauses.

"It is head and shoulders above the so-called SA Manifesto, proposed and propounded by the South

African government.

"These documented demands have stood the test of time and proved that the demands of the people shall always remain the demands of the people," said Mazibuko.

The RMC also said it welcomed the adoption of the charter by an increasing number of trade unions and other progressive forces in the country and urged all freedom-loving people to follow the charter.

The UDF's acting publicity secretary, Murphy Morobe, said a complete text of the charter would be made available to every home in the country.

Morobe said the UDF's drive was an answer to the government's repeated attempts to foist undemocratic solutions on the people.

"The National Statutory Council is the latest contraption of minority rule which negates the first clause of the charter, 'The people shall govern', and we want to make it absolutely clear that we will have no part in any solution which falls short of implementing the 10 basic demands of the charter.

"There is a misconception in some quarters that the UDF had adopted the charter from the outset of its existence.

"The UDF did not adopt the charter for the simple reason that, as a broad front of organisations, we wanted to bring the maximum number of organisations together on a broad platform to unite opposition to the Koornhof Bills and the Tricameral Parliament in particular," said Morobe.

He added that the UDF had since grown into the largest legal anti-apartheid movement and this transformation now demanded that the UDF adopted a comprehensive political program which clearly set out its vision of a non-racial and democratic SA.

"We have decided to adopt the charter because it has overwhelming support of the voteless majority and growing support among sections of the white community and is increasingly becoming the program of national unity to all those opposed to the Nationalists.

"The majority of UDF affiliates and key organisations outside the UDF have adopted the charter.

"Highly significant have been the recent adoption of the charter by three of the country's biggest trade unions, NUM, Numsa, Fawu and the UDF's largest affiliate, the South African Youth Congress," said Morobe.

"The decision by the UDF to adopt the charter is not merely a symbolic one, but actually represents the moving of mass democratic opposition onto higher levels of political unity and direction," he said.

Freedom Charter still stands proud

clear
28/6/77
11A

TODAY marks the 32nd anniversary of the Freedom Charter.

Drawn up and adopted by representatives of various organisations, black as well as white, the charter stands out as the most noble document ever to appear in the history of our nation.

Its ideals and its spirit certainly represents every tenet of decency that will be subscribed to by people of any democratic society in the Free World.

We believe, especially in these troubled times, the South African government must pull out its copy of the Freedom Charter and reflect on its message.

We are of the firm opinion that they will find it a deeply moving message. A message that inspires hope. A message that so many South Africans have strived towards, paying a heavy price in the process.

We would just like to recap the preamble to the charter:

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

"That South Africa belongs to all the people 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 set out have been won."

That pledge continues to inspire our people to continue with the struggle for a just society.

This charter, as can be seen, seeks not only freedom for black people, but it also seeks freedom for white people.

Unless black people are free, white people cannot claim freedom either. In the words of Dr Martin Luther King Jr: "I cannot be what I ought to be unless you are what you ought to be."

'Unban ANC' ads were not an offence,^{SMR} rules Tvl A-G^{11A 29/10/87}

By Zenaide Vendeiro

The publication of the "Unban the ANC" advertisements did not constitute an offence, according to the Attorney-General of the Transvaal, Mr Klaus von Lieres und Wilkau, SC.

The advertisements were placed in newspapers throughout the country in January this year, coinciding with the ANC's 75th anniversary.

Mr von Lieres said none of the newspapers which carried the advertisements and none of the organisations which placed them — such as the United Democratic Front — would be prosecuted.

"It stands to reason that if the advertisement does not constitute an offence, action cannot be taken against any person or organisation," he said.

The publication of the advertisements led President Botha to appoint a commission of inquiry chaired by the Judge President of the Cape, Mr Justice Munnik.

BALL CRITICISED

The commission found that the managing director of Barclays Bank (now First National Bank), Mr Chris Ball, had approved a R100 000 overdraft to Indian businessman Mr Yusuf Surtee, knowing that the money was to be used to pay for the advertisements.

Mr Ball denied this.

Mr Surtee, who advanced the money to the UDF, said today that he felt relieved and vindicated by the Attorney-General's decision.

"We have known all along that what we did was perfectly legal and right. Sure, I am relieved. I was made to look like a criminal. Now we have been proved right."

The UDF's treasurer, Mr Azhar Cachalia, said prosecution had never been a threat.

"It was clear from the start that no law had been contravened. Referring the matter to the Attorney-General and giving the impression that he was investigating it, was merely a political whitewash," he said.

The UDF's view was that the Munnik Commission was merely a "political exercise".

Argus 29/6/87 (11A)

SADF in ^{ESU}
propaganda
offensive
against ANC

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Defence Force has admitted being involved in a propaganda offensive against the African National Congress through the distribution of thousands of anti-ANC booklets and postcards overseas.

