

BLACK POLITICS -

1987 - JULY

lay, July 1 1987

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# Union deadlocked over adopting Charter

IN A lengthy debate at its annual congress yesterday, the Chemical Workers' Industrial Union failed to reach agreement on whether the union should adopt the Freedom Charter as part of its political policy.

CWIU general-secretary Rod Crompton says the issue is to be referred back to rank-and-file membership for further discussion "in the interests of unity and democracy".

ALAN FINE

The issue promises to be one of the most controversial to be debated at the Cosatu congress later this month, with a number of affiliates having taken differing positions on it.

The CWIU congress reached consensus on various principles, including non-affiliation to political organisations; laid down guidelines for "disciplined alliances" with them;

and agreed that "only socialism can solve SA's current political and economic crises".

The congress also noted that "only comprehensive and mandatory sanctions were likely to be effective", and said calls for such sanctions "had been and are being twisted and distorted into ineffective selective sanctions packages", often serving the interests of their protagonists rather than SA's working class.

11/18/87

# Naude plan for ANC, PAC peace

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. —  
The retiring general  
secretary of SA Council  
of Churches, Dr Beyers  
Naude, said yesterday  
the SACC should play a  
role in bringing about  
reconciliation between  
the ANC and the PAC.

In his report to the  
SACC national confer-  
ence Dr Naude said ear-  
lier this year churchmen  
and leaders of the two  
liberation groups had  
met.

Further meetings with  
the ANC and PAC should  
take place within the  
next 18 months.

The conference should  
also consider steps to  
eliminate conflict  
among anti-apartheid  
groups, especially UDF  
and Azapo youth groups.

He recommended an  
institute for children af-  
fected by apartheid.



# UDF man <sup>STAR</sup> freed on bail <sup>1/7/87</sup> after year <sup>11A</sup> in detention

A United Democratic Front activist, Mr Dennis Bloem, was released on bail of R500 in the Kroonstad Regional Court on Monday where he appeared on a charge under the Internal Security Act.

Mr Bloem was not asked to plead and the case was postponed to August 30, with a bail condition that he does not interfere with State witnesses.

A Johannesburg attorney who represented Mr Bloem said the charge sheet had not yet been drawn up.

Mr Bloem (34) of Brent Park, Kroonstad, was detained on June 11 1986 under the emergency regulations.

When he was released on Monday he had spent a year and 18 days in prison.

He was kept in solitary confinement at Heyningspruit, and later transferred to Kroonstad.

His wife, Edith (32), a mother of two, was also detained under the emergency regulations and spent eight months in solitary confinement at Viljoenskroon. She was released on June 13.

Mr Bloem's sister, Dorothy (32), was released from detention on June 10 after being detained on July 27 last year. She was held at Virginia and later transferred to Kroonstad.

Mr Bloem has been detained five times in two years. He was first detained for six months in 1985, under section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

He was later detained three times, for periods of two weeks, between February and April last year under section 50 of the Act.

~~...down... tongues~~

# Report forwards ANC position on violence

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## Religion Reporter

The fundamental position of the ANC was a commitment to the "struggle to overthrow the Pretoria regime and the transfer of power to all people under a system of one-person-one-vote in a unitary state", said a report delivered to the national conference of the South African Council of Churches (SACC) at Bosmont yesterday.

The report was delivered by outgoing general secretary Dr Beyers Naude. The subject was a World Council of Churches conference in Lusaka last May on "The Churches' Search for Justice and Peace in Southern Africa", attended by 40 delegates from South Africa.

The conference was addressed by Mr Oliver Tambo of the ANC, Mr Johnson Mlambo of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and Mr Sam Nujoma of Swapo.

Dr Naude's report said it was clearly stated that the "ex-

perience of the ANC had taught it to hate violence ... and was formed to terminate the violence against our people inherent in the white minority domination".

The PAC, his report said, "through bitter experience, is convinced that the most effective method of struggle in the face of unabated reactionary violence is armed struggle".

However, in a later discussion of his report, Dr Naude said the ANC and PAC both said "go back to South Africa and say we are totally opposed to physical violence on the part of those involved in struggle".

Presented with his report was the Lusaka Statement (released in May) which stated that the "South African regime and its colonial domination of Namibia is illegitimate".

He recommended the SACC conference discuss the statement and present it to member churches for consideration, adoption or endorsement.

S.M. 11/7/87

(S) (11A)

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# Benoni drops demand over ANC adverts

By Martin Challenor

Benoni Town Council's demand for First National Bank to repudiate its managing director, Mr Chris Ball, publicly for his part in the ANC advertisements affair attracted about 30 letters and telegrams.

Half supported the council and half voiced criticism, Mr Vic Penning, chairman of the management committee, said last night, announcing that the council had dropped its demand.

The council accepted a motion in May calling on the bank to repudiate Mr Ball following the Munnik Commission's finding that he advanced an overdraft for R100 000 to Mr Yusuf Surtee, knowing that the money would be used to finance the advertisements.

Mr Ball has constantly denied that he knew how the money was to be used.

First National published an advertisement nation-wide last month, pointing out that it did not support any political organisation.

This satisfied Dr Chris Erasmus, the Benoni councillor who had tabled the motion. He said at the time that he would not pursue the matter.

The council officially closed the issue at its monthly meeting last night after discussing it in committee, saying the response from the bank was satisfactory.

11A



Mr Emson Banda in hospital in Port Elizabeth this week

## UDF civic leader 'critical' after beating

From MIKE LOEWE  
PORT ELIZABETH.— A Uitenhage community leader, Emson Banda, 37, is in a critical condition after a knife attack allegedly waged by a group of vigilantes known as Ama Afrika.

Banda, president of the Uitenhage Residents' Congress, a UDF affiliate, was released from detention recently following an outcry from liberal parliamentarians about security police intervention into his treat-

ment for severe depression.

This week sources at Livingston Hospital in Port Elizabeth said he was admitted after a two-hour delay at Uitenhage Hospital.

He had numerous stab wounds in the abdomen, chest and head as well as abrasions and cuts. His wife, Urcalia, said she

believed he was stopped while being driven in a taxi at a makeshift roadblock manned by the vigilante group and was attacked.

This week Banda was lying in his hospital bed barely conscious. His eyes were closed and his face bloated. He is attached to a heart and lung machine.

Doctors said his condition was critical but was stabilising.

Two people died in clashes in the township this week in what is said to be retaliatory action against vigilantes, who residents believe were responsible for demolishing a tombstone in memory of 21 residents shot in Langa, Uitenhage, on May 21, 1985.

Both were members of Ama Afrika, a spokesman for the vigilante group said.

# 'Necklace' Bill given the nod

WASHINGTON — The US House of Representatives approved a Bill this week to bar US aid to southern African countries supporting necklacing.

This was included as an amendment to a \$9.4bn Bill to provide US government agencies with additional funds for the government spending year to September 30.

The Bill will provide \$50m in US aid to the nine members of the Southern Africa Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC).

The amendment said no SADCC member would be eligible for aid unless President Ronald Reagan certified that the country had not advocated necklacing, had provided assurances it was taking action against those who practised it and was not knowingly allowing guerrillas who practised necklacing to operate in its territory. — Sapa-Reuter.

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(11A) B/D Day 2/7/87

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## POLICE DENY KNOWLEDGE OF MISSING ACTIVIST

THE mystery surrounding the disappearance of prominent former student activist Olivia Forsyth deepened yesterday when a high-ranking police officer denied any knowledge of the missing woman.

Commenting on suggestions that the 27-year-old researcher was being held in a Lusaka jail, he said: "We have no knowledge of her."

The police officer also rejected suggestions she was being held in a safe house to testify as a State witness in forthcoming terrorist trials.

"We definitely don't have her. She never worked for the police. And she

Own Correspondent

never gave the police any information," he said.

A distant cousin by marriage of Forsyth, Derek Brune, was exposed as a police spy in left-wing student circles on Wits campus in the 1970s. He now holds the rank of major in the Security Branch.

Rumours have persisted in students circles that Forsyth, a former SRC member at Rhodes University and former local committee member of Nusas, had run foul of the African National Congress (ANC) in

Zambia.

Forsyth's family fears that she could be in an East Bloc country or imprisoned somewhere in Africa.

Her mother Joan Brune said she had heard from her missing daughter's friends of persistent rumours that Forsyth could have run foul of the ANC in Zambia.

An executive member of the ANC Pallo Jordan said he had also made extensive inquiries among his fellow executive members and came up with nothing.

"We definitely don't have her, as far as I can establish," he said.

# Soviet expert critical of ANC social revolution

2/7/87 (11A) B1 Day

A SOVIET expert on Southern Africa has criticised the ANC for trying to "put the tasks of the socialist revolution before the national liberation movement", warning that it would lose potential allies.

Deputy director of the Institute of African Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences Victor Goncharov was interviewed by Harare-based journalist Howard Barrell for the Johannesburg magazine *Work in Progress*.

"I don't say they should stop socialist propaganda, not at all," Goncharov said. "But at this stage, the stress should be on problems of the national liberation struggle.

"Firstly, it is necessary to settle the problems of the liberation struggle, and then to come to the next stage of the social revolution in SA. If they (ANC members) will insist on putting forward

Business Day Reporter

the ideas and principles of the socialist revolution before the settlement of the problems of national liberation, they will lose their allies in the population, they will lose potential allies."

Goncharov said the emotion of the past three years had given birth to hopes of a quick ANC victory "but it will not be very quick".

"Maybe 10 years, I say not less than 10 years. Yes, I believe that in the end SA will become socialist, maybe not in 25 years but in a century ... I am an optimist," he said.

Goncharov said Soviet military support for the ANC depended on the prospects of armed struggle. "If we think that it is useless, we won't give anything."

CAPE TIMES  
2/7/82

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# Police don't know where ex-activist Olivia is

By CHRIS STEYN

THE mystery surrounding the disappearance of a prominent former student activist, Ms Olivia Forsyth, deepened yesterday when a high-ranking police officer denied any knowledge of her whereabouts.

Commenting on suggestions that the 27-year-old researcher was being held in a Lusaka jail, he said: "We have no knowledge of her."

However, rumours have persisted, particularly in student circles, that Ms Forsyth, a former SRC member at Rhodes University and former member of the local committee of the National Union of South African Students (Nusas), had run foul of the African National Congress (ANC) in Zambia.

A distant cousin by marriage of Ms Forsyth is Mr Derek Brune, who was exposed as a police spy in left-wing student circles on Wits campus in the 1970s. The Cape Times has established that he now holds the rank of major in the Security Branch.

But the senior police officer maintained that the police had no knowledge of Ms Forsyth's activities. He also rejected suggestions that she could be held in a safe house to testify as a State witness in impending terrorism trials.

"We definitely don't have her. She never worked for the police. And she never gave the police any information," he said.

Ms Forsyth's family fears that she could be in an East bloc country or imprisoned somewhere in Africa.

## Persistent rumours

Her mother, Mrs Joan Brune, said her missing daughter's friends had told her of persistent rumours that Ms Forsyth could have run foul of the ANC in Zambia.

She had made extensive inquiries in Zambia after hearing the rumours of her daughter's incarceration, and was now convinced that she was not detained there.

And Mr Pallo Jordan, an executive member of the ANC, told the Cape Times that he had also made extensive inquiries among his fellow executive members and came up with nothing.

"We definitely don't have her, as far as I can establish," he said.

Ms Forsyth's sister, Christine, said the missing girl had flown out of South Africa on June 25 last year bound for Lusaka. She had had "no direct contact" with her since then.

"I don't think she has run foul of the ANC. There is no chance of her being a turncoat," she said.

Rumours that her sister had run foul of the ANC may have been spread maliciously as disinformation from "pro-apartheid forces".

The missing girl's father, Mr Peter Forsyth, said that before Ms Forsyth left, she had told him that if he did not hear from her before March this year, when she intended to come back, she would probably be in an East bloc country from where she could not contact him.

# Sebokeng clean-up before Botha visit

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

FOURTEEN Defence Force tipper-trucks and front-end loaders worked for 10 days to remove "refuse and soil" from Sebokeng before President P W Botha's visit to the area last month, the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, said yesterday.

Mr Botha was given the freedom of the black townships of Lakoa, which includes Sebokeng, Sharpeville, Boipatong, Bophelong, Zamdela and Refenggotso, when he visited the region.

General Malan said the services of SADF members were used to help in clearing-up work in Sebokeng because the town clerk requested such help, "as the town council did not have the necessary manpower to complete the task alone".

The clean-up operation had taken from May 25 to June 3, the day before Mr Botha's visit, General Malan said in reply to a written question from Mr Koos van der Merwe (CP Jeppe).

The total cost of the operation to the SADF was R2 646,90, he said.

□ Replying to another written question from Mr Peter Hendrickse (LP Addo), General Malan declined to disclose publicly how much SADF involvement in civil unrest since January last year had cost the South African taxpayer.

"It is not considered in the public interest to divulge this figure, but I am prepared to supply it to the honourable member on a confidential basis if he were to request it under this condition," he said.

□ More than three dozen parades, military tattoos or other special events were planned this year to commemorate the SADF's 75th anniversary, General Malan said in reply to another written question from Mr Tian van der Merwe (PFP Green Point).

He said the July 1 anniversary "is not being celebrated as a single event but forms the theme of activities at all levels from unit to full SA Defence Force participation".

CAL 1045 31/10/77

# Cosatu No to business tie against apartheid

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — The secretary-general of Cosatu, Mr Jay Naidoo, has ruled out the possibility of working with business against apartheid.

In an interview here, Mr Naidoo said that even under the state of emergency there was no indication that business was prepared to go further than verbal condemnation of apartheid.

"A lot of their profits have accrued very directly out of apartheid," he said.

Mr Naidoo said Cosatu rejected the claim by foreign companies that their codes of conduct had assisted the struggles of workers in South Africa.

"The fact that you can de-racialize a canteen system and build houses for a few dozen workers does not change the structure of apartheid and they have made very little impact on that."

# Whites to meet ANC in Senegal talks

Own Correspondent

*Call time 3/7/82* *(11/1/82)*

JOHANNESBURG — A group of nearly 50 white South Africans leaves next week for a four-day formal conference with African National Congress leaders in the Senegalese capital of Dakar.

It is understood that the president of the ANC, Mr Oliver Tambo, could be among the "significant number" of the ANC executives the group will meet.

The delegation, most of them Afrikaners,

will be headed by former PFP leader Dr Van Zyl Slabbert.

The source declined to give any names of those going, but said the participants included businessmen, academics, church leaders, politicians, writers, professional people and artists.

It is understood Dr Slabbert leaves today for Paris, to complete final arrangements. Most members of the SA delegation are due to leave early next week.

3/7/85 Day

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# UDF calls on people to reject RSCs

"OUR PEOPLE in the community and on the factory floor" were called upon yesterday by the UDF to unite against the imposition of RSCs.

UDF acting national publicity secretary Murphy Morobe said government had chosen to ignore the "legitimate demands of the people."

"In doing so, government reaffirms its determination to ignore

our demand for democratic organs of self-government, the abolition of all institutions of minority rule and our right to bring up our families in comfort and security.

"The RSCs rest on a system of local government involving the racially separate black local authorities and management committees, both of which have been rejected by communities throughout the country."

The UDF said government's refusal to recognise the people's "legitimate opposition to these shallow structures" had resulted in nearly three years of violent conflict which had taken the lives of hundreds of people.

As well, financing the RSCs would increase the cost of living as commerce tried to pass on levy costs. — Sapa.

Slabbert to lead ANC talks

# 50 VIPs set to confer with ANC leaders

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A GROUP of nearly 50 white South Africans leaves next week for a four-day formal conference with ANC leaders in the Senegalese capital of Dakar.

It is understood ANC chief Oliver Tambo could be among the "significant number" of the ANC executive the group will meet.

The SA delegation, most of them Afrikaners, will be headed by former PFP leader Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, who left Parliament at the start of last year to pursue interracial conciliation through extra-parliamentary politics.

The Dakar conference was arranged by Slabbert's new organisation, the Institute for a Democratic Alternative in SA (Idasa).

London sources said yesterday a number of foreign correspondents there were due to cover the conference, which starts on Wednesday.

This will be by far the largest — and the most formal — meeting between the ANC and white South Africans.

A delegate said yesterday: "It will



● SLABBERT

MICHAEL ACOTT

not be another nice little visit to Lusaka. There will be formal sessions on a number of key issues. The 50-odd South Africans, mainly Afrikaners, are no pushovers. This is going to be real eye-ball to eye-ball."

The delegate refused to give any names of those going, but said they included businessmen, academics, church leaders, politicians, writers, professional people and artists. The fact that most of them were Afrikaners was deliberate.

The idea was conceived last year and the conference had taken four months to set up.

The delegate said: "South Africans inside the country need to meet South Africans outside the country. Those of us here must talk to people who represent a large following in SA.

"That exchange must take place and, if government refuses to budge, others have to take the initiative. We are going to have a real debate, with talk and negotiation between people who want to work for a new SA."

It is understood Slabbert leaves today for Paris, to complete final arrangements, and the bulk of the SA delegation is due to leave early next week.



THE United Democratic Front (UDF) ought to give serious thought to participating in the 1989 parliamentary elections, its president, Archie Gumede, said yesterday.

Gumede believed that in the light of the "antics" and recent "exposés" of those in the tricameral parliament, the UDF would be testing the sincerity of government if people whose views were those of the UDF expressed them in Parliament.

This emerged in an interview with Gumede yesterday when he told Business Day there had been no further developments between himself and government in their "talks about talks" saga.

On the UDF's possible participation in the 1989 elections — which would be a first in terms of the movement's previous stand against government-inspired elections — Gumede said: "It has been mentioned. It possibly could serve a useful purpose."

On the question of a 1989 election strategy, involving the UDF and like-minded candidates who would stand for election for all three houses, Gumede said he would consider discussing it with UDF members.

"I will put it to them and see what they think about it."

He said government had claimed SA was democratic. If so, Gumede said he saw no reason why UDF electioneering

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**UDF eyes Parliament**

**DOMINIQUE GILBERT**

should be construed by government as subversive.

"Ideas are being thrown around. I do think, given the opportunity, something like this would be of value."

He said there had been no formal talks within the UDF on the matter.

As yet, there had been no formal discussions of the possibility of an alliance across all three parliamentary houses involving the UDF.

UDF national treasurer Azhar Cachalia said there had been no discussion in any meaningful sense on whether the movement should take part in the election, but it was an option to be considered.

"The UDF's position on whether or not to boycott elections is tactical and not one of principle. The situation may be reviewed from time to time."

It was not possible to anticipate SA's political climate in 1989, Cachalia said, and it was therefore too early to consider what the UDF's stance would be.

**Botswana a dead end**

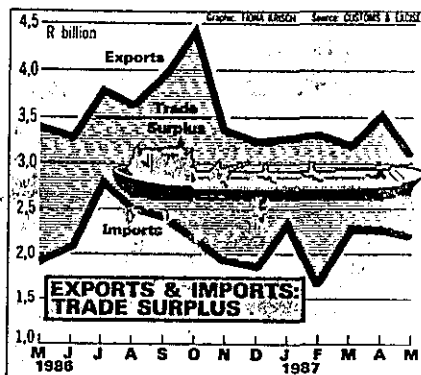
**PETER Minin**

THE Botswana government's mining joint venture with consolidated Mines has not been giving it a boost — and a voice in the diamond industry.

In return for Debswana's stockpile during the industry slump from 1982 to 1985 — the company gets 20-million rand valued for transactions of R38,55 a share, as well as cash settlement.

Not only do the shares to be issued carry a 5,27% holding in the equity, but Debswana's directors to its majority of the Diamond

"The proposal for Botswana in the companies in the industry is the organisation of the industry and strengthening already existing wide trade



**SA trade surplus rises**

SOUTH Africa's trade surplus for the first five months of this year rose to R5,65bn compared with R4,92bn for the same period in 1986, according to preliminary trade figures released by Customs and Excise yesterday.

Subtracting net service payments, the figures suggest an annualised current account surplus of around R6bn for the year, compared with the R7bn surplus in 1986.

The trade surplus for May decreased to R901,8m from R1,29bn the previous month, and R1,55bn in May 1986.

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# A Pollsmoor finger-wagging for Paul Simon

AS South Africa's top writers gathered at Wits University last night to form a progressive writers' organisation, they received a warning from an unexpected source — the cells of Pollsmoor prison.

"Do not become the old spit in Paul Simon's mouth, something that he has swallowed and is now reproducing according to his own taste," African National Congress leader Walter

By MONO BADELA

Sisulu told them.

The theme of the four-day Writers' Forum conference is: "South Africa — beyond the platitudes."

In an opening address smuggled out of Pollsmoor and read by United Democratic Front president Albertina Sisulu, he warned them to become part of popular culture.

Sisulu said intellectuals had held aloof from "the struggle" and, while welcoming the formation of a democratic writers' organisation, warned the writers; "You cannot remain aloof from the political struggles of (your) community.

"You may become famous internationally, but your writing will die because it is not rooted in the people.

"If you do not concern yourselves

with those things which seem ordinary to many, but affect our daily lives, then you will not go beyond the platitudes."

Sisulu added: "We are allowing our political development to outstrip our cultural development, a mistake we should not make — we can see the results in other Third World countries. Let us not create a breeding ground for Unitas, MNRs and Contras."

# Two die, two injured in new PE violence

By MIKE LOEWE, Port Elizabeth

TWO members of the Ama Afrika vigilante group in Kwanobuhle died and two senior UDF figures were critically injured in violence which flared last weekend.

On Tuesday, Eastern Cape police spokesman Lieutenant Kobus van Rensburg was reported to have said: "To our knowledge it is not that tense." Since the violence — which the PFP claims is being egged on by the SA Police and municipal police — began on January 4, 11 Kwanobuhle residents have died. Nine are said to have been UDF supporters. The two Ama Afrika members killed last weekend were the first vigilantes to be killed.

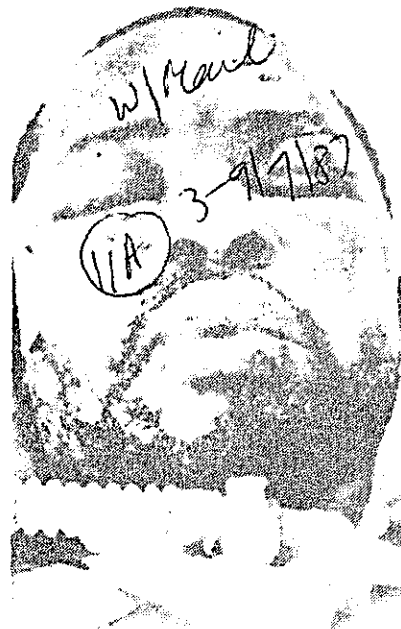
According to Joseph Maliwa, spokesman for the Ama Afrika, also known as African Peoples' Concerned Committee, the two were stabbed by UDF members. But the UDF denied responsibility for their deaths.

UDF spokesman, Ray Mde, said two prominent UDF figures were hacked and stabbed, and four UDF homes were gutted in petrol-bomb attacks in what is said to have been retaliation attacks.

Residents have also been incensed by the destruction two weeks ago of the R6 000 Langa Shooting Memorial, allegedly by hammer-wielding members of the vigilante group.

On Wednesday the condition of Emson Banda, the 37-year-old president of the Uitenhage Residents' Congress who is in Livingstone Hospital's intensive care unit, was stable.

He was stabbed in the head, chest and abdomen and his body is covered in weals and abrasions. Banda's wife, Euralia, said he was attacked



Former detainee Emson Banda, now a victim of a vigilante attack

Picture: MIKE LOEWE, ECNA

on Sunday while jogging. She said his attackers were vigilantes who erected a makeshift roadblock.

The other UDF activist attacked, A S Sibidla, is in a critical condition in Uitenhage's Provincial Hospital. He was reportedly hacked with axes and pangas on Monday.

Rory Riordan of the PFP's Operation Real South Africa said the vigilantes were conducting search and destroy raids against anyone connected with the UDF. The organisation is trying to defuse the situation, but according to reports, Kwanobuhle is tense.

A local lawyer confirmed that 16 summonses will be served on the Minister of Law and Order and various individuals said to be members of the vigilante group.

The lawyer, who did not wish to be named for professional reasons, said family and relatives of the victims of the January 3 violence were suing for R100 000. — East Cape News Agency.

# A student swipe at academics

W/ Mail 3-9-71

By MONO BADELA

ONE of South Africa's youngest and most vociferous political organisations has advised workers to be wary of intellectuals and academics with their "half-baked theories" on political struggle.

Rapu Molekane, general secretary of the South African Youth Congress, told black workers who attended the launch of the newly established National Education, Health and Allied Workers Union (Nehawu) at the University of the Witwatersrand at the weekend that these academics confuse workers with "half-baked theories of a working class struggle in their attempt to cause divisions within the workers' movement".

He said some of these intellectuals with "workerist tendencies" had introduced "confusing jargon" like "worker control", "populist" and the "workers' charter".

"These so-called socialists should be isolated," he said. "The criterion for having people working for trade unions should not be a university degree. We are not rejecting the intellectuals as such, but we are against those who want to hijack the people's struggle."

The Freedom Charter, said Molekane, was not in conflict with socialism. "The charter is actually laying the basis for socialism."

Molekane said Sayco was against the idea of the United Democratic Front or those leaders in prison entering into dialogue or negotiation with the government. "Prisoners cannot enter into negotiations; only free men can negotiate. Why is this racist regime turning a deaf ear to our demands?"

**FOR THE RECORD**

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# Legal, illegal, legal: That ANC advert

By JO-ANN BEKKER

THE controversy surrounding political advertisements came to the fore again this week, with the attorney general's statement that the controversial "Unban the African National Congress" advert was not illegal.

A Johannesburg lawyer said Transvaal Attorney General Klaus von Lieres' decision not to prosecute newspapers who carried the United Democratic Front's "Unban the ANC" advert earlier this year had vindicated the view of media lawyers across the board that the advert was legal.

Meanwhile, the *Weekly Mail's* lawyers have advised the newspaper may not carry the West German Daimler Benz and South Africa Working Group's advert entitled "Protest against Daimler-Benz's continuing involvement in South Africa's military strategy".

The lawyers said the advert -- due to be published the week the West German vehicle manufacturer announced it would defy disinvestment calls and maintain its operations in South Africa -- contravenes section 118 of the Defence Act which prohibits publication of any information about the SADF's "composition".

This is detailed as "any engines, rolling stock, vehicles, vessels .. over which an officer of the South African Defence Force has assumed control ... or anything which has been supplied on requisition by the Minister".

(11A) w/Mark  
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# UDF to fight 1989 elections?

Dispatch Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — The United Democratic Front "ought to give serious thought" to participating in the 1989 parliamentary elections, the UDF's president, Mr Archie Gumede, said yesterday.

Mr Gumede said he believed that, in view of the "antics" and recent "exposés" of participants in the tricameral parliament, the UDF would be "testing the sincerity of the government" if "people whose views are those of the UDF" expressed them in Parliament.

He said there had been no further developments between himself and the government in the recent "talks about talks" saga.

On the UDF's possible participation in the 1989 elections — which would be a first in terms of the movement's strong stand against government-inspired elections — Mr Gumede said: "It has been mentioned. It possibly could serve a useful purpose."

Asked whether a 1989 election strategy, involving the UDF and like-minded candidates who would stand for election

in all three houses of parliament, was likely, Mr Gumede said he would consider it with UDF members.

He said the government claimed the country was democratic and he saw no reason why UDF electioneering could be construed as "subversive".

There had been no formal talks within the UDF on the matter, and no formal discussions on the possibility of an alliance across all three parliamentary houses involving the UDF.

The UDF national treasurer, Mr Azhar Cachalia, said there had been no discussion "in any meaningful sense" on whether the movement should participate in the 1989 election but it was "an option which will be considered."

"The UDF's position of whether or not to boycott elections is tactical and not one of principle. The situation may be reviewed from time to time."

It was not possible to anticipate South Africa's political climate in 1989, Mr Cachalia said, and it was too early to consider what the UDF's stance would be.

# 'TIED TO AN

Door of priest's house blasted open

# INFESTED

11A  
Downtown  
3/7/87

# TREE'

By MONK NKOMO

TWO of the seven accused in the Pan Africanist Congress terrorism trial were assaulted and tied to an ant-infested tree, it was alleged in a Pretoria Regional Court yesterday.

It was also alleged that another accused was assaulted and forced to have his fingerprints taken while handcuffed.

Defence counsel, Mr Dikgang Moseneke, put it to Lieutenant Hendrik Prinsloo that he took part in assaulting Mr Mabatu Enoch Zulu (52), at the Hammanskraal police station on April 11 last year.

### Refused

He also put it to the policeman that Mr Zulu, who refused to have his fingerprints taken, was forced to do so with both his hands handcuffed behind him.

Lt Prinsloo denied the allegation but admitted that the accused refused to have his fingerprints taken.

Lt Prinsloo also admitted during cross-examination that two of the accused — Mr Siyabulela Ndoda Gcanga (26), and Mr Vincent Alson Mathunjwa (29) — were tied with a rope to a tree by the police shortly after their arrest in Bophuthatswana.

Lt Prinsloo said he did not know if the accused were assaulted and if the

## ALLAN EDWARDS

177 BREE STREET (between Loveday and Harrison Streets), JOHANNESBURG. TEL. 834-2775

### Italian Winter Collection

## Torture

From Page 1

tree was ant-infested.

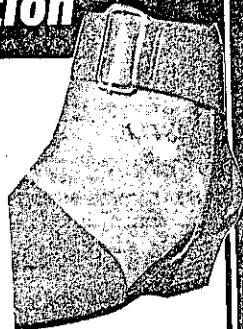
The State witness told the court that they used an explosive device to blast open the door and enter the house of another accused, the Reverend Daniel Nkopodi, in Bophuthatswana in April last year.

The device was used while Rev Nkopodi was inside a police vehicle nearby, the court heard.

Lt Prinsloo, who denied using a handgrenade to rip open the door, said the method was used to protect the police against trained terrorists who usually kill when they are cornered.

The police, he added, had received information that two armed "terrorists" were inside the house.

(Proceeding)



tyled in Italy  
29<sup>99</sup>

Colours: WHITE, NAVY, RED, YELLOW, LILAC, BLACK

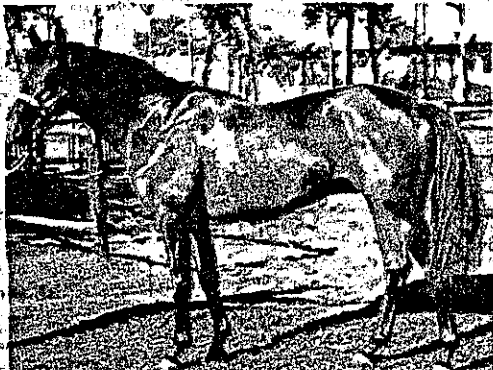
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S 17257

## The one to beat ...



MODEL MAN ... the horse to beat in tomorrow's Rothmans July Handicap in Durban.

BY now most of you have probably been given more than one "dead cert" for tomorrow's July Handicap.

Everyone, including total strangers, is eager to make you rich.

As July day draws closer the weather takes a back seat as a conversation piece.

Invariably, a stranger will say to you: "What do you fancy?" "Not being a racing man, I innocently ask: "Who's running?"

"Don't worry," comes the reply. "Just put your money on so-and-so and you're made."

As a result I now consider myself something of a horse racing expert because of all the "hot tips" so generously shared.

I even know the entire field for this year's race. Just because so many different "hot tips" have come my way. A funny thing happened at a newsstand in town the other day.

A man with a heavy Afrikaans accent was making a deal with a newspaper vendor.

## Conman is doing the rounds

"I'll give you the winner. But you must give me half of your profits," he said as he browsed through a copy of *Abathakathi*.

This conman has probably had 15 similar conversations. He's certainly going to be one of the few people smiling after tomorrow.

One really learns a lot about horse racing at this time of the year.

Punters, again mostly total strangers, will tell you the entire history of a particular horse, jockey or trainer. You also get to learn about weights, draws, distance, courses and what have you.

Witchdoctors also play their part in making it that much more difficult to forecast the winner.

• To Page 2

• To Page 2

11A

# THE CHURCH

THE outgoing general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, Dr Beyers Naudé, this week proposed that the church "reconsider its understanding of violence" in South Africa and assess the moral legitimacy of the government.

In his final report to the SACC national conference in Johannesburg, he concentrated on issues pertinent to the conference. But he also referred to an overview of the South African situation which he presented to a World Council of Churches conference in Lusaka in May.

In that report he pointed out that the Emergency, followed by large-scale arrests and detentions of leaders and activists, had led to a temporary decline of violence, giving the international community the impression the government had crushed resistance, but recent events proved "beyond doubt" it was as "strong as ever".

The escalation of the armed struggle and the experience by township communities of "low-scale warfare" would leave the church with no choice other than reconsidering its understanding of violence in South Africa. Reads the report: "It is simply not good enough to state that the church is against violence in any form; this has become a platitude which has almost lost its meaning in the situation of increasing conflict, violence and bloodshed in the country." A much clearer pronouncement was needed in order to guide Christians in the "painful reality" of violence.

In his general report at this week's conference Naudé raised further critical questions concerning what he termed "the moral legitimacy" of the government. "If judged on the true concept of

law and order, justice and peace, true democratic representation of the feelings of the people, there is no doubt that this government is to be seen as morally an illegitimate rule," he stated. He urged that the conference confront this question and "indicate the steps to be taken if it is found that this government is morally illegitimate and constitutionally illegal".

Describing the State of Emergency as "an almost permanent feature" of South African life, he urged delegates not to be deceived by propaganda or misconception of the reality of day-to-day life.

"On the face of it calm has returned to the townships and 'law and order' has been restored according to the government. What is not stated is that this 'restoration' of law and order has only been achieved at the cost of a series of harsh parallel actions: the paralysing of many popular organisations resisting the evil of the system, including black political organisations, trade unions, educational bodies, civic, student and youth organisations," he said.

He spoke about the growing concern "at the devastatingly destructive effects which the large-

scale continued detention of people (especially young people and children) have had upon such victims" and recommended the conference support in principle the establishment of an independent children's institute to deal with the effects of detention.

Focusing on the crisis in education, he ascribed the "temporary lull" in the education sphere to the "oppressive measures taken against the leaders of educational bodies opposing the existing educational systems as well as of hundreds of students and young activists who continue to resist the discriminatory and unjust system of black education". Because of its historic role in education the church had a "major responsibility in the current crisis to initiate discussion with educational bodies which are determined to bring about real reform in the educational system," he said. Consequently he recommended the SACC's African Bursary Fund, which organises the scholarship scheme, be expanded into a division of education.

Naudé expressed concern that "a large sector of the Christian family" is not included in the SACC

The general secretary's report could no longer enough to say the church is a platitude which has almost lost its meaning.

BECKER report from the na

and referred specifically to the white Dutch Reformed churches, the Baptist and Pentecostal churches and certain African Independent churches representing three to four million members. He included in the latter the Zion Christian Church (ZCC), saying the SACC should extend an invitation of dialogue to them. He also recommended the SACC study the NGK document, *Church and Society*.

Naudé also pointed to potentially dangerous effects of the SACC's role as a funding organisation. These included "the false belief that in a crisis of this kind the provision of basic material needs provides the solution to the crisis itself" and the danger of "an ever increasing reliance on funding agencies ... with the possible sacrifice or compromise of principles and convictions, and the loss of independence, self-esteem and even

## Beyers' last morning on the job

Today is the last day at the SACC offices for Beyers Naudé. Here he talks to RUTH BECKER

THIS afternoon at one o'clock Beyers Naudé will down tools. As outgoing general secretary of the 15-member South African Council of Churches, representing approximately 12 million people, the 72-year-old Naudé said in an interview this week he found the job "stimulating, challenging but also very difficult".

It seems his "tools down", as he described it, will mean relinquishing only a particular set of tools after two-and-a-half years of craftsmanship. He leaves the SACC national conference this afternoon with his wife, Ilse, to attend a Catholic/Protestant reconciliation conference in Northern Ireland, followed by — a holiday? Well, yes, after the conference in France focusing on "democratic alternatives" in various parts of the world.

Thereafter he has no fixed plans, except not to accept any permanent employment — "I don't think it would be right at my age" — and to involve himself in areas of "personal interest".

Naudé's personal interests do not conjure up your average sunset picture complete with stamp collecting and gardening.

There are three main areas he aims to pursue. There is the ecumenical sphere, where he will work to "strengthen the unity of all Christians, the building of meaningful relations with people of other faiths and participation in the witness for social justice and liberation by the church".

He also wants to be "actively involved in assisting those whites who realise and admit that apartheid has failed hopelessly, to help them to find their place in a truly nonracial and democratic society." This he hopes to do through his involvement in the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa, the Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee and the National Union of SA Students (of which he is honorary president).

He also wants to "become actively involved in the realisation of the ideal of unity of the family of Dutch Reformed churches", notably the black Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk churches, as well as active support for bodies like the NGK Belydende Kring (confessing circle) and the Institute for Contextual Theology. The latter was headed by the Rev Frank Chikane, who takes over from Naudé as SACC general-secretary.

While every split in a church is regrettable, he said, the recent split in the (white) NGK was "unavoidable in the light of Afrikaner history where any serious split on the cultural level has always led to a split on the political level, followed by one in the religious sphere".

"It was inevitable that the conservative right-wing Afrikaners would eventually establish a religious home for themselves. This Afrikaanse Gereformeerde Kerk (AGK) is in fact the theological reflection of the political ideals of the



Dr Beyers Naudé

Picture: ANNA ZIEMINSKI, Atrapix

Conservative Party, the HNP and the AWB, just as the NGK under Professor Heyns is the theological reflection of the political convictions of the Nationalist Party and its 'reform programme'."

Assessing his term as general secretary, he said he found personal significance in having been able to "participate actively in strengthening the witness and contribution of the SACC's opposition to apartheid."

"A much larger sector of the member churches has been drawn into actions of solidarity and support of the victims of the apartheid through the regional councils — which increased from seven to 22 in my term of office."

He highlighted the strengthening of bonds with councils of churches and governments of Southern Africa and "the deepening of the concern and commitment of churches and councils around the world in their united opposition to apartheid."

"We are grateful for the strengthening of the bonds between us and the trade unions," he said. "But I believe much more could have been done to make churches aware of the responsibility we have to support workers' rights and the struggle for human dignity in the labour movement."

"Secondly, we haven't addressed ourselves seriously to the challenge of civil disobedience and effective non-violent resistance to the injustice of apartheid and of the many laws which are in direct conflict with the law of God."

"Thirdly, we haven't thought through properly the church's stand on the issue of violence and non-violence — the question of whether a community is justified to take up arms if it believes all else has been done to obtain its liberation by non-violent means."

"Fourthly, we (the SACC) haven't addressed ourselves in any serious way in understanding, formulating and in educating the South African community to the nature of the new society that is emerging. Especially with regard to the nature of the political, economic, educational and social systems and structures which inevitably would be brought about."

## Fleeing from war. Fleeing from want.

Thousands flee out; thousands more flee in. A key paper examines the two sides of the same tragedy. THAMI MKHWANAZI reports

I SWORE never to be silent whenever and wherever human beings endure suffering and humiliation. We must always take sides. Neutrality helps the oppressor, never the victim. Silence encourages the tormentor, never the tormented. Sometimes we must interfere. When human lives are endangered, when human dignity is in jeopardy, national borders and sensitivities become irrelevant. Whenever men and women are persecuted because of their race, religion, or political views, that place must — at that moment — become the centre of the universe. — Elie Wiesel, 1986 Nobel Peace Prize winner.

The Reverend Sol Jacob quoted this when he addressed the 19th annual conference of the South African Council of Churches in Johannesburg on "Refugees and Exiles — Challenge to the Churches".

The Maritzburg-based Anglican priest, who was held in solitary confinement for 46 days under the former section 6 of the Terrorism Act for what his interrogators described as "ministry to terrorists", said South Africa both received and produced refugees.

About 250 000 people from Mozambique, Lesotho, Angola and Zimbabwe had sought refuge in South Africa. With the introduction of the State of Emergency and increased political conflicts in South Africa the flood of refugees into neighbouring states had risen to at least 2 000 a year.

Refugees challenged the Church and the Church must respond to all of them, irrespective of international legal status, said Jacob.

Over and above legal definitions, he said, refugees were human beings who were powerless in almost every facet of life. "They are men, women and children who were forcibly uprooted from their homes, families, friends, jobs, customs and culture — struggling for survival in search of food, refuge, identity and belonging."

At one reception centre in the Eastern Transvaal 1 749 Mozambican refugees entered the country between May 22 to June 21 this year. Last week 900 refugees crossed into South Africa. However, Jacob said, statistics were not easy to establish as refugees hid among the local population (for fear of arrest and deportation by the South African authorities).

The tragedy in Mozambique had produced 500 000 refugees, affecting 1,8 million people in that country.

Jacob quoted a Mozambican refugee: "Ten Renamo men came to our village and left with all our food. They returned that night, handcuffed our husbands and made them lie on the ground. They crushed their heads with millet grinders. The women and children of the village were



These children, for whom home is a tra

forced to watch the killings. Nineteen men were killed. We were not allowed to bury the dead but were forced to carry the bundles of looted goods to the Renamo camp.

"We then joined a group of women and children who were fleeing Renamo. It took three days to travel through the Kruger Park with 10 toddlers and 15 older children. We travelled day and night carrying the little ones and binding our stomachs to stop hunger pains."

Mozambican refugees fleeing Renamo had to survive minefields in their own country and South Africa's electrified barbed-wire fences and soldiers.

Unable to be granted official refugee status by the South African authorities, the Mozambican refugees continued to lead the lives of fugitives. They lived in fear of arrest and being forced to return to the torture, rape and murder of Mozambique's civil war.

Jacob said the South African government continued to deport about 1 500 Mozambicans a month.

In Lesotho, the uncertainty after the January 1986 coup and the "ongoing" situation in that country has led to a sudden influx of Basotho



C CONFERENCE

# AND VIOLENCE

uld not have been blunter: It was abhorred violence; this had become ng. THAMI MKHWANAZI and RUTH national church conference

the ability to solve our problems from within". He saw the SACC's most urgent need as "to assist in liberating this country from all forms of injustice, oppression and violence". This would be possible if two important realities were recognised, he said: the need to overcome a fear of whites and at the same time a hatred of the blacks.

In his report to the WCC conference in Lusaka, referred to in this week's report, he recalled the two-day work stay-away on May 5 and 6 called by the Congress of SA Trade Unions and the United Democratic Front to protest the white elections. The stay-away indicated the depth of feeling in the black community at the "callousness" of the majority of whites, he said, for disregarding the strong feelings of the majority of South Africans.

The rising tide of fear and anger in the white community as it realises it can no longer maintain its privileged position of political and economic power was a source of deep concern. He pointed out that the State of Emergency, with massive powers given to the armed forces, had failed to prevent organisations like the UDF, civic, youth and students' organisations from operating effectively despite many restrictions placed on them.

This resistance, he declared, could be measured by recent worker strikes, students' protests, stay-aways and rent boycotts.

He said the determination of thousands to refuse to pay rent unless their political and economic demands were met was an indication of the strength of the resistance and sacrifice of the black communities in order to obtain freedom. If students decided to vent their anger through solidarity protest actions with workers, the situation could become increasingly dangerous.

Vigilantes, many of them trained and equipped by the security forces, he said, had "added a frightening dimension to the scene of violence". The widely-held belief that Inkatha, through its

members and supporters, was utilising this brutal form of violence against fellow blacks added to the seriousness of the conflict, thus making the task of reconciliation difficult.

He warned that the government's refusal to meet demands such as talking to the ANC, the release of political prisoners, the right of exiles to return and the removal of security forces from the townships would increase the process of resistance.

"If this process gains momentum and the government fears that its measures of controlling the Emergency are ineffective, I have no doubt that the government will not hesitate to impose martial law, thereby establishing military rule," he predicted, adding that if South Africans believed effective opposition to the "injustice of apartheid" could still be found by participating in the tricameral parliamentary system, they were in for a "rude awakening".

Naudé's report also referred to the government's introduction of the new regional services councils, provincial executives and the proposed national council, noting that the "tactics of co-

optation" were done "in the hope of winning the minds and hearts of the oppressed communities".

He said the tactic of co-opting the oppressed was easily recognised in the case of homeland leaders, the tri-cameral parliament and black local authorities. But it had now come in the form of non-elected bodies.

This co-optation was further visible in the reforms of petty apartheid, making available large sums of money for the establishment of a black middle class, "stimulating the whole process of consumerism, and encouraging the purchase of private property in the urban areas". The strategy of co-optation was done with a skill and sophistication that evaded the attention of a large number of oppressed people, he said.

This strategy could also be seen in the formation of organisations like the United Workers' Union of SA and youth brigades, often through the ruling party in homeland governments. In addition, charismatic churches and evangelical groups, especially those with active links with countries like the US and West Germany, were being actively promoted through the government's propaganda. This observation he based on their being presented as "non-political" churches opposed to violence.

To eradicate apartheid and prepare for a future, the churches would have to spell out much more clearly the steps they believed the internal political and church community could take. Sanctions as a non-violent method of pressurising the government to take more effective steps towards fundamental change should again be seriously considered.



ansit camp in Phalaborwa, are among the thousands of Mozambicans seeking refuge from their war-torn country

fugees into South Africa — 1 000 refugees in Qwa Qwa and about 400 in Transkei.

Jacob recalled that South Africans started leaving the country in significant numbers during the Emergency declared after the Sharpeville massacre of 1960. Several thousand people sought refuge when the government banned the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress. A small number of these refugees have returned to South Africa, some have died and the rest are scattered throughout the world, where they constitute an "amorphous" older generation of exiles retaining ties of varying degrees of loyalty to the ANC and the PAC.

The clergyman noted that the flow of refugees from South Africa was reduced to a trickle after the mid-Sixties — until the 1976 Soweto uprising when about 12 000 people fled into neighbouring countries, seeking refuge from arrest and police harassment. Most of these new exiles were between 13 and 30 years old, from urban backgrounds and had some secondary education.

An estimated four out of every five young people, who leave the country because of harassment and ongoing political unrest, join liberation movements in exile, according to Jacob. Many

were highly politicised and readily joined the ANC and the PAC which promised an opportunity for education and military training. Others joined them because they offered a means of survival. Of the two movements, he said, the ANC attracted the larger number of recruits.

The exodus of refugees from South Africa slackened after 1977 only to increase sharply from 1985.

The conference heard that the refugee flow now included young white men who refused to do military service. By August 1985 there were more than 7 000 white South African war resisters in Britain, the Netherlands, the United States, Australia, Canada and Sweden.

Blaming apartheid for the more than 250 000 people who had fled South Africa and Namibia, Jacob said refugees fell into six broad categories — political, student and rural refugees, freedom fighters, conscientious objectors and escapees.

Referring to the Namibian situation, Jacob said current estimates placed the number of refugees at 103 000 — 70 000 in Angola and 33 000 in Zambia. This meant 14 percent of the Namibian population were refugees — in addition to some 50 000 Angolans in Northern Namibia.

He recalled the first exodus from Namibia in 1904, when the survivors of the German's Herero extermination campaign found sanctuary in Botswana.

The present exodus began in 1960 when young men left in large numbers to join Swapo. Conflicts in the north of Namibia intensified with the independence of Angola and the South Africa invasion of Southern Angola in 1975/76. Since then, rural villagers in Northern Namibia's combat area have fled into Angola. Others have fled to escape compulsory military conscription introduced by the South Africa government in the Eighties.

After the South African raids on refugee camps in Angola in 1976 many people were moved to camps in Zambia.

He likened the refugee crisis to the story of Jesus, whose execution was ordered by Herod.

With apparent reference to South Africa, Jacob said when Herod heard the news of the birth of a king, he declared a state of emergency and then sought to develop a security network by trying to co-opt the Wise Men as informers. When his security plan failed he declared a war against children and killed the innocent. Herod then died and the exiles returned.

## The toughest issue: The role of force

By PAT SIDLEY

A STATEMENT issued after a meeting between South African clergy and the ANC, PAC and Swapo in Lusaka earlier this year presented the major challenge at this week's annual conference of the South African Council of Churches.

Among many other challenges issued in the statement, the "unquestionable" right of people in South Africa and Namibia to "secure justice and peace through the liberation movements" was affirmed. It was recognised that the nature of the South African regime "compelled" the liberation movements to use force.

The major theme of the conference was "Refugees and exiles — challenge to the churches". Christians were exhorted to strive for a future in which people were no longer made refugees in their own country or sent into exile.

The SACC conference, and inevitably the SACC member churches, were challenged this week to take a stand on how the exhortation to end an illegitimate regime and the system which creates exiles, refugees and "internal displaces" could effectively be brought about.