The aim, it said, was to convey "the true nature of ANC atrocities to the outside world and to make it widely known that the ANC is no different to any other terrorist organisation".

A report about the offensive appeared in a Sunday newspaper yesterday. It said the publications were printed on contract by a Pretoria company, Publication Scan, which is owned by Mr Vink Kloppers.

The booklet, *ANC: The Inside Story*, contains photographs of "necklace" and bomb-blast victims, while the anti-Oliver Tambo postcards feature miniature "necklace tyres". Copies surfaced in Australia.

The report said the aim of the propaganda was to whip up opposition to the ANC, especially while Mr Tambo was on a world tour.

ATROCITIES

A SADF spokesman would not divulge details of how the booklets and postcards were produced and distributed, but confirmed the SADF's involvement.

The SADF said in a statement: "The Defence Force's involvement in this project must be seen against the background of the ANC's strategy of terror against South Africa and the right of any country to defend itself against atrocities, terrorism and propaganda. All countries exercise this right."

"The ANC, and specifically their terror wing, Umkhonto We Sizwe, is responsible for self-acknowledged acts of terrorism in South Africa.

"These acts have caused loss of life and serious injuries through the most inhumane methods imaginable and should have provoked an outraged outcry not only locally but also internationally, especially in view of the international community's condemnation of terrorism.

"The ANC is also responsible for a vicious propaganda war aimed at South Africa and its security forces. This propaganda is an integral part of their strategy of creating instability by violence and attempting to impose their will through force."

Defence Force admits anti-ANC campaign

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The booklet, "ANC: The Inside Story", contains photographs of "necklace" and bomb blast victims, while the anti-Oliver Tambo postcards feature miniature "necklace tyres".

The report said the aim of the propaganda was to whip up opposition to the ANC, especially at the time when Mr Oliver Tambo was on a world tour.

An SADF spokesman yesterday confirmed the SADF's involvement.

TERROR STRATEGY

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"The ANC, and specifically their terror wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, is responsible for self-acknowledged acts of terrorism in South Africa. These acts have caused loss of life and serious injuries through the most inhumane methods imaginable and should have provoked an outraged outcry not only locally but also internationally, especially in view of the international community's condemnation of terrorism.

"The ANC is also responsible for a vicious propaganda war aimed at South Africa and its security forces. This propaganda is an integral part of their strategy of creating instability by violence and attempting to impose their will through force."

R1 million raised for the ANC

EP 29/6/87
THE HAGUE — Dutch anti-apartheid activists have raised R1-million for the African National Congress (ANC).

Bing Mueller, of the Dutch Anti-Apartheid Movement, said today that the ANC would receive R600 000 to be spent as it saw fit.

Most of the rest would help refugees.

Earlier this month, Amsterdam mayor, Mr Ed van Thijn, said the ANC, which is banned in South Africa, would open an office in the city. — Sapa-Reuter

WA STAR 30/6/87

Post mortem showed deceased was assaulted

Widow claims police threatened UDF man

By Jo-Anne Collinge

SESHEGO — Lebowa police made threats to kill United Democratic Front leader Mr Peter Nchabeleng as they arrested him and took him to Sekhukhune police station where he died less than 12 hours later, his widow has said.

An affidavit by Mrs Matjatji Gertrude Nchabeleng (53) was handed in yesterday at the inquest on Mr Nchabeleng in Seshego Magistrate's Court.

"On April 10 1986 during the night while (we were) sleeping, a group of policemen came to my house and told the deceased they were going to murder or kill him," Mrs Nchabeleng's statement read.

Died in charge office

"Police wanted to assault the deceased with their hands but did not assault him. They kept saying they were going to kill him because he had murdered a child and he, the deceased, must go and eat (that child)."

Mr Nchabeleng (59) died in the charge office in Sekhukhune at lunch-time the next day.

Post mortem results state he was severely beaten and that the resultant bleeding caused unconsciousness. He suffocated while unconscious.

Mrs Nchabeleng said her husband had been fit when taken from home.

Various reasons for arresting Mr Nchabeleng have been given. Some witnesses said he was

wanted in connection with a murder. Other evidence was that the security police wished to interrogate him.

Yesterday, the chief of the village of Apel, Chief Moloke Richard Nchabeleng, testified that he had been arrested on April 10 and had been sjambokked in the police station garage where Mr Nchabeleng was allegedly interrogated before dying.

He said he saw Peter Nchabeleng — whom he described as a "brother" — on three occasions on April 11, the day the man died. The first time, between 8 am and 9 am, Mr Nchabeleng looked fit and greeted him, the chief said.

About two hours later, he was staggering as if drunk, and yet later "looked dull".

He said Mr Nchabeleng had been removed from the charge office soon after he first saw him at the police station and he thought Mr Nchabeleng had been taken to the garage.

Shortly after his removal he heard the sound of "beating, shouting and blows", the chief testified.

Counsel for the Lebowa Minister of Police, Mr J H Wessels, put it to the witness that his anger against the police had caused him to "mislead the court".

"You weren't assaulted by the police. It's a story you're telling the court," charged Mr Wessels.

Chief Nchabeleng denied he was lying and pointed out in court a journalist to whom he had shown the marks of his assault in April year.

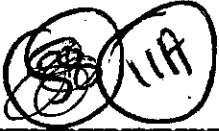
The case continues.

Dutch give R1-m to ANC

THE HAGUE — The Dutch Anti-apartheid Movement has raised one million guilders (R1 020 000) for the ANC, a spokesman said yesterday.

Mr Bing Mueller said The ANC would receive 600 000 guilders (R612 000) as a cash gift. Most of the rest would help refugees. — Sapa-Reuter.

28/10/87



No prosecutions for ANC ad

JOHANNESBURG — Newspapers and people involved in the unbanned-ANC advertisements will not be prosecuted.

This was confirmed by the Attorney-General of the Transvaal, Mr Klaus von Lieres.

Mr Von Lieres said he had examined the ANC advertisement and decided it did not constitute an offence.

“It therefore stands to reason that action cannot be taken against any

person or organisation.”

The Munnik commission found that the managing director of the First National Bank, Mr Chris Ball, had knowingly approved a R100 000 overdraft to pay for the advertisement. — Sapa

In die nuut

Beatings are alleged

A WITNESS told an inquest hearing yesterday that he had heard sounds of beatings from a garage where former UDF leader, Mr Peter Nchabeleng, had been taken to by riot policemen.

Chief Moloke Richard Nchabeleng (39), said he later saw Mr Nchabeleng being escorted to the magistrate's office. "He did not look well. He was walking as if he was drunk, staggering", he said.

By MATHATA
TSEDU

Chief Nchabeleng said he had earlier been taken to the same garage where he was assaulted by more than five policemen using sjamboks.

The chief was a family witness in the inquest into the death of Mr Nchabeleng which is being held in Seshego near Pietersburg. Mr Nchabeleng died at the Sekhukhune police station on April 11 last

year — less than 12 hours after being arrested.

A postmortem report revealed that he had died of bleeding and suffocation induced by severe beatings.

Chief Nchabeleng said he was arrested on April 10 last year and kept at the Sekhukhune police station charge office for the whole night without food.

He was sjambokked in the charge office, before being taken to the garage

where more beatings took place. The following morning he was assaulted again, he alleged.

He said he had seen Mr Nchabeleng again after he had been to the magistrate's office. "He was looking dull but I did not have an opportunity to talk to him. I was called out shortly after he was brought in. He sat on the floor after he was brought in," he said.

(Proceeding)

11A

~~11A~~

Sometun 30/6/87

Sight & Sound College and North...

UDF man hacked in fresh fighting

Cape Times 30/6/82 Own Correspondent 11A

PORT ELIZABETH. — Mr Emson Banda, a prominent Uitenhage member of the United Democratic Front, was in the intensive-care unit at Livingstone Hospital last night after being hacked with pangas in KwaNobuhle township on Sunday night.

On Sunday a spokesman for the Africanist organization Ama Afrika reported the murder of two of its members on Saturday night, allegedly by members of the UDF — a claim which the Front denied.

The dead men were named as Mr Kentyu Mashaka, a student at Vista University, and Mr Kwekwe Ntantiso, according to Mr Joseph Maliwa, a spokesman for Ama Afrika also known as African Peoples' Concerned Committee.

According to Mr Ray Mde, a spokesman for the UDF, Mr Emson Banda, president of the Uitenhage Residents' Congress, who was recently released from detention, was abducted on Sunday night by a group of men who arrived by taxi. He was then beaten up and hacked with pangas.

Mr Mde denied that UDF was responsible for the death of two members of APCC.

ANC <sup>Case Files
30/6/77</sup>
advert: No
offence,
says AG

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Mr Von Lieres said he had examined the ANC advertisement and decided it did not constitute an offence.

"It therefore stands to reason that if the advertisement does not constitute an offence, action cannot be taken against any person or organization."

The publication of the advertisements led to an investigation by the Munnik Commission, which was appointed by the State President, Mr P W Botha.

The commission found that the managing director of First National Bank (formerly Barclays), Mr Chris Ball, had knowingly approved a R100 000 overdraft to pay for the advertisement. — Sapa