A large number will have taken the view that the church must give some support to the armed struggle — if only by continued contact with exiled liberation movements.

This view would have been met by an argument which states there is no compulsion to violence, a choice always remains and moral responsibility for taking up arms cannot be shirked.

While the debate at the conference may be settled by the end of the week, and some compromise reached, the debate will continue in member churches for some time to come.

A consistent question raised by the president, Manas Buthelezi, by Beyers Naude and the soon-to-depart Wolfram Kistner, director of the Justice and Reconciliation Division, is that of "the quality of liberation" once it is achieved. The question flows out of discussions on the effects of methods used by "the oppressors".

In his report to the congress, Kistner asked: How can liberation be achieved in such a way that the freedom and justice it aims at is retained and developed and not lost again? He referred to the situation wherein an oppressor's methods are so deeply imprinted on the oppressed that the latter adopts the oppressor's methods after liberation.

Kistner suggested the most decisive stage in a political struggle when determining whether freedom would be retained "is the period before the enemy has been overcome and deprived of his power".

Christians, by virtue of their faith, he said, "would consider justice in society in terms of the degree of protection and opportunities for meaningful life" which political and economic structures would accord the weakest in the community. They would also insist on freedom of association and speech and the necessity to participate properly in the decision-making process.

Picture: ERIC MILLER, Alrapix

WMail 3/9/87

## Afrikaans leaders to see ANC

11A  
~~SSA~~

ABOUT 50 Afrikaans leaders are flying to West Africa to attend a major conference alongside exiled political leaders, including senior ANC members, within the next week.

The conference will be hosted by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative in South Africa (Idasa) and has been set up over four months by Idasa founders Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert and Dr Alex Boraine.

The local delegation includes academics, church leaders, businessmen, political figures, journalists and others — almost all holding important, but not top, positions in their institutions.

Among the subjects they are expected to discuss at the three-day conference are the process of political change and the nature of post-apartheid society.

# New talks with ANC

By TOS WENTZEL,  
Political Correspondent

## UDF may take part in 1989 elections

The Argus Correspondent  
DURBAN. — The United Democratic Front is to discuss the idea of participating in the 1989 parliamentary elections, the president, Mr Archie Gumede, said.

However, he denied that this represented a significant shift in UDF thinking. It was part of UDF policy to consider all ways and means of breaking the "political stalemate" in the country.

Mr Gumede said: "Although no decision has been made and we will merely be discussing the idea some time in the near future, I am sure this will send shivers down the backs of many people in the tricameral system."

### EXECUTIVE LEVEL

He said he would put the idea up for discussion at national executive level and the UDF's affiliated units would also be asked to examine the idea of participation.

Mr Gumede said that discussing the idea did not mean the UDF would automatically put up candidates.

"It is an idea worth looking into at this stage and it will be up to the UDF to take a decision."

### SLABBERT PRAISED

He also applauded the move by Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert's Institute for a Democratic Alternative's meeting with the African National Congress, which is scheduled to start on Wednesday, reportedly in Dakar, Senegal.

"Since the Government is not prepared to act courageously to find fair and square solutions to the political problems in South Africa, somebody has to take the initiative," he said.

"It is a significant move in that it is a recognition that there can be no unilateral solution to peace in this country."

DR Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa), is leading a group of South Africans to a conference, which will include members of the African National Congress, in West Africa next week.

The group will visit three West African countries.

In an interview today the former leader of the Progressive Federal Party confirmed the arrangements. He said he was leaving for Paris today to complete plans.

He would not say who the other people in the South African group would be but it is understood that they will be academics, including the author Professor Andre Brink, theologians and Ned Geref Kerk ministers and businessmen.

There will be about 50 in the group and they are due to leave on Monday.

Although Dr Slabbert would not confirm this, it is understood the conference will be held in Dakar, the capital of Senegal.

The other African states the group will visit are Bourkina Fasso, formerly Upper Volta, and the Ivory Coast.

Dr Slabbert said today it was correct that Idasa, with the France Liberte foundation in Paris, which is headed by Mrs Danielle Mitterrand, wife of the French President, were arranging a conference in a West African country where, among others, ANC members might be present.

Idasa did not act secretly or subversively and at the appropriate time, which he hoped would be as soon as possible, all information about the conference and the visit would be made available.

Dr Slabbert indicated that a delicate stage had been reached in the arrangements.

The initiative being taken would include not only the conference but the visit to two other countries.

The heads of states of these countries were involved in the arrangements.

An operation of this nature obviously depended on confidences and trust and it would therefore be highly inappropriate of him or Idasa to release information at this stage which could jeopardise delicate arrangements that still had to be concluded, Dr Slabbert said.

### Confirmation

● Argus Africa News Service reports that an ANC spokesman confirmed that a meeting between prominent white South Africans and an ANC delegation would take place in Senegal next week.

Leading members of the South African group will have talks with President Felix Houphouet-Boigny of the Ivory Coast and President Thomas Sankara of Bourkina Faso, at the invitation of the two leaders.

It has also been learnt that the French government is closely involved in setting up the meeting, arranging visas and other travel arrangements for the group.

The ANC spokesman refused, however, to give any further details.



Dr Slabbert

# Crossroads leader shot — calls for calm

Crime Times 3/7/87 119/205/207

By CHRIS STEYN

A CROSSROADS community leader, who was shot in the back during a three-hour-long attack on his home on Thursday night, yesterday vowed to "avoid another war".

Mr Prince Gobingce, 44, head of the Crossroads Residents' Welfare Association and chairman of the Western Cape Squatters Residents Association, said from hospital yesterday that the attack on him could trigger renewed fighting. But he would try to avoid it.

"My followers are unhappy about the attack. But I don't want another war. I'll stop it," he said.

He had already instructed his followers not to fight, and would take the matter to the Supreme Court.

The drama started at 7.30pm on Thursday night when a man, whom Mr Gobingce identified as "one of John-



**WOUNDED** ... Crossroads community leader Mr Prince Gobingce in hospital.

son Ngxobongwana's councillors", arrived at his house in Old Crossroads and confronted Mr Gobingce's wife, Florence.

The attack followed soon after his wife had told the man to leave.

"I suddenly saw bullets passing through the window. There were about 200 men outside. They stood there shooting at the house for three hours."

He said that when he went outside the mob started throwing petrol bombs. He was shot in the back as he tried to escape from a councillor armed with a 9mm pistol.

# UDF man calls for 'serious thought' on next election

CAPL Tim's 3/7/87

11A ~~3057A~~

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A senior official of the United Democratic Front has suggested the organization consider taking part in the next general election.

UDF president Mr Archie Gumede said it "ought to give serious thought" to participating in the 1989 elections.

Mr Gumede said he believed that in light of the "antics" and recent "exposés" of participants in the tricameral Parliament, the

UDF would be "testing the sincerity of the government" if "people whose views are those of the UDF" expressed them in Parliament.

This emerged in an interview with Mr Gumede yesterday during which he also said there had been no further developments between himself and the government in recent talks about talks.

He said the government had claimed the country was democratic. As such, Mr Gumede, said he saw no reason

why UDF electioneering could be construed by the government as "subversive".

UDF national treasurer Mr Azhar Cachalia said there had been no discussion "in any meaningful sense" on whether the movement should participate in the '89 election.

"The UDF's position of whether or not to boycott elections is tactical and not one of principle. The situation may be reviewed from time to time."

# Breytenbach helped to plan ANC meeting

WIK ARGUS 4/7/87  
114 2004

By ROBERT HOUWING, Weekend Argus Reporter

EXILED poet and author Breyten Breytenbach helped to plan next week's meeting between a group of white South Africans and the African National Congress in Senegal, Dr Alex Boraine said today.

Dr Boraine, executive director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa), said they set the ball rolling for a possible meeting with the ANC last year.

He and Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, head of Idasa, met Breytenbach in Paris several months ago and he agreed to help to arrange the meeting.

"The initiative did not stem from Breytenbach but he provided valuable help and will also attend the talks," said Dr Boraine.

Breytenbach is special adviser on South Africa to Mrs Danielle Mitterrand, wife of French President Francois Mitterrand.

The conference will be held under the auspices of the Paris-based organisation, France-Liberte, which was founded by Mrs Mitterrand.

Dr Boraine and most of the other South African delegates — who are mainly Afrikaans and include academics, businessmen, professionals and students — leave for London from Johannesburg on Monday night.

They will leave for Senegal's capital, Dakar, from Paris on Tuesday.

Their visit to West Africa, which will also take in the Ivory Coast and Bourkina Fasso (previously called Upper Volta), is expected to last about a fortnight.

Keen watch on possible new dimension to politics

W/E ARGUS 4/7/87

# UDF eyes Parliament

By TOS WENTZEL  
Political Correspondent

THE possibility of the United Democratic Front fighting for seats in Parliament is causing keen interest in political circles. It could add a new dimension to politics and to negotiations for a new system.

Coloured parties welcome the idea, some academics predicting a split in the UDF if this happened because there is division on the issue, and Nationalist politicians are keenly interested in any developments to smooth the way to negotiations.

## Housing

UDF president Mr Archie Gumede has suggested that the UDF should discuss taking part in the 1989 parliamentary elections. He says it is part of UDF policy to consider all means of breaking the political stalemate.

While Mr Gumede says the idea would "send shivers down the backs" of many already within the system, opposing coloured politicians welcome it.

Mr Fred Peters, MP, the Labour Party's general secretary, said the UDF would in the end have no alternative but to take part in the present system because more people realised that many practical problems could be solved only this way.

The Labour Party had found this to be so in areas such as housing.

Mr Peters predicted that the UDF could draw substantial support and become the Labour Party's main opposition, but he thought it would have difficulty with its young radical supporters.

If the UDF decided to enter the system in an attempt to wreck it, it would also have

difficulties as there would no guarantee that all its elected MPs would be willing to withdraw once they became used to the perks.

## Intimidation

The emergency regulations might still be in force when the election took place in 1989 and the UDF could find it easier to operate at parliamentary level under these circumstances.

Mr Peters also indicated that participation by the UDF could help with an intimidation problem the Labour Party had in the 1984 election.

Mr Peter Mopp, a member the Democratic Party opposition in the House of Representatives, said it would be "a wonderful idea" for the UDF to take part in elections. It could strengthen moves to present the Government with a proper

agenda for change to a non-racial society.

UDF participation could only broaden the political base of the present system.

Professor Robert Schrire of UCT's department of political studies said it would be in the interests of the country for the UDF to translate its community appeal into institutional strength.

## Arsenic: 'No body, no ashes'

JOHANNESBURG. — Mrs Theresa Hall, on trial for murder and attempted murder, is alleged to have told a co-worker it was a "joke" that the police suspected her of killing her husband, Frank, because there was "no body and no ashes".

The Rand Supreme Court yesterday heard evidence by Mrs Margorie Cloete, who worked with Mrs Hall in the stationery department at an engineering company in Johannesburg.

Mrs Hall, 48, has pleaded not guilty to a charge of mur-



Mrs Rhoda Peyper with her son, Charles, and Dorothy Coots, left.

dering her 81-year-old husband in March last year and not guilty to a charge of attempting to murder her mother, Mrs Rhoda Dora Peyper, 78.

Mr Hall broke his hip and was admitted to Johannesburg Hospital on March 18 last year. He died six days

later.

It is alleged Mrs Hall gave him arsenic-laced brandy while he was in hospital and that she also tried to kill her mother with the poison.

Mrs Cloete said Mrs Hall was "very cool" when she told her about her husband's death. When the undertakers

telephoned to give her the time and place of the cremation she told them she would not be there.

Mrs Hall told her: "I told them to go ahead and they asked what they should do about the ashes. I told them to throw them under the Tree of Remembrance." — Sapa.

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# WAR OF THE WALLS

By CHRIS WHITFIELD, Weekend Argus Reporter  
THE lines have been drawn ... it's Graffiti Wars.

The walls of Cape Town, once almost exclusively favoured by political sloganeers opposed to the Government, have become a battleground.

Commuters no longer peer only at slogans of the *Free Mandela*, *Botha is a Terrorist* and *Troops Out* variety.

They are told that the *ECC is yellow*, State President *Botha is our leader, we love him*, and various prominent political opponents of the Government are poofs, queer or have Aids.

Hastily spray-painted slogans of the *Smash UDF*, *Smash Cosatu*, *Cosatu kills* and *ANC cowards* variety are threatening to overwhelm the old graffiti artists' work.

And the new, conservative wave of sloganeers obviously holds the work of their contemporaries in low stead. They think nothing of adjusting *Viva UDF* to read *Smash UDF* after simply blotting out the old word.

A stencilled graffito in Gardens had a picture of a tank with a huge barrel jutting upwards. *Botha's plan for peace*, read the slogan. A few days later it was adjusted to *Tambo's plan for peace*.

### Lot to be desired

And another *Viva UDF* was changed to *Viva AWB*.

While the new graffiti is bigger, bolder and blunter than previous efforts, its creative content leaves a lot to be desired.

The rightwing spray-can artists have managed nothing to match the *You ANC nothing yet* of last year, or the *Throw well, throw Shell* allegedly spotted in the townships.

And when will they come up with a counter to *You can't survive on a diet of pap and boereforce* or *The force is with us, but we don't want it?*

Graffiti writing can be fraught with risks, as 20-year-old Peninsula Technikon student Peter Newman found out recently.

He was found guilty under the Internal Security Act of furthering the aims of the ANC, and was sentenced to a year in prison.

He had daubed *Botha is a lesbian*, *Away with apartheid* and *The struggle lasts forever* on the wall of the Bredasdorp sportsground.

### "Dead little place"

He explained that he wanted to "wake up the dead little place".

He is lucky he doesn't live in the Soviet Union, where he would have faced a 10-year sentence for defacing property if caught.

In Singapore he could have been fined about R2 000 or gone to jail for three years, as well as receiving between three and eight strokes of a cane.

In Britain the writer is fined and made to remove all traces of his handiwork.

In Cape Town the removal of graffiti is left to the owner of the property — unless he has had the vandalised wall painted within the past year. In such cases the municipality normally does the cover-up job.

Council property that has been daubed with graffiti is cleaned up by the various municipal departments, a job that takes up many manhours and represents a fair cost.

A spokesman for the city's signs department said they were now trying to encourage people with tempting walls to cover the space with murals.

Perhaps it's a time of the signs?



The writing's on the wall: Left and rightwing graffiti vies for attention on Cape Town walls.



# 1 000 in Soweto protest march

*CME Times 4/7/87*

JOHANNESBURG. — About 1 000 blacks marched through Soweto yesterday to protest at the eviction of council tenants backing a year-old anti-government rent boycott.

A spokesman for the Witwatersrand Council of Churches said the crowd was from White City.

"They marched to protest against the eviction of rent defaulters, to demand a meeting with the town clerk, Mr Nico Malan, and to call for lower rentals," he said.

Black and white council and government officials evicted eight families from houses in White City on Thursday because they had failed to pay rents.

Television sets, furniture and electrical appliances were seized. A council official said they would be sold in an effort to recover money owed.

A reporter on the scene yesterday said about 1 000 people had gathered by the time the march reached the Jabulani offices of the black Soweto town council.

He said a council policeman met leaders of the group and arranged for a delegation to see township administrators on Monday.

"After that, the crowd dispersed peacefully," he said.

CAR Times 4/7/87

# Gumede poll 114 remarks: Cool local reaction

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

SUGGESTIONS by UDF president Mr Archie Gumede that the organization may consider participating in the 1989 parliamentary elections have received a cool reception from the UDF in the Western Cape.

A statement issued by the UDF's Western Cape executive last night slated the tricameral Parliament as a "racist, undemocratic dummy body" and emphasized that Mr Gumede had been expressing his personal views, which had not been discussed by the structures of the UDF.

Mr Gumede, who could not be reached for comment yesterday, reportedly said: "Although no decision has been made and we will merely be discussing the idea (of participation) some time in the near future, I am sure this will send shivers down the backs of many people in the tricameral system."

## 'Idea worth looking into'

Mr Gumede said he would raise the idea at national executive level, but emphasized that discussing participation did not necessarily mean the UDF would field candidates in the next election.

"It is an idea worth looking into at this stage and it will be up to the UDF to make a decision," he is reported as saying.

The vice-president of the UDF Western Cape, Mr Joe Marks, said last night that UDF policy on the tricameral system at present was clear.

In a statement endorsed by the executive, he said: "We decided in 1983 that we would not participate in elections for the tricameral Parliament. This powerless dummy body, filled with well-paid puppets, represents everything we reject.

"It is both racist and undemocratic. We also want to point out that it is not the UDF that is the obstacle to peaceful solutions to our country's problems. It is the undemocratic and racist government."

can talk 4/7/77 (11/1)

# Govt silent on new ANC talks

By ANTHONY JOHNSON

**Political Correspondent**  
THE government was tight-lipped yesterday on the planned "dialogue and negotiation" mission by prominent white Afrikaners who hope to meet the ANC leadership and various African heads of state over the next two weeks.

Home Affairs Minister Mr Stoffel Botha said the government was "aware of the intended visit" but declined to comment further "at this stage".

The government has in the past tried to prevent South Africans, including white Afrikaners, leaving the country to meet the ANC, but Mr Botha's department in Pretoria would not disclose whether any action would be taken against the 50-strong group.

Party leader Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, the director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for SA (Idasa), was due to leave for France last night to finalize plans



Dr Van Zyl Slabbert

for the visit to three Francophone West African states — Senegal, Ivory Coast and Bourkina Fasso.

Discussions with the ANC are due to take place in the Senegalese capital of Dakar at a four-day conference, arranged by Idasa and the France Liberte foundation in Paris, headed by Mrs Danielle Mitterrand, wife of the French President.

A member of the South African contingent said yesterday that the group hoped to meet "a top-level delegation from the ANC politburo, including ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo".

Sources said the high-



Mr Stoffel Botha

powered South African delegation would include the "cream of Afrikaner social scientists", theologians, Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk ministers, writers, artists and businessmen.

Apart from Dr Slabbert and Dr Alex Boraine (the executive director of Idasa), names mentioned included Professor Andre Brink, Professor Andre du Toit, Professor Herman Gilliomee, and — joining the group in Paris — Breyten Breytenbach.

One delegate said yesterday: "The group includes mainly white Afrikaners because they represent a major power block that will pose the questions and reflect the differences likely to emerge (with the ANC)."

Another stressed that the venture "can be seen as part of the broad goals of Idasa to work towards a non-racial democracy through negotiation.

"If the people that should be negotiating (the SA government and the ANC) won't, then there should be something in between to make negotiation possible."

One source said there were "a lot of people out there who cannot come home so we are going to them".

Dr Boraine, who leaves with the bulk of the delegation early next week, said a team of people had been "working on this venture for four or five months now", but he did not want to give further details.

Dr Slabbert said yesterday that premature information could jeopardize delicate arrangements which still had to be made.

Idasa would release information to the media at the appropriate time "which we hope will be as soon as possible".

Mike Robertson reports from London that the head of the ANC mission in Senegal has described next week's gathering in Dakar as "just another meeting between the ANC and concerned South Africans".

Mr Ahmed Qono, head of the ANC mission in Senegal, was the first ANC spokesman to confirm the meeting.

He would not say who would be attending the meeting on behalf of the ANC, but other sources indicated that it was unlikely that ANC president Mr Tambo would be present.

The meeting will take place at the Novotel in Dakar from July 9-12.

According to sources in London, the Boston-based public television company WGBH plans to film the entire proceedings.

## Moscow: Remove warships

MOSCOW. — The Soviet Union yesterday called for the removal from Gulf waters of all warships of countries not located in the region, saying the current naval build-up in the area could spark an international crisis.

A Soviet government statement accused the United States of building up its military presence in the Gulf in a bid to establish "military-political hegemony" in the region.

"The Soviet government suggests all warships of states not situated in the region be withdrawn from the Gulf, and that Iran and Iraq refrain from actions that would threaten international shipping."

The statement implied Soviet warships in the Gulf would be excluded from the proposed measures.

# The funeral that had to wait for three months



It's a struggle lifting one of the coffins.



At last they have got the better of the coffin.



The long and sad journey home begins.



REV NTOULA

THREE Soweto residents who were given a pauper's funeral at Mhluzi township near Middleburg in the Transvaal after they had died in a road accident in March, were this week re-buried at the Avalon Cemetery in Soweto.

They were: Patience Bokako, 27, George Motsei, 24, and Themba Cokile, whose car was believed to have been involved in a head-on collision on March 8. The accident occurred on the Middleburg-Belfast road.

Their badly decomposed bodies - some with missing limbs and almost beyond recognition - were exhumed under police supervision at the Mhluzi Cemetery on Tuesday.

Families of the victims had given up hope of finding them after the trio had mysteriously disappeared.

A frantic search for them throughout the country had failed to produce results when, on June 3, the families heard that the three had been buried in the Eastern Transvaal after police had been unable to locate their next-of-kin.

The driver of the killer car was believed to have escaped with minor injuries but he is said to have failed to report the accident to the police or to inform relatives of the dead occupants about the accident.

Arrangements were later made with the Transvaal Provincial Administration to exhume the bodies for re-burial in Soweto. Middleburg Town Council employees spent several hours before they could reach the bodies in the muddy graves.

One difficulty, a family member of one of the victims pointed out, was that the bodies were buried in messonite coffins which disintegrated under pressure from the diggers. This was further complicated by the muddy conditions near the coffins.

Furthermore, as a condition for exhumation, the original coffins were not to be interfered with or removed. This meant that the decomposed bodies had to be carried out of the coffins to be placed in new ones.

All three bodies were partly clad in clothes they are believed to have been wearing when the accident occurred.

A relative of the late Bokako expressed concern over the fact that no other belongings like shoes, jewellery or money had been returned to them.

Some relatives said they had also found it strange that the police had apparently not used the computerised registration number of the car to get details of the owner.

That, they pointed out, would have given some clue as to who the driver was during the time of the accident and who the other occupants were.

A police spokesman yesterday said that the matter was being investigated.



Reburial at the Avalon cemetery in Soweto.



Family members perform the last rituals.



It's all tears as the pain sinks in.

# Violence claims 2 vigilantes

CP Correspondent

TWO MEMBERS of the vigilante Ama Afrika group died and two Senior UDF figures were critically injured in violence which flared again last weekend.

On Tuesday, the duty officer of the police in the Eastern Cape, Lieutenant Kobus van Rensburg, was reported to have said "to our knowledge the situation is not that extremely tense".

Since the violence began on January 4, a total of 11 Kwanobuhle residents have died. Nine are said to have been UDF supporters.

Two members of the Ama Afrika vigilante group became the first of their numbers to be killed at the weekend. But the UDF denied responsibility.

According to UDF spokesman Ray Mde two prominent UDF figures were hacked and stabbed and four UDF homes were gutted in petrol-bomb attacks.

Some sources said the violence was started when UDF youths attacked the vigilante group in retribution for the UDF deaths and attacks.

The condition of Emson Banda, the president of the Uitenhage Residents' Congress fighting for his life in the Livingstone Hospital intensive care unit, was stable, according to his doctor.

The other UDF activist, AS Sibidla, is also in a critical condition in Uitenhage's provincial hospital.

A local lawyer confirmed that 16 summonses are to be served on the Minister of Law and Order and various individuals said to be members of the vigilante group today.

11A

CP/11A

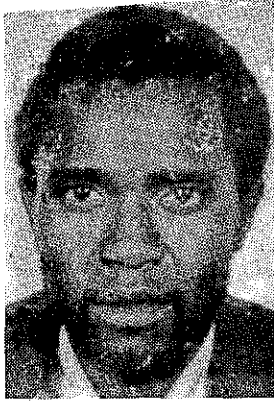
5/7/87

# Law student disappears

C. Press

By STAN MZIMBA

11A 5/7/87



**Phindile Mfeti**

A FINAL-year law student at the University of Natal, Phindile Baninawe Mfeti, 40, of Butterworth in Transkei, disappeared while doing shopping in Durban's city centre in April, according to his wife, Ncediwe.

She told *City Press* the only information she had about him was that he had left the campus to do shopping in town. He phoned her when he reached the shop where he was going to do his purchases, but was never seen again.

Father of three and a former employee

of the Institute of Race Relations and also of the Industrial Society on the Reef. Mfeti was deported from South Africa to Transkei in 1978 after being under house arrest in 1977.

In 1979, he did articles with a law firm in Butterworth and in 1985 he went to the University of Natal for a BProc.

When he left the campus he was wearing a pair of blue trousers, white sandals, maroon shirt with white stripes and a lemon and white lumber jacket.

Ncediwe told *City Press* that the family feared for his life.

# Exiled Breyten linked to Van's mystery indaba

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5/7/87

Sunday Times Reporter's  
**BREYTEN BREYTENBACH**,  
exiled poet and once-jailed re-  
volutionary, has emerged as one  
of the key link men in the secret  
meeting this week between a  
group of 50 white South Afri-  
cans and the African National  
Congress.

The meeting in Dakar, Senegal,  
will be the biggest yet pow-wow be-  
tween a white South African group  
and prominent members of the ANC.  
Dr F van Zyl Slabbert, former PFP  
leader, is tour leader, and the meet-  
ing has been arranged with the assist-  
ance of the France-Liberte Foundation,  
which is run by Mrs Danielle  
Mitterrand, wife of the French Presi-  
dent.

The visit was arranged in the deep-  
est secrecy, and mystery still sur-  
rounds the identity of many partici-  
pants.

## Friend

Mr Breytenbach, a close family  
friend of the French presidential cou-  
ple, has offices in the foundation and  
has apparently been working hard at  
getting the trip together.

He is also a long-standing friend of  
Dr Slabbert, head of the delegation of  
Afrikaans academics, businessmen  
and others under the aegis of his or-  
ganisation, the Institute for a Demo-  
cratic Alternative for South Africa  
(Idasa).

The Mitterrands and Dr Slabbert  
campaign for Mr Breytenbach's  
release from his seven-year sentence  
for terrorism, and Dr Slabbert was  
instrumental in winning ministerial  
approval for the poet to have "con-  
tact" visits from his wife during his  
long imprisonment.

The poet's anti-apartheid stance  
was sharpened when the Government  
refused a visa to his Vietnamese wife,  
Yolande.

He was released from prison and  
returned to French exile in 1982.

The Danielle Mitterrand  
Foundation, a traditional es-  
tablishment for a French  
President's wife, concen-  
trates on human rights and  
anti-racism. It has taken a  
special interest in South  
Africa.

The South African Govern-  
ment, which has banned the  
ANC and refuses to deal with  
it, is reportedly annoyed that  
yet another group of South  
Africans is heading north to  
meet the liberation move-  
ment.

Fearing that the Govern-

□ To Page 2

# Breyten indaba link

□ From Page 1

ment might impound their  
passports, many of those  
planning to leave for the  
meeting tomorrow were re-  
fusing to confirm their par-  
ticipation.

Apart from Dr Slabbert,  
some of those understood to  
be involved in the meeting  
are a fellow-founder of Idasa,  
Dr Alex Boraine; SA Council  
of Churches office-bearer Dr  
Beyers Naude; film-maker  
Manie van Rensburg; Uni-  
versity of Cape Town politi-  
cal academics Professor  
Andre du Toit and Professor  
Hermann Gillomee; Progress-  
ive Federal Party MP Peter  
Gastrow; PFP President's  
Council member Pieter  
Schoeman and, reportedly, a  
number of Afrikaans church-  
men.

Dr Slabbert said: "It is an  
attempt to start a debate be-  
tween white Afrikaners and  
African nationalism."

To forestall government  
action against the trip, its or-  
ganisers tried to keep it se-  
cret until the delegates' de-  
parture tomorrow.

After the trip was publi-

cised late this week, the Min-  
ister of Home Affairs, Mr  
Stoffel Botha, said the Gov-  
ernment was "aware of the  
circumstances", but he would  
not comment further.

The Dakar indaba has  
aroused worldwide interest.  
Arrangements have involved  
heads of four governments,  
and the meeting itself will be  
extensively covered by inter-  
national media.

The French Government is  
understood to have used con-  
siderable influence in the ar-  
rangements.

## Irritant

Senegalese President Ab-  
dou Diour is expected to wel-  
come the South Africans at a  
reception on Wednesday  
night.

After the four-day work-  
shop they will visit Burkina  
Faso, a poverty-stricken  
country whose name means  
"the honest people". Its ec-  
centric, anti-corruption rul-  
er, Captain Thomas Sankara,  
prescribes physical exercises  
for his Cabinet.

Before returning, the South

Africans are also expected to  
visit the Ghanaian capital of  
Accra.

The meeting is being re-  
garded as significant but is  
realistically seen as unlikely  
fundamentally to change the  
Southern African scenario.  
The participants are not  
major power-brokers.

The liberals' trip is an irri-  
tant to Pretoria, which will  
probably condemn the trip  
but not stop it, said political  
analyst Robert Schrire.

He described talks be-  
tween ANC members and  
South African liberals as  
"one of this country's few  
growth industries", and said  
no dramatic outcome was  
likely from the meeting, due  
to start on Wednesday.

"I don't think it's very sig-  
nificant one way or another,"  
he said. "The name of the  
game is when power speaks  
to power — Afrikaner nation-  
alism against black national-  
ism," he said.

"The ANC has the most to  
gain by this meeting, as it  
gives them stature they can  
convert into bargaining  
power."

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# Information chief to lead ANC at talks

The Star's Africa News Service

(11A) 5/15/87  
6/7/87

LUSAKA — African National Congress director of information Mr Thabo Mbeki will head a twenty-strong delegation to the talks due to begin next week in Senegal with a group of prominent white South Africans.

This was revealed today by a Lusaka spokesman for the ANC, who re-affirmed that the ANC leader, Mr Oliver Tambo, would not be present at the talks. It was also believed the head of the SA Communist Party and ANC executive member, Mr Joe Slovo, would not attend.

The spokesman said the talks were due to begin on Wednesday July 15. They were open-ended but expected to finish by the following Sunday.

It is not known if an agenda has been agreed on by the two delegations.

One of the key figures in arranging the talks, Afrikaans poet Breyten Breytenbach, is expected to be in the contingent of white South African writers and artists that form part of the white group.

After the main talks between the two groups have been completed, the spokesman said it was likely some ANC members would accompany that section of the white group which is scheduled to visit the neighbouring states of Burkina Faso and Ivory Coast and meet the leaders of those countries.



# The Star



## Finding paths away from violence

FOR ONCE the Government seems to be maintaining a sensible silence over an initiative to hold talks with the ANC. The leading South Africans who are due to meet ANC leaders this week have not (so far) been reviled as traitors or sellouts. Perhaps the tirade will come, but while the truce lasts it is fitting to consider the initiative unemotionally.

It's too early for rejoicing, but there seems to be a subtle shift in some political attitudes, a recognition that meeting violence with more violence is taking us further from peace, not closer to it. This shift is evident in the offer by Deputy Minister Stoffel van der Merwe to talk to black leaders who have been in jail or detention. It is implied in the cautious statement by UDF President Archie Gumede raising the possibility of UDF participation in existing political structures.

Of course there are those who remain committed to violence and a growing number who argue, appallingly, that while they abhor violence, they must accept its inevitability.

The sad fact, however, is that this latter group will be proved right — unless some of the rigidity in our politics is broken down. Negotiation implies not only a willingness to compromise but a readiness to talk to the real "enemy". Without those two elements "negotiation" is play-acting.

South Africa is a long way from the kind of round-table discussions that will have to precede a new order. It is simply not possible to bring warring factions together immediately. But since that is the ultimate goal, someone has to begin the process. That is what Dr Van Zyl Slabbert's initiative is all about. The people who will meet ANC leaders cannot commit the country to anything. But they can begin to explore what common ground exists and how it can be exploited. And they can convey a powerful symbolic message — that there are South Africans ready for real negotiation. This is the sort of message the world wants to hear. Better than that, it is the sort of message that can kindle hope on the home front.

# Crowd hacks man to death

CAPE TIMES 6/7/87  
Staff Reporter

A GUGULETU man was hacked to death by a panga-wielding crowd after a petrol-bomb attack on his house at the weekend. His wife was wounded in the attack.

The Public Relations Division of the South African Police said in its daily unrest report yesterday that "late yesterday evening (Saturday), a mob of arsonists petrol-bombed a house, causing damage.

"As the occupants left the house, shots were fired at them. One black female sustained injuries, and they (the mob) thereafter killed her husband with pangas. No arrests were made and police are investigating."

## Two men wounded

Despite exhaustive inquiries, the Cape Times was unable to obtain further details about the incident.

A Peninsula police spokesman said the victim's name was unavailable. However, a senior spokesman for the Police Directorate of Public Relations in Pretoria said it would not be in the "two victims' interest" to release their names.

In another incident, two men were wounded when a Bloemfontein policeman opened fire on a group of people after a stone-throwing incident at his home.

In their unrest report, the police said: "In the black residential area of Botshabelo near Bloemfontein, a mob of stone-throwing blacks stoned the house of a member of the SAP, and two black males were slightly wounded when the constable dispersed the mob with bird-shot."

Black countries 'role models'

# Group seeks blueprint for new SA

6/7/87  
5 Day

*[scribble]*

11A

THE prominent, mainly Afrikaner group gathering in Paris tomorrow for Frederik van Zyl Slabbert's mission to West Africa intends studying several African states in search of a blueprint for a new SA.

Besides talks with prominent ANC figures, the group will hold workshops with political heads in Senegal, the Ivory Coast, Burkina Fasso and possibly Ghana to assess potential political models for SA, according to one of the delegates.

Former SA Council of Churches general secretary Beyers Naude, who last week confirmed, hours before his departure from SA, that he was one of the delegates — they are thought to number 50 — said the group hoped to assess "how democracy developed in those countries after independence."

● See Comment Page 4

The workshops would last 11 days, Naude said.

"The main intention of the trip is to compare the whole democratic development of those countries — their strengths and weaknesses — and look for possible models for our part of Africa, including SA," Naude said.

The concept of the trip ties in closely with the objectives of, and gives the first clear indication of activities organised

by, the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for SA (Idasa) which was established by Van Zyl Slabbert after he resigned as PFP leader and turned his back on Parliament.

As yet there has been no indication of any possible action or stand that government is likely to take on the trip.

Naude said reported plans that the delegation would meet with the ANC for four days of talks were of secondary importance.

However, it is understood the delegation hopes to meet ANC president Oliver Tambo (despite reports that he is unlikely to be available); SA Communist Party chairman Joe Slovo; and other senior ANC members including ANC international department chief Johnny Makatini, Mac Maharaj and Thabo Mbeki.

The idea of the trip was conceived four months ago and was planned in co-operation with exiled SA poet Breyten Breytenbach and French President Francois Mitterrand's wife, Danielle, who is a veteran human rights campaigner and head of the French Liberty Foundation.

It is believed last year's OAU chief, Senegalese President Abdou-Diouf, will host the first session of the talks, which will take place between July 9 and 12 at

● To Page 2



P.T.O.

# Blueprint for a new SA

Novotel in Dakar.

It is understood the French government is to assist the delegation — which meets up in Paris today and tomorrow — with visas for the African states, and that the trip is being sponsored by various airlines and by the governments of the countries the delegation will visit.

While delegates have either declined to comment or have denied their involvement, informed sources say they include UCT professors Hermann Giliomee and Andre du Toit; Free Market Foundation executive director Leon Louw; former Federated Chamber of Industries executive director Johan van Zyl; Rand Merchant Bank chairman Johan Rupert; the PFP's Pieter Schoeman and Peter Gastrow; Rand Afrikaans University's Prof Deon Geldenhuys; Stellenbosch University professors Johan Degenaar and Gerhard Erasmus; and writer Andre Brink.

Unisa academics and NG Church ministers were also mentioned, as was political scientist Lawrie Schlemmer, who denied emphatically he was part of the delegation.

The three independent candidates in the recent general election — Wynand Malan, Denis Worrall and Esther Lategan — were apparently excluded from the invitation list "because of their stand on the state of emergency".

MIKE ROBERTSON reports from London that the head of the ANC mission in Senegal, Ahmed Qono, described this

6/7/87  
← Bill Day  
● From Page 1

week's gathering in Dakar as "just another meeting between the ANC and concerned South Africans".

Qono, the first ANC spokesman to confirm the meeting was taking place, said the names of the ANC delegates would be revealed "once everybody is assembled on Tuesday".

Asked why Senegal had been chosen as the venue for the meeting, Qono quipped: "Why not? They are concerned about the South African situation, and if they are prepared to let South Africans in this once, why can't we have it here."

"It is just one of a series of meetings at which concerned people get to know and digest our views."

Meanwhile, HAMISH MCINDOE reports that the Congress of SA Trade Unions (Cosatu) praised the initiative.

Cosatu spokesman Frank Meintjies said yesterday the talks "recognised a lasting solution to peace in SA had to be sought outside Parliament with credible mass-democratic organisations."

But he made it clear that little progress could be made until government improved the climate for such negotiations by unbanning the ANC, freeing political detainees and lifting the emergency.

He said the proposed talks with the ANC highlighted the deep division between government and white business.

ARGUS 6/7/87 (11A)

# Stop fighting like dogs, says Buthelezi

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — Inkatha and the United Democratic Front are looking at the possibility of reducing their bloody conflict, according to the president of Inkatha, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

He pleaded at the weekend for black unity and said it was an absolute imperative that black political groups closed ranks and ceased "behaving like a pack of dogs biting each other".

Addressing the Inkatha annual conference here, Chief Buthelezi said Inkatha had demonstrated its sincerity and had always said that it held out a hand of friendship to all black organisations.

"The conference must be aware that Inkatha and the UDF have now for some months been engaged in looking at the possibility of reducing Inkatha/UDF conflicts," he said.

The ball was now in UDF president Mr Archie Gumede's court.

## MEANINGFUL CHANGE

White political recalcitrants and the inability of the Government to get meaningful change must have the effect of driving together blacks who were now opposed to each other.

"Why must we wait until the house actually burns down over our heads before we turn to work with each other to put out the fire," he said.

Chief Buthelezi said regional services councils, like the tricameral Parliament, were foisted on black people.

He did not want confrontation about the RSCs, "but if confrontation is foisted on me then so be it".

He would not become involved in the proposed national council unless certain conditions were met.

One was that the council must be a recognised mechanism for dismantling the tricameral Parliament.

ULUNDI — Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi said he hoped talks with the UDF aimed at reducing conflict would gradually develop to the point where the organisations' national executives would talk to each other.

He had encouraged those Inkatha members engaged in dialogue with the UDF, and the ball was now more in UDF president Archie Gumede's court than in his, he said in his presidential address to the Inkatha annual conference at the weekend.

His offer to meet ANC leader Oliver Tambo still stood.

# Inkatha-UDF talks hope

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"Let us not tear each other apart like a pack of dogs over a meatless bone — fighting over who will take over Mr P W Botha's seat before we have won," he said.

White recalcitrance and the inability of the National Party to get going with really meaningful constitutional change should finally force together blacks who were now opposed to each other.

But it would be totally tragic if this happened only when it was too late and when the black unity produced was then unable to allow the people to be governed in the way they wanted.

In the wars in places like Mozambique and Angola, where change had come about through armed struggle, the divisions between black organisations had outlasted the toppling of oppressive regimes.

If the whites-only election results had any message for black SA, it was that it must close ranks.

And, he said, unless the planned National Council was mandated to work for an entirely new constitution, Botha could count him out of it.

There could be no real advances unless government worked with the 1,3-million-membership Inkatha and other substantial black groupings — Sapa.

# Top men leave for ANC talks

CMT-Tinks 6/7/87 (11A)

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

**A CLEARLY disapproving government maintained its stony silence at the weekend as members of Dr Van Zyl Slabbert's high-powered ANC dialogue mission began trickling out of the country.**

The 50-strong top-flight delegation — which also intends exploring scenarios for a post-apartheid South Africa on its three-nation West African venture over the next two weeks — includes some of the cream of the Afrikaner intellectual and business establishment.

Although the identities of most of the group have been kept secret for fear of government reprisal, new names to emerge at the weekend include: The chairman of Rand Merchant Bank, Mr Johann Rupert; the executive director of the Free Market Foundation, Mr Léon Louw; former Federated Chamber of Industries executive director Mr Johann van Zyl; University of Stellenbosch professors Johann Degenaar and Gerard Erasmus; Professor Deon Geldenhuys of the Rand Afrikaans University and South African Council of Churches office-bearer Dr Beyers Naude.

Also likely to irk the government are the number of delegates who have Progressive Federal Party connections. Apart from the former PFP leader, Dr Slabbert, and former chairman of the PFP's federal council, Dr Alex Boraine, the group includes: Current national chairman of the PFP Mr Peter Gastrow, PFP President's Councillor Mr Pieter Schoeman, former PFP MP for Walmer Mr Andrew Savage and former PFP youth organizer Mr Wayne Mitchell.

Also on the trip will be the University Cape Town's Professor André du Toit and Professor Hermann Giliomee, and Rhodes University's Professor André Brink.

Government spokesmen last night declined to be drawn on possible action against participants in Dr Slabbert's first major foreign initiative since he abandoned parliamentary politics last year.

The director general of Home Affairs, Mr G van Zyl, said the government had "nothing to add" to his minister's statement, which noted that Pretoria was aware of the venture but did not wish to comment on it "at this stage".

Our Johannesburg correspondent reports that the group gathering in Paris today for the mission to West Africa intends studying several African states, in search of a blueprint for a new South Africa.

Besides talks with prominent ANC figures, the group will hold workshops with political heads in Senegal, the Ivory Coast, Burkina Fasso and possibly Ghana, to assess potential political models for SA, according to one of the delegates.

It is understood the delegation hopes to meet ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo, SA Communist Party chairman Mr Joe Slovo and other senior ANC members.

The idea for the trip was conceived four months ago and it was planned in co-operation with exiled SA poet Breyten Breytenbach and French President Mr Francois Mitterrand's wife Danielle, who is a veteran human-rights campaigner and head of the French Liberty Foundation.

It is believed last year's OAU chief, Senegalese President Abdou-Diouf, will host the first session of the talks, which will take place between July 9 and 12 at Novotel in Dakar.

To page 4

CMT-Tinks 6/7/87 (11A) 3052A  
From page 1

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MIKE ROBERTSON reports from London that the head of the ANC mission in Senegal, Mr Ahmed Qono, described this week's gathering in Dakar as "just another meeting between the ANC and concerned South Africans".

Meanwhile, HAMISH MCINDOE reports that Cosatu has praised the initiative.

Cosatu spokesman Mr Frank Meintjies said yesterday that the talks "recognized a lasting solution to peace in SA had to be sought outside Parliament with credible mass-democratic organizations".

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# UDF to discuss Inkatha talks

Dispatch Correspondent  
JOHANNESBURG —

The president of the UDF, Mr Archie Gumede, said yesterday he was waiting for endorsement from UDF affiliates before continuing peace talks with Inkatha.

He said the talks were being held to try to reduce the number of deaths resulting from political dissent between members of the two organisations.

Unless there was general agreement among UDF-affiliated organisations on the aim of the talks, agreement between just the main protagonists to the talks would not stop the violence.

The problem was heightened by anti-UDF propaganda put out by Inkatha members accusing the UDF of unlawful attacks and general misconduct as part of a policy to make South Africa ungovernable, he said.

Mr Gumede said UDF affiliates were seeking an interdict to prevent alleged attacks and evictions of UDF members by Inkatha in the violence-riddled village of KwaMakhutha, south of Durban where about 13

people have died in political clashes recently.

The Inkatha leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said in his presidential address to the Inkatha annual conference in Ulundi at the weekend that he hoped talks with the UDF would gradually develop to the point where the organisations' national executives would talk to each other.

Chief Buthelezi said he had encouraged those Inkatha members engaged in the dialogue with the UDF, and he believed the ball to be now more in the UDF president's court than in his. He added that his offer to meet the ANC leader, Mr Oliver Tambo, stood.

● The UDF was prepared to look at the whole issue of municipal structures and local government, Mr Gumede said yesterday, although he did not mention participation in these.

He said local government was a suitable area for training people in democratic procedures as the stakes were not as high as those in the main political process, and errors were more easily corrected.

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# I was forced to quit Craven sports body <sup>ARGUS 6/7/87</sup> ~~CR~~ <sup>112</sup> ex-student

## Tygerberg Bureau

A FORMER student at the Bellville Training College alleged today that two fellow students intimidated him into writing a letter to Dr Danie Craven resigning his membership of the South African Sports Federation in favour of Sacos.

The two students, Mr Hilton Duminy and Mr Phillip Rothman, pleaded not guilty in the Parow Regional Court today to a charge of intimidating Mr Alexander Elroy Arendse at the college in February.

Mr Rothman's attorney, Mr M A Albertus, said his client would testify that he had been taking part in first-year student initiation at the college.

Both denied intimidating Mr Arendse into writing the letter.

Mr Arendse, who is a rugby player

from Malmesbury, said he had since left the college as he feared for his life.

He said that on February 4, after he registered at the college, he was accosted in his dormitory by a group of students, taken to another room in the hostel where he was beaten and kicked.

He said Mr Duminy had hit him on the nose, making it bleed.

During the incident, he said that students, including Mr Duminy and Mr Rothman, shoved a piece of paper in front of him and dictated a letter addressed to Dr Danie Craven, and in which said he resigned his membership of the South African Sports Federation.

Mr Arendse said he had been forced into writing the letter and he had not wanted to withdraw his membership with the Federation.

(Proceeding)

# Black party forms to join NSC

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — About 4 000 delegates gathered here yesterday for the low-key formation of a new black political party committed to taking part in President P W Botha's National Statutory Council (NSC).

The Federal Independent Democratic Alliance (FIDA) would be prepared to take its place on any platform "to improve the lot of the black man", said the party's first president, Mr John Gogotya.

FIDA's stance towards the NSC appears to be the most enthusiastic to date, and will boost President Botha's plans for drafting urban blacks into government-initiated political structures.

The Urban Councils Association of SA has already given the NSC the nod. The opposition United Municipalities of SA has been less positive, but has not entirely ruled out participation in the NSC.

Mr Gogotya said FIDA would join the NSC provided it was "not just a talking shop". Negotiations in the body would have to be open-ended, he said, and no political grouping must dominate another.

The decision to form a political party, he said, had been taken to express black political aspirations "in more clear terms".

He said FIDA supported initiatives like the KwaNatal Indaba.

Mr Gogotya's speech to the congress included a scathing attack on necklacing and petrol-bombing.

# Inkatha calls for rejection of RSCs

ULUNDI. — Inkatha's annual general conference resolved yesterday to call on all black local authorities to refuse to support the Regional Services Councils (RSCs) and to ask white town and city councils to demand a moratorium on them.

The 8 000 delegates, representing 1.3 million members, voted unanimously for the resolution following Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's warning here that he was prepared to face confrontation with the government over the introduction of RSCs in Natal.

They also called on the government for enabling legislation making it possible for white local authorities to find, with blacks, alternative means of giving effect to the functions envisaged for the RSCs.

The Inkatha conference decided on a nation-wide drive to seek the co-operation of all black groupings in initiating a climate of dialogue involving all the country's black political organizations.

It urged all such bodies to recognize what it called the vital necessity of a multi-strategy approach in the "liberation" struggle and it expressed appreciation of the fact that its president had held out the hand of friendship to black leaders here and abroad.

And it called on the government to release all political prisoners, including the ANC's Mr Nelson Mandela and the PAC's Mr Zeph Mothopeng, as a prerequisite for the politics of negotiation.

Among other resolutions, the conference decided to:

- Call on all black organizations not to make future black democracy meaningless by denying it the means by which poverty, ignorance and disease could be conquered;

- Thank all Western statesmen and stateswomen who had "striven so valiantly" to resist the clamour for ever-harsher economic measures against South Africa;

- Draw world attention to the fact that black organizations previously favouring disinvestment were now beginning to respond

to black South Africa's rejection of disinvestment by re-examining their own stances on the issue so as to avoid internal splits;

- Ask the international community to increase humanitarian aid substantially to black South Africa to help offset the price of sanctions;

- Express appreciation of the way Inkatha president Buthelezi put total reliance on the power of Inkatha's democracy to come to unanimous decisions about all important matters put before the conference;

- Call on the State President not to proceed with the National Council unless it had the agenda for real change and included blacks "as politically important as the president of Inkatha";

- Exhort Mr P W Botha to recognize that inadequate black representation on the National Council would give rise to an inadequate agenda and tragic consequences;

- Further exhort him to understand that "the more there is to undo, the more difficult the transition to a real democracy will be". — Sapa

## Inkatha-UDF talks and plea for black unity

ULUNDI. — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday made a strong plea for black unity and disclosed that Inkatha had been engaged in talks with the UDF aimed at reducing conflict between the two.

He said he hoped this would gradually develop to the point where the organizations' national executives would talk to each other.

In his presidential address to the Inkatha annual general conference here, he appealed to black organizations to recognize the need for unity within the framework of a multi-strategy approach to liberation.

White recalcitrance and the inability of the NP to get going with meaningful constitutional change should finally force together blacks who were now opposed to each other.

It was time to recognize that no

one black organization would win the SA struggle for liberation.

□ UDF president Mr Archie Gumede said he was waiting for endorsement from UDF affiliates before continuing peace talks with Inkatha.

He said the talks were aimed at reducing the number of deaths motivated by political dissent between members of the two organizations.

Unless there was general agreement among UDF-affiliated organizations on the aim of the talks, agreement between just the main protagonists to the talks would not stop the violence.

The problem was heightened by anti-UDF propaganda put out by Inkatha members, accusing the UDF of unlawful attacks and general misconduct as part of a policy to make SA ungovernable, he said. — Sapa

## Sullivan's call criticized

ULUNDI. — Chief Buthelezi at the weekend condemned a call by the Rev Leon Sullivan for total disinvestment and said the US churchman sided with "people committed to violence".

"I am not saying ... that the Rev Leon Sullivan has now opted for violence, I am simply exposing the truth of the fact that he is advocating the kind of action which is most advocated by people most committed to violence. It is in that sense that he stands in their company."

He said withdrawal of US investments "will doom us to eternal subjugation and the poverty that subjugation means to us". — UPI

*Cape Times 6/7/87 11A*

Capt Tobias 6/7/82

# 72 teachers in DET hearings

By SHAUNA WESTCOTT

FOUR of the most experienced, respected and dedicated educationists in the community are to be the first of 72 teachers summoned to disciplinary hearings for refusing to administer exams at the end of 1985.

The four, who between them have 112 years of teaching experience, are Harold Cressy principal Mr Victor Ritchie, Alexander Sinton deputy principal Mr Nabil Swart, Crestway deputy principal Mr Philip Tobias and Cathkin deputy principal Mr Yusuf Abrahams.

Mr Tobias will be the first to face allegations of "misconduct" at a hearing scheduled for July 20 by the Department of Education and Culture in the House of Representatives (DET).

The Western Cape Teachers' Union (Wectu) has condemned the hearings as "absolute madness" and committed itself to a campaign in support of the 72, who could lose their jobs or face long terms of suspension if found guilty.

The hearings follow an 18-month silence from the DET after it suspended, then reinstated but threatened to charge, the 72.

The teachers argued that after six months of boycotts and disruptions it

was "educationally fraudulent" to expect unprepared pupils to write exams.

Thousands of pupils boycotted the exams, in any event, and the DET came in for further criticism with its controversial decision to promote pupils despite poor results.

Fear has been expressed in the community about the consequences of the hearings.

## Released from detention

Mr Tobias, a 52-year-old father of two daughters, is current president of the union. He has been deputy principal at Crestway since 1979 and a teacher for 24 years.

Mr Swart, a 49-year-old father of four, has taught for 27 years. He was released recently by order of the Supreme Court from almost a year of unlawful detention.

Mr Ritchie, a 56-year-old father of three, has been principal at Harold Cressy for 23 years and a teacher at the school for 34 years. He is active in amateur swimming organizations and brought the sport union's popular Chess Code into being.

Mr Abrahams, a 49-year-old father of six, has been deputy principal at Cathkin since 1974 and has taught for 26 years.

# Buthelezi pleads for black unity

6/7/87

SAPA



ULUNDI — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi this weekend made a strong plea for black unity and disclosed that Inkatha had been engaged in talks with the UDF aimed at reducing conflict between the two.

He said he hoped this would gradually develop to the point at which the organisations' national executives would talk to each other.

In his presidential address to the Inkatha annual conference on Saturday he appealed to black organisations to recognise the need for unity within the framework of a multi-strategy approach to their "liberation".

"Let us not tear each other apart like a pack of dogs over a meatless bone — fighting over who will take over Mr P W. Botha's seat before we have won," he said.

White recalcitrance and the inability of the National Party to get going with really meaningful constitutional change should necessarily finally force together blacks who were now opposed to each other.

But it would be tragic if this happened only when it was too late and when the black unity produced was then unable to allow the people to be governed in the way they wanted.

It was time to recognise that no one black organisation would ever win the South African struggle for liberation.

In places like Mozambique and Angola, where change had come about through armed struggle, the divisions between black organisations had outlasted the toppling of oppressive regimes, he said.

If the whites-only election results had any message for black South Africa, it was that it must close ranks.

"Conference must be aware that Inkatha and the UDF have now for some months been engaged in looking at the possibility of reducing Inkatha-UDF conflicts."

## ENCOURAGED

He had encouraged those Inkatha members engaged in the dialogue and he believed the ball to be now more in UDF president Mr Archie Gumede's court than in his.

The talks must continue until they developed to the point where the organisations' national executives talked to each other.

The Inkatha president said his offers to meet African National Congress leader Mr Oliver Tambo still stood.

"I believe there is sufficient goodwill in the leadership of all black political groupings to respond to the historic demand for black unity."

Chief Buthelezi served notice he was prepared to face confrontation with the government over the introduction of Regional Services Councils in Natal.

He also said unless the planned National Council was mandated to work for an entirely new constitution, President Botha could count him out of it.

He warned the government it would be "bashing its head against a brick wall" if it thought it could change the black liberation movement's stance on such issues.

And he reminded Mr Botha there could be no real advances unless it did work with the 1.3 million-membership Inkatha and other substantial black groupings.

Under the state of emergency, he said, the government's de facto military and security power was increasing, but its political power was decreasing.

It was now in the position of having to use force against people and organisations which actually demanded careful handling and understanding. — Sapa.

# Anti-apartheid writers form national group

About 150 novelists, poets, and playwrights yesterday launched the Congress of South African Writers, the country's first national movement of anti-apartheid authors.

In a declaration after a two-day conference, the writers, including author Nadine Gordimer, pledged their "total creative resources to advance the struggle for the creation of a nonracial, united and democratic South Africa".

The group intends to set up

*stay 6/7/87*  
workshops to foster writing, theatre, music and painting. It aims to promote writing in African languages and to produce creative and informative literature for children.

It said it would fight censorship and consult other organisations on the breadth of the international cultural boycott imposed on South Africa in protest against apartheid.

Many South African artists complain the boycott has stopped even those who oppose

apartheid from performing overseas.

Gordimer, a patron of the congress, told a news conference the movement's members included many of the important progressive writers in South Africa. She conceded there was a risk that writers could now attract more harassment from the government.

"There might be some problems for writers in this greater exposure. But on the other hand, our feeling has been that the

sense of solidarity ... gives courage to writers and publishers to intensify their efforts against censorship," she said.

Gordimer's novels are highly critical of apartheid and several have been banned in South Africa at various times.

Njabulo Ndebele, novelist and president of the congress, said: "I think it would be naive not to expect that the formation of a congress of this nature will call forth some kind of response from the state." — Sapa-Reuter.



Writer Nadine Gordimer ... 'a risk, that writers will attract more harassment from government'.

*stay 6/7/87*

# SOWETAN

TUESDAY, JULY 7, 1987

27c + 3c GST (PWV) Prices elsewhere on Back Page

Wife of French chief will chair ANC peace meeting

# FIRST LADY AT SUMMIT

PARIS — The wife of French President Francois Mitterrand will open a meeting between white South Africans and black nationalists from the African National Congress in Senegal on Thursday.

Mrs. Daniele Mitterrand, who founded the human rights organisation France-Libertes in 1986, will join Senegalese President Abdou Diouf during the ceremony, a spokeswoman for France-Libertes said yesterday.

Most of the fifty prominent white South African politicians, businessmen and artists who plan to attend the three-day Dakar meeting left Jan Smuts Airport last night for London on their way to Senegal for the talks.

"We get our information about the ANC from the Government and there is a lack of information," said one of the group, Professor Gideon Gilloomec of the Department of History at the University of the Western Cape.

He said the delegation wanted to find out what the ANC had to say for itself. He said protection of individual rights, which the ANC promises, was not sufficient for white Afrikaners, who also wanted to protect their group identity.

The conference was proposed and planned by exiled South African writer Breyten Breytenbach, who lives in Paris, and by Frederik van Zyl Slabbert of the Institute for Democratic Alternatives.

"The aim of France Libertes is to defend human rights all over the world. But we don't organise meetings, we simply give our support to people who approach us with their own projects," the spokeswoman said.

She declined to say how much money the Mitterrand foundation had given Breytenbach and Slabbert to set up the talks.

The spokeswoman said Mrs Mitterrand would not join white delegates visiting Burkina Faso, Ghana and the Ivory Coast after the Dakar meeting ends on Saturday.

• Ghanaian Ministry of Foreign Affairs officials denied any knowledge of a proposed visit to the West African country by some 50 prominent South African whites.

A senior official who declined to be named said: "We are not expecting any such visitors. No plans have been made to receive them." — Sapa-Reuter.

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## Brenda to record with Belafonte



SOUTH AFRICAN song-bird, Brenda Fasi, dressed up as a schoolgirl was yesterday all smiles before jetting out of the country on a tour of England and the United States of America. There to see her off was none other than her baby Bongani who came all the way from the Cape to say bye-bye and good luck... and so say all of us. Story on Page 7.  
Pic: MBUZENI ZULU

50w: 01/07/87

# Damelin

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INKATHA and the United Democratic Front were looking at the possibility of reducing their bloody conflict, the president of Inkatha, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said at the weekend.

He pleaded for black unity and said it was an absolute imperative that black political groupings closed ranks and ceased "behaving like a pack of dogs biting each other".

Addressing Inkatha's

# Let's unite - Buthelezi

**SOWETAN  
Correspondent**

annual general conference in Ulundi, Dr Buthelezi said Inkatha had demonstrated its sincerity with which they had always said that they held out a hand of friendship to all black

organisations.

"Conference must be aware that Inkatha and the UDF have now for some months been engaged in looking at the possibility of reducing Inkatha/UDF conflicts," he said.

The ball was now in UDF president Mr

Archie Gumede's court.

White political recalibrants and the inability of the National Party Government to get real meaningful change must have the effect of driving together blacks who were now opposed to each other.

"Why must we wait

until the house actually burns down over our heads before we turn to work with each other to put out the fire?" he asked.

## **Confrontation**

Dr Buthelezi said the Regional Services Councils, like the

tricameral Parliament, were foisted on black people.

He did not want confrontation about RSCs "but if confrontation is foisted on me, then so be it."

He said he would not become involved in the proposed National

Council unless certain conditions were met.

One such condition was that the National Council must be a recognised mechanism for dismantling the tricameral Parliament.

"If the National Council is not mandated to work for a new South African constitution, then the State President must count me out," he said.



W. Cape  
UDF  
rejects  
Gumede  
plan

7/27/87  
Sowetan



THE Western Cape executive of the United Democratic Front has dissociated itself from a suggestion by national co-president Mr Archie Gumede that the UDF may consider taking part in the 1989 elections.

The suggestion made by Mr Gumede, a Durban attorney, has received wide publicity and given rise to speculation about a possible impending split in the UDF.

In a statement on behalf of the Western Cape executive yesterday, regional vice-president Mr Joseph Marks said: "We have not yet been able to confirm the correctness of these reports, as the UDF's structures have been seriously disrupted by the detention of almost all our leading officials."

**Personal**

"However, if Mr Gumede was quoted correctly, we want to make it clear that these are only his personal views and that they have not been discussed within the structures of the UDF."

At present the UDF's policy on the tricameral system was the same as it had been in 1983.

"We decided then that we could not take part in the elections. This powerless dummy-body filled with well-paid puppets represents everything that we reject. It is both racist and undemocratic."

Mr Gumede, who shares the UDF presidency with Mrs Albertina Sisulu, was approached last month by the chairman of the Committee for Constitutional Affairs of the President's council, Dr Dries Oosthuizen, about the possibility of taking part in talks on the reconstruction of the President's Council.

It is believed to have been the first time the Government and the UDF have made formal contact.

# COP REFUSES TO ANSWER

**A 52-YEAR-OLD alleged member of the banned Pan Africanist Congress, Mr Mabatu Enoch Zulu, was assaulted by a police officer as he lay unconscious on the ground after being struck by another policeman, a Pretoria Regional Court was told yesterday.**

Constable Kokela Jeremiah Matjeni, a

April last year.

Mr Matjeni said Mr Zulu became unconscious after he had struck him twice with the butt of a rifle when he charged at him with a handgrenade. Cross-examined by

security policeman based in Pretoria, said Mr Zulu was hit with the butt of a pistol on the head by a Warrant Officer van Wyk as he lay unconscious outside a house in Bophuthatswana in

defence counsel, Mr Dikgang Moseneke, the policeman said he did not know if Mr Zulu was assaulted and kicked shortly after his arrest. He conceded however that Warrant Officer van

Wyk could have hit him several times on the head with the butt of a pistol as he lay outside the house.

He was giving evidence in the trial of seven alleged members of the PAC who have pleaded

not guilty to 24 counts of terrorism and of defeating the ends of justice.

The accused are Mr Zulu, Mr Siyabulela Ndoda Gcanga, Mr Vincent Mathunjwa, Mr

Sidziba Paul Mohohlo, Reverend Daniel Nkomo, Mr Achmad Cassim and Mr Yusuf Patel.

Constable Matjeni also admitted that a youth was shot by the police during a search on a house in Bophuthatswana in April last year. The youth was shot when he jumped through the window. The police, he said, thought he was one of the wanted persons.

The injured youth was rushed to the hospital by Mr Matjeni, the court heard.

Constable Matjeni, caused a stir in court when he refused to answer when Mr Moseneke, for the defence, asked why he did not take a seriously injured Mr Zulu to the hospital.

Mr Moseneke put it to Mr Matjeni that he chose to remember what he wanted and added: "Your evidence is very suspect."

(Proceeding)



**POLICE** inspect the cache of arms found when suspected Pan Africanist Congress insurgents were arrested.



OFF TO MEET THE ANC . . . LEFT: Mr Franklin Sonn, Professor Herman Giliomee, Professor Jakes Gerwel and Mr Randall van der Heever at the baggage counter at D F Malan Airport yesterday afternoon. RIGHT: Dr Alex Boraine and his wife Jenny at the airport. Picture: RICHARD BELL

## Afrikaner-ANC indaba.

# Tough talks sought

From MIKE ROBERTSON  
LONDON. — The Dakar conference was conceived as an attempt to get a concrete debate going between prominent Afrikaners and the ANC leadership, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert said here yesterday.

Dr Slabbert said it was an attempt to break away from the "kind of posturing we have had in the past" with people trying to milk as much significance as they could out of one-day meetings.

A hard, tough debate was what they were looking for.

Dr Slabbert was unwilling to provide a list of participants till he was sure they had left South Africa.

The participation of businessmen had been slightly overstated. "Those that are coming are more economists and economic consultants."

He denied reports that the chairman of Rand Merchant Bank, Mr Johan Rupert, had provided funds for the conference.

"He is not coming. He was not approached. The Rapport and Citizen stories are quite laughable. To go from Gaddafi to Johan Rupert in one day is covering a lot of territory."

Dr Slabbert said he and Dr Alex Boraine had done the

fund-raising. Money had come from West Germany, other European governments and private sources in the United States and Scandinavia.

He said the West African governments had played a pivotal role.

He said he had been largely responsible for contacting the participants, travelling abroad to meet the ANC and speaking to people at home.

"Breyten (Breytenbach) helped a great deal from Paris."

Dr Slabbert said he knew quite well and respected most of the people who were coming. They were people who could cope with the problem of government over-reaction.

He was not sure exactly who would represent the ANC, but was meeting the ANC's publicity secretary, Mr Thabo Mbeki, late last night to discuss the final details.

Mr Mbeki is expected to lead an ANC delegation of about 20.

Asked what he hoped to achieve from the meeting, Dr Slabbert said just getting it off the ground was a success.

"We'll just have to see how it develops. But it shows that if whites, particularly Afrikaners, are prepared to abandon apartheid and racial domination, then serious debate is possible. Black Africa is still open to South Africa and the West is willing to assist."

## Slabbert group leaves to taunts

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

MOST of Dr Van Zyl Slabbert's high-powered ANC indaba mission jettied out of South Africa last night despite last-minute Conservative Party taunts designed to goad President P W Botha into scuttling the venture.

Surprises among the top-flight guest list confirmed by the organizers last night included:

Chief economist of the Standard Bank Mr Andre Hammersma; managing director of the giant Wooltru group Mr Tony Williamson; leading Cape Town architect Revel Fox; actress Grethe Fox; one of the Republic's foremost social scientists, Professor Lawrence Schlemmer, and the internationally renowned Canadian political scientist on sabbatical at UCT, Professor Heribert Adam.

The 60-strong group — which will explore possibilities for post-apartheid South Africa with the ANC and other African leaders — includes leading Afrikaners in a number of fields countrywide, but Western Cape intellectuals are especially prominent.

The Stellenbosch contingent includes political scientist Professor Jannie Gagiano, economist Professor Blackie Swart, Mr Hardy Botha (fine art) and Mr Gerard Erasmus (law).

University of the Western Cape delegates include UWC rector Professor Jakes Gerwel, vice-rector Professor Jaap du Randt, Professor Ampie Coetsee of the Afrikaans-Nederlands department and UWC lecturer Mr Andre Odendaal. UCT academics include Professor Michael Savage (soci-

To page 4

## All the names

Political Correspondent

MORE THAN 60 prominent academics, businessmen, clerics, artists, politicians and journalists are slated to participate in Dr Van Zyl Slabbert's West African indaba with the ANC and other African leaders over the next two weeks.

Most of the group are Afrikaners, but some English-speakers and delegates from European countries are also on the guest list.

Participants confirmed by the organizers of the trip, Idasa, are (in alphabetical order):

Heribert Adam, Alex Boraine, Breyten Breytenbach, Hardy Botha, Andre Brink, Tommy Bedford, Pierre Conje, Ampie Coetsee, Maresa de Beer, Trudie de Ridder, Riaan de Villiers, Andre du Pisani, Braam d: Plessis, Lourens du Plessis, Max du Preez, Jaap du Randt, Andre du Toit.

Theuns Eloff, Dick Enthoven, A Enthoven, Gerhard Erasmus, Revel Fox, Grethe Fox, Jannie Gagiano, Peter Gastrow, Jakes Gerwel, Herman Giliomee, Andre Hammersma, Theo Hanf, Albert Koopman, Jacques Kriel.

Ian Liebenberg, Rashied Lombard, Chris Louw, Leon Louw, Jimmy Matthews, Wayne Mitchell, Errol Moorcroft, Beyers Naude, Ilse Naude, Christo Nel, E G Nel, Andre Odendaal, Gerrit Olivier, Gerhart Raichle.

Mike Savage, Andrew Savage, Lawrence Schlemmer, Pieter Schoeman, Hennie Serfontein, Franklin Sonn, Van Zyl Slabbert, Blackie Swart, Randell van den Heever, J van der Westhuizen, Manie van Rensburg, Willem van Vuuren, Johan van Zyl, Philip Verster, Klaus von der Ropp, Tony Williamson, Johan Wolfaardt.

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SAPR  
7/7/87  
An attempt to break current stalemate, says Boraine

# Tough Dakar talks forecast

By Chris van Gass

The Dakar conference between the African National Congress and 52 prominent South Africans, mainly Afrikaans-speaking, is a "joint undertaking" between the Institute for Democratic Alternatives in South Africa (Idasa) and the ANC, says Dr Alex Boraine, co-founder of Idasa.

Dr Boraine was speaking shortly before a group of about 40 delegates boarded a London-bound flight en route for Dakar, Senegal, last night.

Dr Boraine said it took almost six months of negotiations with the ANC to agree on a formal agenda for the conference which begins on Thursday and is expected to last three days.

The specific subjects which will be covered include formal papers on:

- A liberated economy — presented by Mr Christo Nel of the Federated Chamber of Industries.
- The form of a liberated government, a one-party or multi-party situation and exploring the options — presented by Mr Leon Louw of the Free Market Foundation.
- National unity — presented by Professor Lawrence Schlemmer of the University of the Witwatersrand business school.

Other issues which will be discussed include the influence of communism in the ANC and the organisation's attitude towards the armed struggle and violence.

## Group members named

### Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The names of the academics and professional people who will meet African National Congress members in West Africa have been released.

The names were released today by Dr Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert, the head of the Institute for Democratic Alternatives in South Africa (Idasa), who organised the meeting along with the France Liberte Foundation.

Apart from Dr Slabbert and Dr Alex Boraine, another director of Idasa, the members of the group are:



Dr Alex Boraine, co-founder of the Institute for Democratic Alternatives in South Africa (Idasa), faced a barrage of Pressmen at Jan Smuts Airport last night shortly before a group of mainly Afrikaans-speaking people left for London en route to Dakar in Senegal where they will hold talks with the outlawed ANC. Dr Boraine gave an impromptu news conference before entering the departure area with his wife, Jenny.

Table 2. Expected Values, Variances, and MSE of Estimated  $\beta_1$  and  $\beta_2$ . Coefficients for OLS versus Ridge Regression where  $Y_1 = \alpha + \beta_1 X_{11} + \beta_2 X_{21} + u_1$ ,  $E(u_1) = 0.5(4) + 0.5(-4)$ , and Fixed  $X_1$  and  $X_2$ . Take the 5 Values (1,1.2), (2,1.67335), (3,3), (4,4.32665), and (5,4.8) for Models 2, 3, 4, and 5

Model 2	Values of k				
	k = 0 (OLS)	k = 0.05	k = 0.10	k = 0.15	k = 0.20
$E(\hat{\beta}_1^*)$	5.330	4.202	3.976	3.835	3.723
$E(\hat{\beta}_2^*)$	2.665	3.597	3.635	3.598	3.541
$E \text{ var}(\hat{\beta}_1^*)^2$	54.936	3.190	1.258	0.781	0.587
$E \text{ var}(\hat{\beta}_2^*)^2$	54.936	3.190	1.258	0.781	0.587
$E \text{ MSE}(\hat{\beta}_1^*)$	54.936	4.463	3.090	3.015	3.171
$E \text{ MSE}(\hat{\beta}_2^*)$	54.936	4.463	3.090	3.015	3.171

### Media influx

Dr Boraine said the conference would definitely not be a "soft touch" and the group would not evade tough questions. Some of the meetings would be open to the media and, once the formal papers had been presented by the Idasa delegation, the ANC would respond. An influx of world media was expected at the conference venue.

Two people had withdrawn from the delegation because of premature publicity, Dr Boraine said.

The group which left last night is part of a contingent of 52 who will go to West Africa on Thursday. The delegation plans to visit Burkina Faso and Ghana after Senegal.

### Afrikaans-speaking

Dr Boraine said his institute had "specifically concentrated" on Afrikaans-speaking people to make up the group and that it was "by design" that mainly white people were going.

"There is this myth that all Afrikaans-speaking people support the Government. It is true that the Government has major support among Afrikaners but, by concentrating on this group, we hope it will demonstrate a new flexibility," he said.

"We hope to break the myth of the total onslaught against South Africa. It is important to break the current stalemate in which neither the Government nor the other party seems to be moving. This situation has led to a cycle of resistance and violence which I find frightening."

See Pages 4 and 11.

Dr Andre du Pisanie, an analyst of international affairs; Breyten Breytenbach, author and artist; Hardy Botha, painter; Andre Brink, author and literary critic; Pierre Cronje, (PFP Greytown), architect and former Springbok rugby player; Prof Ampie Coetzee, professor of Afrikaans, UWC; Maresa de Beer, lecturer in Afrikaans at Rhodes University; Trudie de Ridder, school psychologist; Riaan de Villiers, freelance journalist and assistant editor of *Die Suid-Afrikaan*; Prof L du Plessis, professor of constitutional law at the University of Potchefstroom; Max du Preez, freelance journalist; and Prof Jaap Durandt, deputy principal of UWC.

Also included are Prof Andre du Toit of the department of political studies at UCT; the Rev Theuns Eloff, student chaplain at Pretoria University; Revel Fox, architect; Grethe Fox, actress; Jannie Gagliano, lecturer in political science at the University of Stellenbosch; Peter Gastrow, (PFP Durban Central); Professor Jakes Gerwel, UWC rector; Prof Hermann Gillomee of the UCT political studies department; Albert Koopman, a businessman; Prof Jacques Kriel, professor of medicine at Wits; Ian Liebenberg, student at the University of Stellenbosch; Chris Louw, freelance journalist; Leon Louw, economic consultant; Wayne Mitchell, Idasa staff; EK Moorcroft, former PFP MP for Albany; Dr Beyers Naude, just retired as general secretary of the SA Council of Churches, and Mrs Ilse Naude; Christo Nel, economic consultant; EG Nel, Stellenbosch student; Andre Odenaal, lecturer in economics, UWC; Professor Mike Savage of the sociology department of UCT; Prof L Schlemmer of the Policy Research Institute of Wits; Pieter Schoeman, PFP member of the President's Council; Hennie Serfontein, freelance journalist; Franklin Sonn, principal of the Cape Technikon; Prof Blackie Swart of the business school of Stellenbosch University; R van den Heever, teacher; Prof J van der Westhuizen, professor of law at Pretoria University; Manie van Rensburg, film director; Prof Willem van Vuuren, of the political science department of UWC; Prof Johan van Zyl, economist and former managing director of FCI; Philip Verster, Stellenbosch student; Prof A Viljoen, church history department of Unisa; Tony Williamson, managing director of Wooltru; Professor Johan Wolfaardt of the theology department of Unisa; R E Enthoven, businessman; Andrew Savage, former MP for Walmer; and Braam du Plessis, advocate.

quite narrow ones:

In the preceding two-explanatory-variable experiments, what would have happened if the  $\beta$  values had been in the same ratio but larger? The answer can be inferred from the earlier equations for the variance, equation (6), and the bias, equation (9). With increased values for the true  $\beta$  values, the bias would be increased proportionally. At the same time, assuming the same error term, the variance for  $\hat{\beta}^*$  (and OLS) would remain unchanged. Thus, the advantage in MSE from ridge regression compared to OLS would decrease, since the bias squared of  $\hat{\beta}^*$  would in-

crease between  $X_1$  and  $X_2$  for the equations used in tables 1 and 2 would cause the relative advantage of ridge regression to increase (decrease).

### SELECTION OF OPTIMAL k VALUES

Since the level of k has a marked influence on the MSE of estimated parameters, selection of k is an important consideration. Although there always exists a k > 0 such that a smaller MSE can be obtained from ridge regression than from ordinary least squares, the best method for selecting a particular value of k is not obvious. Hoerl and Kennard seem to place the most reliance on the Ridge Trace; they claim that "based

Rosebank  
Enrol now

Lankan government said at least 20 soldiers died yesterday when Tamil rebels blew up an army

Officials on trial today

# ANC talks are French funded

President's wife to host meeting

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D.D.  
7/7/87

PARIS — Madame Daniele Mitterrand, the wife of the French President, who founded the human rights organisation France-Libertes in 1986, will join the Senegalese President, Abdou Diouf, during the meeting between white South Africans and members of the African National Congress.

The three-day conference was proposed and planned by exiled South African writer Breyten Breytenbach, who lives in Paris, and by Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, a liberal white politician in South Africa.

"The aim of France-Libertes is to defend human rights all over the world. But we don't organise meetings, we simply give our support to people who approach us with their own projects," a spokesman for France-Libertes said.

She declined to say how much money the Mitterrand foundation had given Mr Breytenbach and Dr Slabbert to set up the talks.

"Madame Mitterrand will be at the opening of the meeting, and will say a few words to welcome the delegates. But she won't give a full-scale speech on apartheid, because that is not what the foundation is about," she said.

The spokesman said Madame Mitterrand would not join white delegates visiting Burkina Faso, Ghana and the Ivory Coast after the Dakar meeting ends on Saturday.

Western diplomats in Abidjan said that Senegal had probably been cho-



MRS MITTERRAND

sen as a mutually acceptable venue because of its pro-Western stance and vocal opposition to South Africa's apartheid policies.

Among West African countries, Nigeria, Senegal and the Ivory Coast have been important benefactors of the ANC, condemned and outlawed by the South African government for using violence as a means to achieve majority rule.

But Ghanaian government officials yesterday denied any knowledge of a proposed visit to the country by a group of South African whites.

A senior protocol official at the foreign ministry said: "As far as we are concerned we are not expecting such visitors and no plans have been made to receive them."

But the Dakar talks have been confirmed for July 13 by radical-led Burkina Faso.

The Burkina Faso capital of Ouagadougou will host an international conference on apartheid in October, government officials said.

The pro-Western Ivory Coast, also mentioned as a possible stop for the South Africans, has declined to comment. — Sapa-RNS

## Plans to talk to ANC blasted

Dispatch Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — While the government was sticking to a terse "no comment" on the West African safari to talk with the African National Congress, Die Burger, the official mouthpiece of the Cape National Party, criticised it yesterday.

Among other things, it described it as an exercise in futility which could only enhance the standing of the ANC which would be praised by the Kremlin. Political observers saw the editorial as the first manoeuvre in a government-backed campaign to discredit the roughly 50 South African participants.

● Meanwhile in Johannesburg, the Conservative Party (CP) asked whether the State President, Mr P. W. Botha, condoned talks between prominent liberals and the ANC.

The CP said that by failing to act against prominent liberals in their "reckless disregard for South Africa's laws", Mr Botha, tacitly co-operated in giving credibility to the ANC.

"This latest and well-publicised visit by mostly prominent Afrikaner liberals to plead with the ANC bears testimony to the fact that Mr Botha has lost control of South Africa's political direction," a CP statement said.

"Should Mr Botha fail to act, the CP demands an explanation as to why the laws of our country are not being enforced."

To the outside world, Soweto conjures a nightmare, a hellish battle-scarred landscape roamed by apartheid's stormtroopers, their gauleiters and angry resisters toting tyres, petrol and matches. In the few hours I spent there last Friday, this admittedly fleeting visitor came away with a rather different impression, one which will unlikely undear me to those political leaders who wish the outside world to see only the nightmare.

Unfashionably, I saw a place no better or worse than the slums of Mexico City, considerably more congenial than the stinking wens of Calcutta, and a good deal less hopeless than many an American ghetto. I also saw a community of immense potential and goodwill in grave danger of being condemned to permanent misery by successor elites armed with a political and economic vocabulary they either do not understand or, in some cases, understand only too well.

The right-thinking observer can be forgiven for reacting with a certain horror to the clinic where Mrs Albertina Sisulu works. A decaying, jerry-built shack in a scenery of hovels, acrid coal bonfires and that peculiar detritus of 20th century poverty, the rusting hulks of cars,

washing machines and discarded refrigerators, the place is ripe for the brush of a latter day Hieronymus Bosch.

The queue of patients (which must wait a little longer so that the visitor can be accommodated) is especially disconcerting to someone who has rested comfortably in the Carlton Hotel and has spent the morning chatting to the American Chamber of Commerce in its offices overlooking the Houghton Golf Club. The contrast is a sure enducer of guilt, confusion and loathing for a system that could produce such opposite worlds.

Stepping carefully over the huddled sick, the visitor's otherwise hardened sensibilities turn instantly to inchoate, unreasoning mush. Penitentially, reverentially, he is ready to believe anything he is told. Words like 'liberation' and 'struggle' wash over him and he is somehow too enthralled by his conscience and the evident suffering around him to ask what they mean, and in particular, what they mean for the halt and maim in the filthy ante-room. Hence, in some respects, Soweto's nightmare image in the rest of the world.

Battling the enthrallment, I put to Mrs Sisulu an idea that has been gaining currency in Washington. Did it

# Soweto: tragedy of people who are not heard

DD. 7/7/87

make sense, I wondered, to try and destroy the South African economy when it was that economy which empowered some of apartheid's most effective opponents, the trades unions. How, I asked, could there be consumer boycotts without consumers? Had not American companies, with their much touted array of educational and social programmes, done some good, however small and marginal.

"The people want disinvestment" Mrs Sisulu replied.

I looked at the floor, summoning courage for the next question. Uria Heepishly, it came out: "With all respect, ma'am, I come from a country where, as one of the people, I was born with the privilege of being asked what I want. That is obviously not the case here, so perhaps I have a little difficulty understanding. Forgive



MRS SISULU

me but how do you know what the people want?"

"The people want disinvestment" she restated, forgivingly.

"Are you a member of any organisation?" I admitted that I was not. "Well, if you were, you would understand how

we know what the people want."

There followed a disquisition on 'the struggle' and how it would continue for as long as it took for the Millennium of 'liberation' to dawn. Profoundly felt, to be sure, but a formula of words, a litany, an abstraction.

In her saintly way, I suspect Mrs Sisulu will also forgive me for feeling extremely angry as I picked my way back out through her mute patients and into the squallor beyond — as angry as I felt when a Cosatu official had flatly informed me earlier in the week in response to the same question about economic empowerment: "We are in a war, and in a war there must be casualties."

I do not pretend to have any insight into what Mrs Sisulu's people want, but I have an intuition, simply as a human being, that aside

from a real political voice in their country, they would like jobs, economic opportunity, clean, paved, safe streets, good schools for their children, proper medical care, decent sewers, comfortable, un-leaky homes, and even the occasional tree to cut the searing drabness of where apartheid has deposited them. Furthermore, I would hazard that they would like to be able to achieve these things for themselves, not as the wards of some monolithic state.

Nothing Mrs Sisulu, Cosatu, Archbishop Desmond Tutu or Oliver Tambo say seems to speak meaningfully to these basic, concrete aspirations. In fact, some even argue to so speak is merely to advocate the gilding of apartheid's cage.

Fine, so the victims of this odious system must remain victims to achieve salvation. Such

is the cant one can expect from empurpled churchmen and other elitists.

The real tragedy is that the 'people', in whose name so much towering rhetoric is delivered, are rarely if ever heard. The press, an elitist institution in itself, makes few efforts to test the rhetoric at the level of the common man.

In a democratic society, this matters less because the common man has the chance to make his feelings known and acted upon. Such a chance does not exist here, and those who are brave enough to question what is articulated and done in their name risk denunciation and worse, both at home and abroad.

To my mind, addressing the needs and dreams of the ordinary millions of Soweto is an infinitely more important exercise than

SIMON BARBER, the Daily Dispatch man in Washington, is visiting South Africa on a "refresher" tour.

Today, he recounts his views and impressions of a visit to Soweto.



ing off to Dakar to hold highly publicised and politically sexy talks with the ANC, thus according increased legitimacy to an organisation whose authenticity lies chiefly in the untested claim that it owns the people.

The 50 worthy Africans who have embarked on this exercise would surely be better employed in, say, pressing their government to grant ownership rights to township residents who have been paying rent for years without receiving even the most minimal services in return. But no, they prefer to play at the grand, abstract, political simulation because it is easier, offers more immediate psychic income and better befits their status than coping with the nitty-gritty of the human condition.

It has taken the self-confidence of a Margaret Thatcher to break the stranglehold of entrenched, fundamentally unrepresentative political elites in Britain and to launch what may well be the first real 'people's' revolution in history. Her message to her countrymen is simple: this is your country; it does not belong to trades unions, or to the state or to any other group or class that would like to dictate what is best for you.

Would that we had a Thatcher here.

# Langa crisis: NECC warning

By ANDRE KOOPMAN

THE closure of Langa High School by the government has brought the situation in Western Cape schools "to the brink of an explosion", the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC) has warned.

And parents of all Langa High School pupils today accompany their children to the school in defiance of a government directive.

The 1700-pupil school was closed with "immediate effect" on Friday by the Deputy Minister of Education and Training, Mr Sam de Beer, after a meeting with the school's interim committee.

In terms of the directive, only matric pupils and their parents were to report to school today to re-register.

But the school's interim committee decided on Sunday that pupils in all standards and their parents would go to school this morning — to report but not to register — as if it were the start of a normal school term.

This was confirmed last night by the committee chairman, Mr LG Daba.

Mr De Beer laid down a number of conditions to "obviate the need to close the school".

He said parents had to complete a standard application form at the beginning of the third term today and that they would have to accept that some pupils would be "relocated" due to "gross over-enrolment".

He also said "the irregular and unmerited promotion of pupils whose past scholastic attainments do not warrant such promotion cannot be condoned.

"Wherever necessary the department will determine the standard of attainment achieved by the pupils concerned by means of special examinations."

But parents and the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC) have rejected these conditions.

The interim school committee has said it could not accept these conditions because it were not in the interests of their children and education.

The NECC warned that the department's "inexplicable action" had brought matters at the school and in the Western Cape "to the brink of an explosion since Langa High is not an isolated incident".

A NECC spokesman said it appeared that one of the department's motives for setting some of the conditions was to "weed out" pupils regarded as "troublemakers".

Another possible motive was to reduce pupil numbers and to force them into schools in Khayelitsha, the spokesman said, adding that the NECC was investigating legal action against the department.

A spokesperson for the Black Sash last night said the DET's action appeared to be aimed at "simultaneously demoting those pupils who were promoted without writing examinations" and "solving the problem of glaring equipment shortages, simply by forcing a reduction in numbers and eradicating 'troublemakers'."

"According to reliable sources there is a very real and immediate danger of major conflict erupting in Western Cape schools.

"It is intolerable that bureaucratic recalcitrance should be permitted to produce a situation which holds such dangers of violent confrontation and needless tragedy," the spokesperson said.





OFF TO MEET THE ANC... LEFT: Mr Franklin Sonn, Professor Herman Giliomee, Professor Jakes Gerwel and Mr Randall van der Heever at the baggage counter at D F Malan Airport yesterday afternoon. RIGHT: Dr Alex Boraine and his wife Jenny at the airport.

Picture: RICHARD BELL

## Afrikaner-ANC indaba.

# Tough talks sought

From MIKE ROBERTSON  
LONDON. — The Dakar conference was conceived as an attempt to get a concrete debate going between prominent Afrikaners and the ANC leadership, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert said here yesterday.

Dr Slabbert said it was an attempt to break away from the "kind of posturing we have had in the past" with people trying to milk as much significance as they could out of one-day meetings.

A hard, tough debate was what they were looking for. Dr Slabbert was unwilling to provide a list of participants till he was sure they had left South Africa.

The participation of businessmen had been slightly overstated. "Those that are coming are more economists and economic consultants." He denied reports that the chairman of Rand Merchant Bank, Mr Johan Rupert, had provided funds for the conference.

"He is not coming. He was not approached. The Rapport and Citizen stories are quite laughable. To go from Gaddafi to Johan Rupert in one day is covering a lot of territory."

Dr Slabbert said he and Dr Alex Boraine had done the

fund-raising. Money had come from West Germany, other European governments and private sources in the United States and Scandinavia.

He said the West African governments had played a pivotal role.

He said he had been largely responsible for contacting the participants, travelling abroad to meet the ANC and speaking to people at home.

"Breyten (Breytenbach) helped a great deal from Paris."

Dr Slabbert said he knew quite well and respected most of the people who were coming. They were people who could cope with the problem of government over-reaction.

He was not sure exactly who would represent the ANC, but was meeting the ANC's publicity secretary, Mr Thabo Mbeki, late last night to discuss the final details.

Mr Mbeki is expected to lead an ANC delegation of about 20.

Asked what he hoped to achieve from the meeting, Dr Slabbert said just getting it off the ground was a success.

"We'll just have to see how it develops. But it shows that if whites, particularly Afrikaners, are prepared to abandon apartheid and racial domination, then serious debate is possible. Black Africa is still open to South Africa and the West is willing to assist."

## Slabbert group leaves to taunts

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

MOST of Dr Van Zyl Slabbert's high-powered ANC indaba mission jetted out of South Africa last night despite last-minute Conservative Party taunts designed to goad President P W Botha into scuttling the venture.

Surprises among the top-flight guest list confirmed by the organizers last night included:

Chief economist of the Standard Bank Mr Andre Hammersma; managing director of the giant Wooltru group Mr Tony Williamson; leading Cape Town architect Revel Fox; actress Grethe Fox; one of the Republic's foremost social scientists, Professor Lawrence Schlemmer, and the internationally renowned Canadian political scientist on sabbatical at UCT, Professor Heribert Adam.

The 60-strong group — which will explore possibilities for post-apartheid South Africa with the ANC and other African leaders — includes leading Afrikaners in a number of fields countrywide, but Western Cape intellectuals are especially prominent.

The Stellenbosch contingent includes political scientist Professor Jannie Gagliano, economist Professor Blackie Swart, Mr Hardy Botha (fine art) and Mr Gerard Erasmus (law).

University of the Western Cape delegates include UWC rector Professor Jakes Gerwel, vice-rector Professor Jaap du Randt, Professor Ampie Coetsee of the Afrikaans-Nederlands department and UWC lecturer Mr Andre Odendaal. UCT academics include Professor Michael Savage (soci-

TO PAGE 4

## All the names

Political Correspondent

MORE THAN 60 prominent academics, businessmen, clerics, artists, politicians and journalists are slated to participate in Dr Van Zyl Slabbert's West African indaba with the ANC and other African leaders over the next two weeks.

Most of the group are Afrikaners, but some English-speakers and delegates from European countries are also on the guest list.

Participants confirmed by the organizers of the trip, Idasa, are (in alphabetical order):

Heribert Adam, Alex Boraine, Breyten Breytenbach, Hardy Botha, Andre Brink, Tommy Bedford, Pierre Conje, Ampie Coetsee, Maresa de Beer, Trudie de Ridder, Riaan de Villiers, Andre du Pisan, Braam du Plessis, Lourens du Plessis, Max du Preez, Jaap du Randt, Andre du Toit.

Theuns Eloff, Dick Enthoven, A Enthoven, Gerhard Erasmus, Revel Fox, Grethe Fox, Jannie Gagliano, Peter Gastrow, Jakes Gerwel, Herman Giliomee, Andre Hammersma, Theo Hanf, Albert Koopman, Jacques Kriel.

Ian Liebenberg, Rashied Lombard, Chris Louw, Leon Louw, Jimmy Matthews, Wayne Mitchell, Errol Moorcroft, Beyers Naude, Ilse Naude, Christo Nel, E G Nel, Andre Odendaal, Gerrit Olivier, Gerhart Raichle.

Mike Savage, Andrew Savage, Lawrence Schlemmer, Pieter Schoeman, Hennie Serrfontein, Franklin Sonn, Van Zyl Slabbert, Blackie Swart, Randell van den Heever, J van der Westhuizen, Manie van Rensburg, Willem van Vuuren, Johan van Zyl, Philip Verster, Klaus von der Ropp, Tony Williamson, Johan Wolfaardt.

# UDF makes major changes in executive

Staff Reporter

ARGUS 7/7/87 (11A)  
THE United Democratic Front in the Western Cape has elected a new executive following the detention by security police of almost half of the outgoing regional executive and the decision by the remaining members to go into hiding to avoid being detained.

Although the names of the new executive will be announced officially only later this week, The Argus has established that the new regional vice-president is Mr Joseph Marks of Steenberg, a well-known personality in community affairs.

A prominent city advocate, Mr Dulah Omar, who has represented several detainees in Supreme Court actions, has been elected to the newly created position of regional chairman.

The change in the executive is thought to have been prompted mainly by the need to keep the UDF functioning efficiently in the Western Cape while so many of its office-bearers were in detention or in hiding.

Four of the former Western Cape executive have been in detention for lengthy periods. They are Mr Zollie Malindi, Mr Christmas Tinto, Mr Trevor Manuel and Mr Ebrahim Rasool. A fifth member, Mr Wilfred Rhodes,

was recently released from detention, but has gone into hiding.

The remaining four members of the old executive — Miss Cheryl Carolus, Miss Mildred Lesia, Mr Graham Bloch and Mr Andrew Boraine — are in hiding.

A UDF source commented today: "The moment our organisation elects a new executive, there appears to be a quick security police crackdown aimed at preventing us from functioning in the community.

"The full new executive thus will be made known publicly once the executive members feel they are in a position to do this."

A MAJOR contingent of the 62-strong delegation to West Africa left Jan Smuts Airport last night for no-holds-barred talks with the ANC on political violence and the role of the SA Communist Party in SA's future.

The talks follow a series of meetings in various countries around the world over the past six months between Institute for a Democratic Alternative for SA (Idasa) founders Frederik van Zyl Slabbert and Alex Boraine, and the ANC. Boraine disclosed last night.

He said an agenda for the talks in the Senegalese capital of Dakar had already been agreed upon by the ANC, and would deal with specific subjects, including "liberation economics and what it means".

The "problem of uppermost concern in SA" — the place of communism within the ANC and the question of an "armed struggle" — would be addressed at the conference at which there would be no "nice soft touches".

"Violence on the side of government and the ANC has to be addressed," he said.

"Secondly, we will be talking about a liberated government — be it a one-party or multi-party State, or whatever options are considered by people at the conference," Boraine said.

Although the talks were initiated by Idasa, Boraine said the West African mission was a "joint undertaking with the ANC. The question of national unity is the key, and of tremendous interest".

He said Idasa had raised all the funds for the mission outside SA, and these had been lodged with Idasa agents in Paris

# ANC talks men fly out

7/7/87 B/Day  
EPA IIA

DOMINIQUE GILBERT

and London.

MIKE ROBERTSON reports from London that Van Zyl Slabbert said he and Boraine had done the fundraising, and money had come from West Germany, other European governments, and private sources in the US and Scandinavia.

"Concerned South Africans cannot sit back, they must participate in discussions on these issues," he said. "A new SA is waiting to be born."

Boraine confirmed that plans for the trip had begun four months ago, and said delegates were invited on the basis that they would be "influential in SA's future" rather than that they were "at the top now".

That they were mainly Afrikaans and white, with the exception of three coloureds, who were also Afrikaans, "whether Afrikaners recognise it or not", was by design, Boraine said.

One reason was to dispel "the myth that all Afrikaners support the government — that's nonsense". The organisers had also been asked not to include blacks in the group because most blacks realised "a new government is necessary", Boraine said.

Two unnamed delegates had with-

● To Page 2



BID 7/78

# 'Understanding needed'

PRETORIA — Whites must develop an understanding of black politics and the ANC must understand white imperatives, Transvaal PFP leader Douglas Gibson said last night.

"It is important the lines of communication between white South Africans and black political organisations should be kept open," he said in a speech to the PFP's Northern Transvaal Regional Council.

Peaceful solutions would only become possible through negotiation.

"When the real negotiations start, Dr Slabbert will not be at the negotiating table representing whites. He chose to

turn away from the electoral process and helped to entrench the Nationalists, making it more likely whites will be represented at the negotiating table by the Nationalists or the Conservative Party.

Slabbert represented no real constituency, other than himself, and some whites who were frustrated by the "glacial progress of real change".

"We must work for the day when a representative cross-section of South Africans of all colours and political opinions, including those with political power, can seek to reach consensus on our future."

NUTW call to ~~usany~~ <sup>usany</sup>  
ALAN FINE  
THE National Union of Textile Workers (NUTW), a Cosatu affiliate, has called on Cosatu not to identify with any one black political grouping and, in particular, not to adopt the Freedom Charter at its congress next week.  
In a statement yesterday, NUTW general secretary Elias Banda disclosed the union's national congress resolved last week that unions and their federations should "accommodate within them the differing views of workers as to how best to proceed in the liberation struggle".  
"If we want to adopt the programme of one organisation or another, then clearly we will wind up with one union for each political tendency," he said

Financial Controllers, Secretaries,  
Cost & Managers

The talks follow a series of meetings in various countries around the world over the past six months between the founders of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa), Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert and Dr Alex Boraine, and the ANC, Dr Boraine disclosed last night.

He said an agenda for the talks in the Senegalese capital of Dakar had already been agreed upon by the ANC, and would deal with specific subjects including "liberation economics and what it means".

The "problem of up-permost concern in South Africa" — the place of communism within the ANC and the question of an "armed struggle" — would be addressed at the conference at which there would be no 'nice soft touches'.

"Secondly, we will be talking about a liberated government — be it a one-party or multi-party state, or whatever options are considered by people at the conference," Dr Boraine said.

Although the talks were initiated by Idasa, Dr Boraine said the

West African mission was a "joint undertaking with the ANC". The question of national unity was the key, and of tremendous interest.

He said Idasa had raised all the funds for the mission outside South Africa, and these had been lodged with Idasa agents in Paris and London.

Dr Slabbert said in London last night he and Dr Boraine had done the fundraising, and money had come from West Germany, other European governments, and private sources in the US and Scandinavia.

The conference was conceived as an attempt to get a concrete debate going between prominent Afrikaners and the ANC leadership, he said. It was an attempt to break away from the "kind of posturing we have had in the past" with people trying to milk as much significance as they could out of one-day meetings.

Dr Boraine said: "Concerned South Africans cannot sit back; they must participate in discussions on these issues... a new South Africa is waiting to be born."

A spokesman for the Rembrandt group denied last night that the group's executive director and chairman of Rand Merchant Bank, Mr Johan Rupert, would be attending the conference.

Dr Boraine confirmed that plans for the trip had begun four months ago, and said delegates were invited on the basis that they would be "influential in South Africa's future" rather than that they were "at the top now".

That they were mainly Afrikaans and white, with the exception of three coloureds who were also Afrikaans "whether Afrikaners recognise it or not," was by design, Dr Boraine said.

One reason was to dispel "the myth that all Afrikaners support the government". The organisers had also been asked not to include blacks in the group because most blacks realised "a new government is necessary," Dr Boraine said.

An academic delegate, Prof Herman Gillomee, said at Jan Smuts: "It is significant that we, as a group of Afrikaners who understand how Afrikaners think and their fears of possibly disappearing as a group in a post-apartheid South Africa, will be able to convey that impression to the conference."

Dr Boraine said it would be "naive" of the government to act against the group. He expected a government backlash, nevertheless, because "we will be accused of conniving with these groups in order to overthrow the government."

"That is nonsense. We prefer negotiation to violent overthrow."

The contingent left without incident last night for a briefing session in London today. Tomorrow they leave for Dakar via a stop-over in Paris where they will attend a function addressed by President Francois Mitterrand.

Another delegate who left South Africa last night was Mr Abraham Viljoen, brother of the former SADF chief, Gen Constand Viljoen. Mr Viljoen, who is Idasa's Northern Transvaal regional director, said: "It's stupid that Nats pass the buck and delay the whole issue of negotiating. We can no longer accept their idea of talks about talks."

"We are all compatriots and I welcome dialogue with the ANC which will involve straight talking and hard bargaining. After all we have to get to know each other; we've lived apart so many years."

**JOHANNESBURG — A major contingent of the 62-strong predominantly Afrikaner delegation to West Africa left Jan Smuts Airport last night for no-holds-barred talks with the ANC.**

Dispatch Correspondent

# SA group leaves for ANC meetings

DD  
7/7/82  
(117)

# UDF'S BOMBHELL

## Gumede sees a role for radicals in Parliament

(11A)  
S/7/87 SIT

**SOUTH AFRICAN radical politics have been dumped into confusion following indications from powerful United Democratic Front quarters that they are considering participation in parliamentary structures.**

The move could shake the tentative unity the UDF has established among its hundreds of affiliate organisations — many of differing political persuasions.

Mr Archie Gumede, UDF president, this week suggested the UDF would debate the advantages of participating in Government-created structures to better oppose the Government.

Cautious backing for Mr Gumede's stand emerged yesterday from the Natal Indian Congress.

Dr Farouk Meer, an NIC executive member, said the UDF and NIC were not "blanket boycotters".

"We are very creative and should the political circum-

By LESTER VENTER and SHARON CHETTY

stances favour a review of tactics we will be open to discussions."

But, she said: "Participation is not a critical issue right now, therefore no urgent talks are being held."

### Welcomed

Mr Gumede struck the first blow at the deadlock this week by claiming he would urge the UDF to discuss taking part in parliamentary elections due in 1988.

This followed a face-to-face meeting between Mr Gumede and the constitution-

al committee of the President's Council last month, where an unscheduled exchange of views took place.

The possibility of "talks about talks" was raised.

The Deputy Minister of Constitutional Planning, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, yesterday welcomed Mr Gumede's views.

Existing power structures were there to be used by any legal organisation, he said.

A member of the President's Council, Mr Ismail Omar, chairman of the opposition Solidarity party in the Indian House of Delegates, said the UDF's entry into electoral politics would come "like a bombshell to many politicians in the system who are merely paying lip service to participation as a means to abolish apartheid".

### Tactics

Mr Gumede said possible UDF participation would be a change of tactics, not principles.

"If, after an analysis of the political situation in the country, we find that circumstances favour our taking part in an election campaign, we will have to consider this," he said in an interview.

The UDF continued to subscribe to the liberationist credo of the Freedom Charter.

Its strategy of non-violence could lead it to participate to show the current parliamentary system "for the farce that it is".

Mr Gumede's views are unlikely to be universally popular in the UDF and allied extra-parliamentary movements and some analysts and politicians predicted a split if the "participation" school of thought grew.

The UDF's Western Cape branch closely followed Mr Gumede's utterances with a statement that said Mr Gumede was expressing only his personal views.

# 'Liberated SA' on the agenda

Hugs, greetings as 50 arrive in UK

The Argus Foreign Service LONDON. — Fifty leading South Africans, hounded for talks with the ANC in Senegal, flew into Heathrow Airport today to be greeted by Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert and writer Breyten Breytenbach.

The delegates will spend the day being briefed in London before flying to Dakar tomorrow.

Many were greeted personally by an ebullient Breytenbach, a longtime exile from South Africa who now lives in Paris. He was clearly delighted to see his countrymen and hugged several of them as they came out of customs.

Mr Breytenbach has helped to plan the visit with Dr Slabbert and Idasa.

Mrs Danielle Mitterand, the wife of the French President, has also helped to engineer the meeting in her capacity as founder of human rights organisation France-Libertes.

Mr Breytenbach said he believed much had been achieved even before the talks began: "Just getting the delegation here was an achievement."

Asked about his role, he said: "We all just did what we felt we had to."

Dr Slabbert said the group would be briefed during the course of the day. However, he declined to comment on whether the group would be meeting any prominent Britons.

Some delegates expressed dismay at the wide publicity the tour had been given.

Dr Slabbert denied that Johan Rupert, son of Dr Anton Rupert, who had been reported to be one of the organisers, had been approached to join the delegation.

The group will have four days of talks with the ANC in Dakar before visiting Burkina Faso, Ghana and the Ivory Coast.

By TOS WENTZEL, Political Correspondent

DETAILS of the main subjects to be discussed by South African academics and businessmen and leaders of the African National Congress in Senegal this week were disclosed today by Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, the main organiser of the meeting.

Dr Slabbert said there would be in-depth discussions on such policy issues as:

- The structure of a liberated government for South Africa;
- The structure of a liberated economy for South Africa;
- Problems and strategies of transition; and
- The problem of national unity.

He said the meeting would take the form of a three-day workshop. Apart from the group that left South Africa last night and the ANC spokesmen, foreign academics who are experts on Southern Africa and local experts on Africa would attend the Dakar talks.

In a statement, Dr Slabbert said it was "stupid and shortsighted" to portray the African National Congress to whites as a small terrorist organisation based outside South Africa when vast numbers of blacks in the country supported it.

The South African group that left for West Africa via London and Paris last night did not represent one single viewpoint on political, economic or social matters and the Institute for Democratic Alternatives in South Africa (Idasa), which had organised the meeting, did not speak on behalf of South Africa, he said.

The talks would provide an opportunity for Afrikaner academics, artists and professional people to discuss in depth with ANC executive members and other experts matters which were vital to the resolution of South Africa's conflict.

Idasa and the group did not profess to support the ANC or its strategies but recognised the importance of starting a process of dialogue which could prevent the senseless destruction of lives and resources.

"In its own way, this workshop will try to illustrate that if whites want to abandon apartheid and talk about a democratic alternative the ANC and others would be willing to participate, that Africa is open for such South Africans and that the West is willing to help."

The "insane spiral of violence" had to be broken.

Dr Slabbert said that by recognising the need to talk to the ANC "one is not condoning all its actions or supporting its strategies".

"One simply recognises an obvious fact: They are an inherent part of finding a solution to our country's problems."

"Have we learnt nothing from the misery and mistakes in countries surrounding us? I do not become a Muslim by reading the Koran or a communist by reading Marx, but I certainly should then be better able to understand them."

## Democratic alternative

If white South Africans were honestly committed to abandoning apartheid and searching for a democratic alternative, sincere and constructive talking was still possible.

Africa was under these circumstances not a closed book to them and the West was willing to help.

The trip is being financed by various sources, including the Friedrich Naumann Foundation in West Germany, European governments — including Scandinavian countries — and private interests in the United States.

The France Liberte Foundation and the author Breyten Breytenbach played a crucial role in instigating the meeting.

Dr Slabbert said he had been in Dakar last year as the guest of Mrs Danielle Mitterand, head of the foundation. This, along with an experience at a conference in New York where an ANC member made an emotional attack on the former head of Rand Afrikaans University and the chairman of the Broederbond, Professor Piet de Lange, gave him the idea that an attempt should at least be made to clear up confusion and to spell out differences more clearly.

Referring to President Botha's recent threats about foreign funding, he said the trip was not an act of provocation.

He failed to see the logic of the Government's attitude on foreign funding.

(Turn to Page 3, Col 8)



Tommy Bedford, architect, ex-Springbok; Prof Johan van Zyl, former MD of FCI; Dr Alex Boraine, a director of Idasa; Albert Koopman, businessman.



Philip Verster, Stellenbosch, politician; Prof Annie Coetzee, UWC; Prof Gerhard Erasmus, Stellenbosch Univ; Gräthe Fox, actress.



Pierre Cronje, MP for Greytown; Dr Beyer Naude, SACC; Ilsa Naude, wife of Dr Naude; Prof Blackie Swart, Stellenbosch Univ.



Manie van Rensburg, film director; Prof A Viljoen, Unisa; Tony Williamson, MD of Wooltru; Leon Louw, economic consultant.



Prof William van Vuuren, UWC; Rev Theuns Eloff, Pretoria University; Prof Laurie Schlemmer, Wits; Max du Preez, freelance journalist.

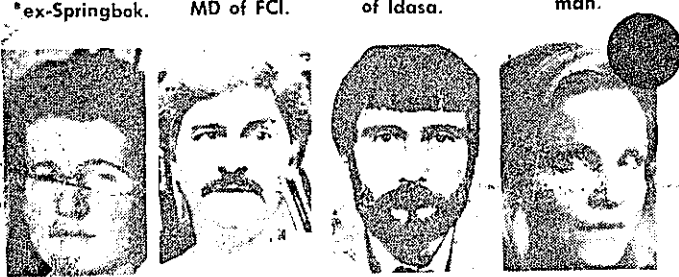


Prof Jaap Durandt, deputy principal, UWC; Errol Moorcroft, former MP for Albany; Prof Jacques Kriel, Wits University; Breyten Breytenbach, author and artist.



Dr van Zyl Slabbert, head of Idasa.





Philip Verster, Stellenbosch student.  
 Prof Ampie Coetsee, UWC.  
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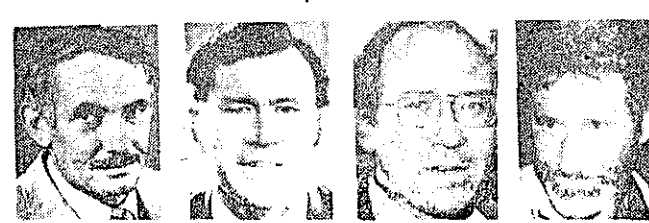
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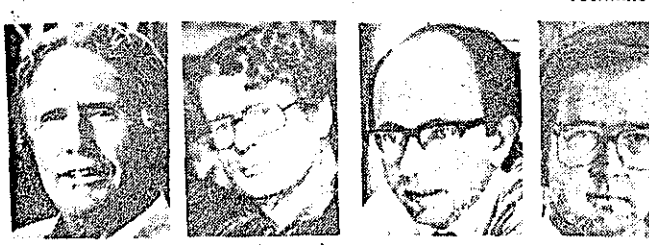
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 Breyten Breytenbach, author and artist.



Randall van den Heever, teacher.  
 Prof Jakes Gerwel, rector of UWC.  
 Andrew Savage, ex-MP for Walmer.  
 Franklin Sonn, Peninsula Technikon.



Revel Fox, architect.  
 André Brink, author and literary critic.  
 Prof André du Toit, UCT.  
 Peter Gastrow, MP for Durban Central.

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(Turn to Page 3, Col 8)

P.T.O

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# 5 of ANC executive 'Liberated SA' on agenda for talks in Dakar

Argus Africa News Service

JOHANNESBURG. — At least five of the 30-member African National Congress's national executive are among the delegates to talk in Senegal with white South Africans led by Dr van Zyl Slabbert.

Only two of the ANC delegates, Mr Mac Maharaj and Dr Francis Meli, are known to be members of the South African Communist Party.

At least one, Dr Pallo Jordan, is considered to be even more leftist than the SACP.

The leader of the team, Mr Thabo Mbeki, is the ANC's director of information and political secretary to ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo. He is the only "heavyweight" in the ANC hierarchy on the delegation, which has a strongly intellectual colouring.

Mr Mbeki, the son of jailed ANC leader Govan Mbeki and a graduate of Sussex University, is regarded as one of the brightest of the ANC intellectuals and a skilled diplomat.

The ANC leadership has consistently played down the influence of the SACP and purported not even to know which of its members belong to the

SACP, so the party's influence in the ANC — and in the delegation — is difficult to determine.

Mr Maharaj, a member of the national executive, is regarded as the senior Indian member of the ANC since the death of SACP chairman Yusuf Dadoo in 1983.

A former Robben Island prisoner, he is a senior member of the ANC armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe and is believed to be a senior official of the SACP.

The full composition of the delegation is still uncertain but other known members are: Mr Aziz Pahad, brother of Essop Pahad, researcher at the ANC's London office; Professor Albie Sachs, professor of law at Eduardo Mondlane University in Maputo; Mr Ben Magubane, an academic based at a university in the United States; Mr Max Sisulu, son of jailed ANC official Walter Sisulu and formerly chief ANC representative in Eastern Europe; Mr Lindiwe Mabuza, ANC representative in Sweden, and Mr Reggie Mbongo and Mr Manala Manzini, neither well known outside the ANC.

(Cont. from Page 1)

"Surely what you do with the money is more important than where you get it?"

"We have been paying out of our own pockets for years to implement apartheid. Surely that is more objectionable than using foreign funds to explore an alternative to violence and apartheid?"

The Government's position was illogical in other matters. It allowed Swapo to operate legally inside SWA/Namibia while fighting it outside; it signed Nkomati Accords with self-confessed Marxist heads of state but when it came to searching for genuine negotiations inside South Africa it contradicted itself.

The group will also visit Burkina Faso and Ghana and will be away for about two weeks.

● The Argus Foreign Service reports from Washington that Reagan Administration officials are pleased about the meeting between the prominent South Africans and ANC leaders, although there has been no official comment. But United States officials have offered repeatedly to help arrange a dialogue between the two sides.

## Those who will meet ANC

### Political Correspondent

THE 54 predominantly Afrikaans-speaking academics and professional people who will meet ANC figures in West Africa this week are:

Dr F van Zyl Slabbert, the head of the Institute for Democratic Alternatives in South Africa (Idasa), who has organised the meeting with the France Liberte Foundation; Tommy Bedford, architect; Dr Alex Boraine, another director of Idasa; Dr Andre du Pisanie, analyst of international affairs; Breyten Breytenbach, author and artist; Hardy Botha, artist; Andre Brink, author and literary critic; Pierre Cronje, MP for Greytown, architect and former Springbok rugby player; Professor Ampie Coetzee, professor of Afrikaans at UWC.

Maresa de Beer, lecturer in Afrikaans at Rhodes University; Trudie de Ridder, school psychologist; Riaan de Villiers, freelance journalist and assistant editor of Die Suid-Afrikaan; Professor L du Plessis, professor of constitutional law at the University of Potchefstroom; Max du Preez, free-

lance journalist; Professor Jaap Durandt, deputy principal of UWC.

Professor Andre du Toit, of the department of political studies at UCT; the Rev Theuns Eloff, student chaplain at Pretoria University; Professor Gerhard Erasmus, professor of law at Stellenbosch University; Revel Fox, architect; Grethe Fox, actress; Jannie Gagiano, lecturer in political science at the University of Stellenbosch.

Peter Gastrow, MP for Durban Central; Professor Jakes Gerwel, Rector of UWC; Professor Hermann Giliomee, of the political studies department of UCT; Albert Koopman, businessman; Professor Jacques Kriel, professor of medicine at Wits University; Ian Liebenberg, student at the University of Stellenbosch; Chris Louw, freelance journalist; Leon Louw, economic consultant; Wayne Mitchell, Idasa staff; E K Moorcroft, former MP for Albany; Dr Beyers Naude, of the SA Council of Churches, and his wife, Mrs Ilse Naude.

Christo Nel, economic con-

sultant; E G Nel, Stellenbosch student; Andre Odendaal, lecturer in economics, UWC; Professor Mike Savage, of the sociology department of UCT; Professor L Schlemmer, of the Policy Research Institute of Wits; Pieter Schoeman, member of the President's Council; Hennie Serfontein, freelance journalist; Franklin Sonn, principal of the Peninsula Technikon; Professor Blackie Swart, of the business school of Stellenbosch University; Randall van den Heever, teacher.

Professor J van der Westhuizen, professor of law at Pretoria University; Manie van Rensburg, film director; Professor Willem van Vuuren, of the political science department of UWC; Professor Johan van Zyl, economist and former managing director of FCI; Philip Verster, Stellenbosch student; Professor A Viljoen, church history department of Unisa; Tony Williamson, managing director of Wooltru; Professor Johan Wolfaardt, of the theology department of Unisa; R E Enthoven, businessman; Andrew Savage, former MP for Walmer; Braam du Plessis, advocate.

# ANC invited to open more offices abroad

LONDON. — The African National Congress has been asked by the governments of Spain, Holland, Japan, Kenya and Tunisia to establish offices in their capitals.

The Caribbean islands are also keen to have a permanent ANC mission.

ANC executive members have yet to decide where to open new offices.

The ANC already has offices in more than 20 countries, including Britain, the United States, Canada, France, West and East Germany, Scandinavia, India, Egypt, Algeria, Senegal, Nigeria, Tanzania and Zambia.

## Dutch request

An office in the Belgian capital, Brussels, serves the Benelux countries, but Holland now has asked the ANC to set up another mission in Amsterdam.

The ANC's chief representative in London, Mr Solly Smith, said: "These requests represent a significant development."

● The Peace Now in South Africa group will stage a demonstration in Trafalgar Square on Monday to demand that the British Government close the ANC office in London.

A spokesman for the group, Mr Mark Gordon, said: "This demonstration follows our successful one against

Oliver Tambo's visit to Britain at the end of May.

"Peace Now in South Africa was formed about nine months ago to get rid of the image that the ANC are nice people working for peace in South Africa.

"There is a lot of misrepresentation in Britain about what the ANC stands for."

Mr Gordon, a Young Conservative, said police had granted permission for the group to demonstrate on a corner in Trafalgar Square near the South African Embassy.

## Own medicine

"The anti-apartheid mob have been making a lot of noise outside the embassy for some time. We plan to give them a taste of their own medicine," he added.

● Britain's Labour members of the European Parliament have presented about R50 000 to the ANC.

It is the first instalment of an "Appeal for the ANC" raised through more than a thousand Labour supporters, trade unionists and individuals in Britain and from Japan and Nigeria.

The money will apparently be spent on health and information projects run by the ANC. — The Argus Foreign Service and Sapa.

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# ANC TALKS - U.S. PLEASED

WASHINGTON — Reagan administration officials are privately pleased about the approaching meeting between 50 prominent South Africans and

leaders of the African National Congress.

There was no official comment here on this development, but the promotion of contacts between responsible

## SOWETAN Foreign Correspondent

white South Africans and representative black leaders, including members of the ANC, is

one of the pillars of US policy in the region.

US officials have repeatedly offered to

help in arrangements for dialogue between the two sides, noting that Americans have a unique interest in communicating with all parties.

### Policy

The Secretary of State, Mr George Shultz, outlined the policy last December when he said: "Change and negotiation cannot be accomplished by outsiders. It must be built by South Africans themselves — even as we offer our support.

"And we will support genuine reconciliation and a serious grappling with the issues."

In a sense, it suits American purposes that the coming meeting has been arranged with the

help of the French and not the Americans.

Washington has been under fire from the South African Government for its alleged interference in SA affairs and for its harsh rhetoric about South Africa.

An American role in the ANC meeting, especially a meeting involving private citizens, probably would have led to further protests by the SA authorities.

The Americans say they had no advance knowledge of the meeting until word of it leaked out in South Africa. Because of this, it is unlikely that the matter was discussed in London last week when the Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, Dr Chester Crocker, met his Soviet counterpart, Mr Anatoly Adamishin.

On that agenda — described here as "an exchange of views" — were Namibia, Angola

and other trouble spots on the African continent.

The Soviets have declared their support for the ANC and it is believed here that they will monitor the coming meeting with intense interest.

So will the Americans though an official here said there would be no attempt to send an American observer to the discussions.

In setting up the meeting, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert has helped to deflect charges by liberal democrats in the US Congress that SA whites have opted for white supremacy.

This is the way they saw the May 6 election results with massive white support for the Nationalist government and the growing right-wing opposition.

Now, liberals here have been reminded that there is an important group of whites ready to talk to the ANC.

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# Police kill suspected ANC pair

A SUSPECTED African National Congress insurgent and a woman were killed in a confrontation with police in a shootout in an eastern Cape township yesterday, police in Pretoria reported.

Police said in a statement issued by their Public Relations Division:

"A black man, suspected of being an ANC terrorist, and a black woman, were

yesterday killed during a confrontation with Security Force members.

"Acting on information, members of the South African police went to a dwelling in Motherwell, near Port Elizabeth.

"When they attempted

to enter the shack, a number of shots were fired from inside the shack, which damaged the police vehicle.

## Shack

"Reinforcements were summoned. When these arrived, the occupants of

the shack were ordered to come outside. This request led to renewed firing. A Casspir armoured vehicle was then used to push over the shack.

The bodies of a black man and a black woman, as well as the following arms and ammunition, were found in the shack:

1 x AK 47 rifle; 1 x 9mm Star pistol; 8 x 9mm bullets; 3 x AK 47 magazines; 260 x AK 47 bullets; 1 x F1 handgrenade; 30 x AK 47 cartridge cases.

"The bodies have not been positively identified.

"The police investigation is continuing. Sapa.

## SA PRESS ASSOCIATION

# 'PAC says Govt is illegal'

By MONK NKOMO

THE formation of the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress was to achieve equal and democratic rights for all the people in South Africa, a senior police officer admitted in a Pretoria Regional Court yesterday.

Colonel Jakobus Buchner, who is an expert in PAC activities,

also told the court during cross-examination by the defence counsel, Mr Dikgang Moseneke, that a number of trained cadres had told him that the Government was illegitimate and undemocratic because the majority of its population were not represented in Parliament.

Colonel Buchner, who described himself as "African" also admitted

that when the two organisations were formed their officials made representations to the Government and other outside countries in an effort to achieve political and social change in South Africa. He also conceded that at the time both organisations were banned in 1960, their aims and objectives could have been legal.

He was testifying in the trial of seven alleged members of the PAC

who have pleaded not guilty before Mr J H Bekker to 24 charges of terrorism and defeating the ends of justice.

Another witness, Captain Johannes Smith of the South African security police, told the court yesterday that he did not care to investigate complaints by one of their accused, Mr Vincent Mathunjwa (29), that he had sustained injuries after being assaulted by the police during his arrest in

Bophuthatswana.

Asked by Mr Moseneke why he did not investigate the injuries, Captain Smith replied: "I did not think it was necessary."

The court heard that a magistrate at Swartrugens made note of the injuries sustained by the accused when he appeared there on April 24 last year. Captain Smith remarked that the accused did not look sick and that he did not know if he had shown the wounds to the magistrate.

The policeman, under

cross-examination by Mr Moseneke, said he searched four of the accused in Bophuthatswana without the necessary written documents, in terms of the extradition agreement between the two countries.

Mr Moseneke put it to Captain Smith that it was a lie that another accused, Mr Mabatu Enoch Zulu (52), had told him that he had been out of the country for 24 years and that South Africa was a better country.

From IAN HOBBS

CARE TIMES 8/7/87 11A 304A

# Slabbert: ANC meeting not on behalf of govt

LONDON. — The first formal meeting in West Africa this week between a group of 68 South Africans and the African National Congress is in no way an attempt to open dialogue for the South African government or interfere with its work, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert said last night.

As the party of South Africans gathered in London for the breakthrough flight to Senegal today, Dr Slabbert stressed: "This is not an attempt to negotiate, mediate or do the South African government's work for them."

"It is an attempt by South Africans to explain democratic alternatives for South Africa, recognizing that no solution is possible without the involvement of the ANC."

He confirmed officially for the first time that governments throughout Western Europe and the heads of state of Senegal, Burkina Faso and Ghana had helped make the meeting possible.

The Paris-based poet Breyten Breytenbach told a press conference at a hotel near London's Heathrow airport that Mrs Danielle Mitterrand, wife of the French president, had played a

key role in setting up the meeting.

Breytenbach, who has established close relations with the French president and West African governments, said Mrs Mitterrand — clearly with the assistance of her husband's high office — would travel ahead to herald the arrival of the South Africans.

The initiative will start with three days of closed-session meetings in Senegal's capital of Dakar tomorrow after a grand ceremony addressed by President Douf and attended by the full diplomatic corps.

From Dakar they will visit Burkina Faso (formerly Upper Volta) and then, it is hoped, enter Ghana for one or two days.

But echoing statements by the

ANC party — including five executive committee members — which has already arrived in Dakar, Dr Slabbert said that while he felt the majority of South African whites supported the initiative, it should not be built up out of proportion. With Idasa (Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa) co-leader Dr Alex Boraine, he said they were a party of largely Afrikaner South Africans representing widely differing viewpoints for a post-apartheid South Africa.

What was now happening was "a debate between South Africans in exile and South Africans in South Africa, about democratic alternatives".

With Senegalese involvement, they would discuss issues that would face an equal South Africa ranging from the economy to "how can one create national unity in such a divided society".

The symbolic significance of the meeting was that they were South Africans prepared to abandon apartheid, and this made genuine debate and discussion possible.

No preconditions had been set for the meeting,

- Power sharing necessary — Page 4
- How do they know what blacks want? — Page 8
- Leading article — Page 8
- Military man needed — Page 9
- See Teleletters — Page 9

said Dr Slabbert, adding: "If you are going to have meaningful talks you can't set impossible preconditions. You cannot choose who you talk to."

He said those who could afford to pay their

To page 3

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own way had done so but most of the money had been contributed, no strings attached, over the past six months by West European governments and foundations in Norway, the United States and West Germany.

Breytenbach said that while he agreed the importance of the talks should not be overstated, it was "wonderful" to see a cross-section of South Africans — including white Afrikaners — meeting in such circumstances.

He said their presence in West Africa would galvanize interest in Africa, which he thought was essential, to become involved in seeking solutions for South Africa's problems.

He said respect should be accorded to the West African heads of state who had "stuck their necks out" by hosting such a meeting, though they were aware of the failure of the late Mr John Vorster's venture into "detente or dialogue". Breytenbach stressed that this was not a renewal of the Vorster failure.

He said the isolation in which South Africans now existed was largely of their own making.

Dr Slabbert and Breytenbach said secrecy had been essential to their plans because early publicity could have destroyed the mission.

While they repeatedly asked the media not to exaggerate the importance of the meeting, newspapers, television and radio around the world are reporting it prominently as a major initiative to create dialogue and peace within South Africa.

ARGUS 8/7/87

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# Talks will build up ANC's image, says Nat

## Political Correspondent

THE talks between the African National Congress and Idasa groups in Dakar were sharply attacked today by a top Nationalist spokesman.

Dr Boy Geldenhuys, a nominated National Party MP and its senior director of information, said he found it extraordinary that such a meeting should take place while the country was involved in a "de facto war" with the ANC.

The Government had started to succeed in breaking down the image of the ANC overseas, but now the movement was again being given some credibility by the planned meeting.

Foreign governments, including Britain and the United States, had begun to question the ANC's credibility.

The Dakar talks could harm South Africa by creating the false impression that the ANC was party to peaceful negotiations about the country's future.

Dr Geldenhuys said it would,

on the other hand, have been counter-productive to act against the group who travelled from South Africa in the light of the country's image on issues such as free speech.

He thought the group would in any case harm their own cause. The two Progressive Federal Party MPs, especially, would probably do their party a great deal of harm.

So far the Government has not officially commented on the trip and the conference, but the matter is bound to be raised in the second half of the parliamentary session, which starts on July 17.

## Passports

The official Opposition in the Assembly, the Conservative Party, has been sharply critical of the Government because it did not act against the group.

● The Argus Correspondent in Pretoria reports that the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging has urged the Government to withdraw the passports of all 65 South African delegates.



Dr Boy Geldenhuys

Alternatively, the rightwing organisation said, the delegates should face charges of high treason on their return.

The AWB demanded in a statement today that if it was the Government's aim to track down and destroy "communist murderers", action be taken against the delegates. In this the AWB included Professor

Johan Heyns, the moderator of the NGK, who has also held talks with the ANC.

"What right have these liberals to speak for a volk on issues that concern its 'vaderland', freedom and safety. This is high treason.

"It is clear which side these people have taken — that of the ANC. They will never again be recognised as members of our volk. We have their names and we know who they are," the AWB warned.

Mr Ray Swart, Natal leader of the PFP and chairman of its parliamentary caucus, dismissed suggestions that the party would be harmed by Mr Peter Gastrow, MP for Durban, and Mr Pierre Cronje, MP for Greytown, being on the trip. The "safari" had nothing to do with the party and it was the MPs' private affair.

On the other hand, the PFP itself had initiated talks with the ANC and it was the party's view that dialogue should be kept open.

## Sebe launches new

## Stone 'fist'

(ASA14505)

# Dakar conference: An 'open debate between South Africans'

The Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — Dr F van Zyl Slabbert has said that his delegation of prominent South Africans will engage in open debate with the ANC in Senegal about national unity and a new "liberated" government for South Africa.

There were indications that there would be a lot of tough talking by the South African group, who left London for Dakar this morning.

A number are known to have political and economic views which are at odds with ANC policy, and they made it clear they would speak their minds.

### OPTIMISTIC

Dr Slabbert and Dr Alex Boraine, through their Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa), have spent at least six months secretly arranging the historic visit.

An optimistic but somewhat cautious Dr Slabbert said last night the meeting was part of Idasa's aim of promoting debate on a non-racial democracy for South Africa.



Dr van Zyl Slabbert, right, and writer Breyten Breytenbach in London.

He emphasised that resolutions could not be found for South Africa without involving the ANC.

But, he warned, it was important not to exaggerate the significance of the meeting.

His group was not going to Senegal to negotiate or mediate. "We have no mandate to

speak for anyone ... we do not want to do the South African Government's work for it ... we can't drag the Government along with us.

"This is a debate between South Africans — those in exile and those in the country. We will explore democratic alternatives."

Dr Slabbert said his group was symbolic of the fact that "if South Africans are prepared to abandon apartheid and racial domination and search for a non-racial democratic alternative, genuine debate is possible".

### KEYNOTE

On the question of funding, Dr Slabbert said some delegates had paid for themselves while others had been financed by "no strings attached" grants obtained by Idasa from foundations in West Germany and the United States as well as a number of Western European governments.

Writer-in-exile Breyten Breytenbach, who helped organise the trip, said he expected Senegalese President Abou Diouf to indicate in a keynote address that it was vital for African heads-of-state to become involved in finding a way out of the South African impasse.

After Dakar, the group will visit a former slave island off the West African coast before going to Burkina Faso and probably Ghana.



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## We'll talk about a new liberal government for SA — Slabbert

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Dr Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert served notice last night that his delegation of prominent South Africans would engage in open debate with the ANC in Senegal about national unity and a new "liberal" government for South Africa.

There were indications that there would be a lot of tough talking by the South African group, who left London for Dakar today.

A number are known to have political and economic views at odds with ANC policy — and they made it clear they would speak their minds.

The 50-strong South African delegation is made up largely of prominent Afrikaners and includes theologians and other academics from a number of conservative campuses, as well as political figures — among

them PFP member of the President's Council Mr Pieter Schoeman — businessmen, sportsmen and people from the arts world.

The 16-member ANC group, led by director of information and publicity Mr Thabo Mbeki, features one of the closest advisers to ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo, Mr Palo Jordan, as well as a prominent member of the organisation's political and military committees, Mr Mac Maharaj.

It emerged at a Press briefing here yesterday that Dr Slabbert and Dr Alex Boraine, through their Institute for a Democratic Alternative for

South Africa (Idasa), have spent at least six months secretly arranging the visit.

An optimistic but somewhat cautious Dr Slabbert said the meeting was part of Idasa's aim of promoting debate on a nonracial democracy for South Africa.

He stressed that resolutions could not be found for South Africa without involving the ANC.

But, he warned, it was important not to exaggerate the significance of the meeting. His group was not going to Senegal to negotiate or mediate.

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Papers would be read and workshop discussions held over four days. There would also be Senegalese participation, he added.

Dr Slabbert said his group was symbolic of the fact that "if South Africans are prepared to abandon apartheid and racial domination and

search for a nonracial democratic alternative, genuine debate is possible".

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After Dakar, the group will visit a former slave island off the West African coast before proceeding to Burkina Faso and probably Ghana.

# ANC stand on major issues will come under spotlight

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

The talks in Senegal between the African National Congress and the Idasa group will be a major test of ANC attitudes on issues crucial to a political resolution of South Africa's race problems.

The ANC's responses to the questions that will be asked at Dakar will have an important influence on future efforts among South Africans to work out a solution. They could also affect the degree of support the ANC receives internationally, particularly among the Western powers.

The talks represent the most ambitious effort yet made to find an alternative to the government's unsuccessful efforts to conduct dialogue with credible black leaders within South Africa.

Especially important will be the picture that emerges of the ANC's attitude on three major issues:

- Its continued use of violence.
- Its links with the South African Communist Party.
- Its views on free enterprise in a future economic system.

The government will not negotiate with the ANC unless it renounces violence, and its refusal to do so has bedevilled American efforts to narrow the gap

between the two. The communist streak in the ANC's political complexion and the strongly socialist nature of some of its economic policies also cause misgivings in the West and are flatly rejected in Pretoria — and probably by most white South Africans.

While the ANC has recently softened its demand for an international cultural boycott of South Africa, little else has emerged to indicate any desire within the organisation to review the policies that were last defined at the organisation's "consultative" conference at Kabwe, Zimbabwe, in 1985.

This alone must cause the Dakar talks to be viewed with pessimism rather than optimism.

They nevertheless give the ANC an chance to promote its campaign to win wider white support. The meeting is seen by one respected expert on the ANC, who declined to be named, as "an important engagement in the battle to win some of the edges of the undecided middle ground in South Africa".

He believes the meeting offers the ANC an opportunity to take advantage of the ferment in Afrikaner intellectual circles in recent years.

"It will mean no let-up, however, in the ANC's hitherto low-intensity guerilla campaign or a softening of some of the tough decisions taken at the Kabwe conference — which include a decision to go for all-out national insurrection.

"Instead, the Senegal meeting is complementary to

political violence. It is an example of the ANC's particular version of 'thump and talk'. It is the latest chapter in the ANC's political offensive within what it calls 'the white bloc'."

This offensive is considered by some analysts to have started with the ANC's meeting with South African businessmen and editors in Zambia in 1985. Some of the major participants in those talks, notably Mr Gavin Rely of Anglo-American Corporation, appear to have been persuaded that there is little prospect of change in the objectionable aspects of ANC economic policy and therefore little point in further dialogue.

After those talks some ANC leaders are believed to have taken the view that further dialogue should not be at the expense of the insurrectionary task the organisation had set itself.

Whereas the ANC's top leaders attended the Zambia talks, a relatively low-level team has been sent to Dakar. Nevertheless, analysts see potential benefits for the ANC in talking to Afrikaner opinion-makers. The ANC team leader, Mr Thabo Mbeki, is regarded as an important architect of the campaign to woo white support.

"It would be a mistake to see the ANC's purpose in agreeing to the Dakar meeting as merely a cynical attempt to shift slightly the political balance of forces in South Africa," the ANC expert said.

He believes the ANC will try to project itself as a non-racial movement sincerely appreciative of the many aspects of Afrikaner culture not associated with apartheid. It will point to major clauses in the ANC's Freedom Charter to allay Afrikaner fears of black majority government.

"In essence, the ANC will be arguing that the centuries old black thirst for political power and economic advantage is not inimical to Afrikaner prosperity. Instead, the ANC will be saying that white prosperity depends on majority power being achieved sooner by negotiation rather than later by race war."

## 'Many on list close to Govt-controlled media'

When the list of names of the "far Left pilgrims" to Dakar was scrutinised, it was no coincidence that many of them owed their prominence to the SABC and the Government-controlled Afrikaans Press, Professor S C Jacobs, spokesman for the Conservative Party and MP for Losberg, said.

"They (the delegates to Senegal) have been singled out for recognition and credibility and through this publicity build-up over the past few years, it now appears that these so-called leading figures in Afrikanerdom are creating a political trend which could be emulated by others," Professor Jacobs said.

"Their far Left views have been publicised by the State-funded SABC and through the columns of the Afrikaans Press. Names which come to mind are Professor Dion Basson, Johan van der Westhuizen and Laurens du Plessis of the University of Potchef-

stroom, Professor Lawrence Schlemmer of Natal University and Professor Herman Giliomee of the University of Cape Town.

"Another pilgrim is Dominee Theuns Eloff who previously worked for the SABC and whose family is still employed there," he said.

"We ask whether the SABC and the Afrikaans Press will now distance themselves from these people in their new role as negotiators with the communist-controlled ANC, or whether the reading and viewing public will be seeing even more of them in the future.

"Silence on the part of the Government and the Government-controlled media shows tacit approval of this political pilgrimage to the ANC.

"The Afrikaner electorate now demands an answer," Professor Jacob's statement said. — Sapa.

114 (207) (83)

# PW urged to meet Mandela, then free him

Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT P W BOTHA should meet Mr Nelson Mandela — and release him, Mrs Helen Suzman told the president in Parliament yesterday.

Mrs Suzman, who has visited Mr Mandela in jail a number of times, said Mr Botha would be "astonished" at the ANC leader's moderate approach after spending 25 years behind bars.

Speaking during the State President's vote of the budget, she said Mr Botha

would be struck by Mr Mandela's lack of bitterness and desire to negotiate.

Mrs Suzman welcomed the government's change in policy regarding the release of political prisoners in terms of which the rejection of violence is no longer the overriding factor affecting the prospects for release.

Rivonia trialist Mr Thabo Mbeki appeared to be the first person to benefit from the new policy.

"It will be the greatest thing for South Africa if Mandela is the next person," she

said.

Speaking later, Mr Wynand Malan (Randburg Independent) said the revised conditions for the release of political prisoners should be used to draw leaders into the political process and not to destroy their political influence.

Replying to the debate, Mr Botha did not refer to Mr Mandela, but said Mrs Suzman should "stop moving on the brink of constitutional government and interceding for those for whom she knows she should not intercede".

**T**HE HAGUE — Today marks two years that Klaas de Jonge has been holed up in the Dutch Embassy in Pretoria to avoid trial by South African authorities.

The South African Government has charged the Dutchman with smuggling arms to the banned African National Congress.

But to the strong anti-apartheid movement in the Netherlands, De Jonge's diplomatic refuge symbolises a much broader Dutch opposition to South Africa's racial policies, with political and economic implications.

The diplomatic tensions over De Jonge have been accompanied by a continuing decline in economic ties between two nations which have shared a firm historic and cultural bond since the Dutch settled in the Cape Province in 1652.

The Dutch have become increasingly vocal in their opposition to the Afrikaner racial policies, which some link to Dutch Calvinism.

This month Amsterdam's mayor, Mr Ed van Thijn, gave an official stamp of approval to the African National Congress by announcing the guerilla group would be allowed to open an information office in the Dutch capital.

Several Dutch companies have withdrawn from South Africa in recent months, chief among them the SHV Trading multinational. Bilateral trade figures indicate that the once buoyant commerce between the Netherlands and South Africa is declining.

"There is a growing reluctance to do business with South Africa," said Dutch economics ministry spokesman Mr Tom van Troostwijk. "It's getting less and less attractive."

During its European Economic Community presidency last year, Premier Ruud Lubbers' centre-right government pushed for a limited EEC trade embargo against Pretoria. The embargo against trade in iron ore, coal and precious metals has not yet been ratified by EEC nations.

Last month, the Lubbers government introduced legislation to ban any new investments by Dutch companies in South Africa, in line with EEC guidelines.

Wholly or partly Dutch-based multinationals continuing South African operations include Shell, Philips and Unilever. Shell has been singled out by protesters who have firebombed several of its service stations in the Netherlands.

It is the declining official perception of South Africa as a politically and economically viable business partner that bothers Pretoria backers among the Dutch.



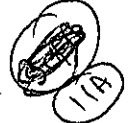
ASSOCIATED PRESS



MR P W BOTHA... threatened to arrest De Jonge

Soewfan  
9/7/87

# De Jonge - a symbol for Dutch activists



"We need South Africa, its pro-Western government and its mineral resources in the struggle against communism," said Mr Henk Maartensen of the Netherlands South Africa Association, which favours turning De Jonge over to South Africa.

Although he stressed that his organisation opposes apartheid, Mr Maartensen said: "The (Dutch) government has embroiled itself with the communist-led ANC by giving refuge to De Jonge."

## Weapons

De Jonge, now 49, was arrested by South African police on June 23, 1985 on suspicion of weapons smuggling. He had been an information ministry adviser to Mozambique's marxist government in 1982-83.

The De Jonge affair began on July 9, 1985, when the Dutch anthropologist fled from a police car in downtown Pretoria and sought refuge in the embassy. South African police pursued him and dragged him out.

What the Dutch government referred to as "a serious violation of the embassy's immunity" resulted in a diplomatic crisis. The Netherlands threatened to recall his

ambassador unless De Jonge was returned to the embassy.

South African authorities handed him back 10 days later, and De Jonge has lived since then in the embassy offices in a downtown bank building.

Pretoria has repeatedly called for De Jonge's surrender for trial. But the Netherlands, whose laws ban extradition of a Dutch national, has refused.

## Symbolic

"Klaas has had, and is still having, an important symbolic role as an active opponent to apartheid," said Mr Fons Geerlings, secretary of the Dutch anti-apartheid movement (AABN), the Netherlands' most prominent anti-apartheid organisation.

"He symbolises the deep-felt hatred (among the Dutch) of the white minority regime in Pretoria, and since his incarceration in the embassy, we've seen a swing in public opinion

and in the attitude of business and industry here," said Mr Geerlings.

The De Jonge affair has put into highly publicised human terms what is perceived in the Netherlands as an irreconcilable ethical divide between the two governments.

Last September, the Dutch embassy acquired new premises on the outskirts of Pretoria, and South Africa's State President, Mr P W Botha, who had earlier stated that "relations with the Netherlands couldn't be worse than they are now," threatened to arrest De Jonge as soon as he left the old embassy building.

To protect De Jonge, the Dutch decided to keep the embassy's economic and political sections at the bank building.

Last year, De Jonge's former wife Helena Passtoors was sentenced to 10 years imprisonment by South African authorities for alleged pro-ANC activities.

32 await the hangman

# SAVE THEIR LIVES DRIVE

**THE SOUTH African Youth Congress yesterday launched a nationwide campaign to save the lives of 32 people awaiting execution as a result of unrest-related killings.**

The national executive of Sayco was present at the launch as well as representatives of the National Union of Mineworkers, National Education Crisis Committee, United Democratic Front and the Release Mandela Campaign.

All organisations have pledged support for the campaign.

## Executions

Sayco intends to highlight the plight of the prisoners awaiting execution so that Western governments bring pressure to bear on the South African Government to stop the hangings.

At the beginning of July, there were 275 people awaiting execution in South Africa, a spokesman for the South African Prisons Service, said.

A spokesman for the Department of Justice said yesterday 76 people were executed in South Africa this year. The figure for last year stands at 121.

The spokesman said those executed

**By NAT DISEKO**

were hanged mostly for murder and that the Department of Justice did not keep records of whether a case was politically motivated or not.

Those awaiting hanging are: (Sharpeville Six — sentenced December 1985, murder of Vaal councillor — appeal due in September) Mojalefa Reginald Sefatsa, Oupa Moses Diniso, Duma Joshua Khumalo, Francis Don Mokhesi, Reid Malebo Mokoena and Theresa Ramashamola.

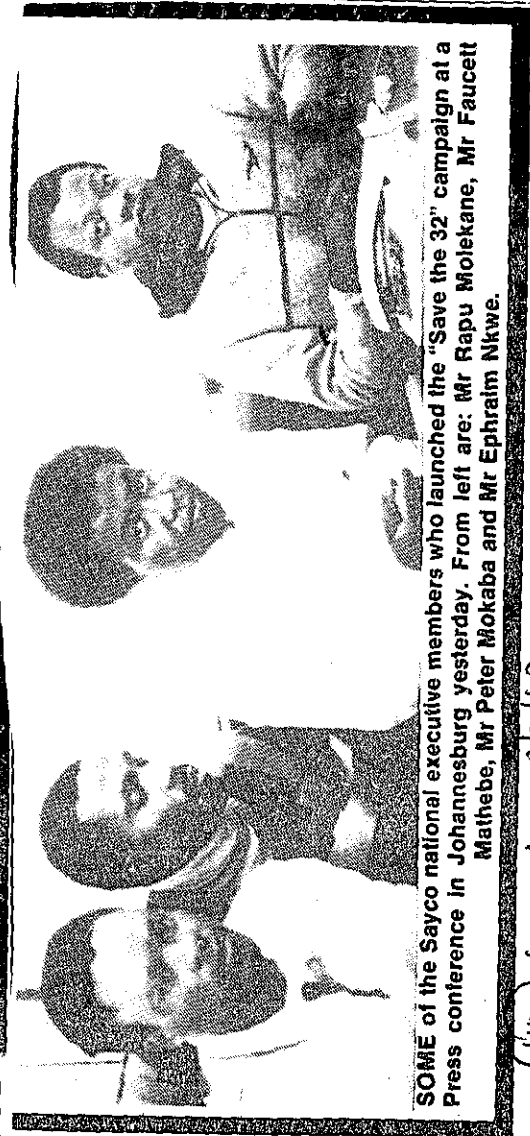
Lilili Wubushe, sentenced June 1986 in Jansenville for "necklace murder". Two others were sentenced to death in Tzaneen in July last year. They are Alex Matshapa and Solomon Mankopane Maoasha. They killed two informers.

Three sentenced for Oudthoorn councillor's death: Dickson Madikane, Desmond Majola and Patrick Manginda.

Two sentenced for the murder of a policeman in Sebokeng in September last year: Daniel Maleke and Josiah Tswane.

Two sentenced for killing Eastern Cape community councillor, Kinikini and some members of his family: Moses Mnyanda Jantjies and Mlamli Wellington Mielies.

● To Page 3



SOME of the Sayco national executive members who launched the "Save the 32" campaign at a Press conference in Johannesburg yesterday. From left are: Mr Rapu Molekane, Mr Faucett Mathebe, Mr Peter Mokaba and Mr Ephraim Nkwe.

(11A) Somerset 9/7/87.

P.T.O.

# Dakar focuses on Freedom Charter

The Star Bureau

1119  
9/7/87

LONDON — The Freedom Charter and what it really means to a post-apartheid South Africa will be the focus of the Dakar meeting starting today between white South Africans and the African National Congress.

And the ANC believes the State President, Mr P W Botha, is secretly pleased the meeting is going ahead because it will give his government an opportunity to assess the ANC's current stance on a range of crucial issues.

British television last night screened two news programmes which gave the British viewer an idea of what was on the agenda.

## CRUCIAL ROLE

In one of them, Dr Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert spoke of his desire to explore the prospects of a non-racial democracy and his certainty that the ANC had a crucial role to play in the future of the country.

He said it was obvious whites could not expect to preserve their privilege but he also made it clear there was a need to clarify the real implications of the Freedom Charter.

He said: "The Freedom Charter is not very specific ... and we hope to clear up some of the conflicting interpretations and find out what the ANC has in mind on economic and other issues."

Mr Walter Serote of the ANC said in the same programme that the charter was "flexible".

● A paragraph reporting the comments of the leader of the ANC delegation, Mr Thabo Mbeki, has been omitted from this report. Mr Mbeki is listed in terms of the Internal Security Act and may not be quoted in South Africa.

Woman

held: 9-14-78  
B229

ANC link

South  
claimed  
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FAMILY of Ms Farieda Khan, detained under the Internal Security Act, believe she is being held because of her husband's involvement in the ANC.

Khan, 26, a former pre-school teacher, is married to Mr Patrick Ricketts. They have been living in Botswana for the past five years.

Ricketts was mentioned in the recent ANC trial.

Khan was visiting her family when she was detained on June 27 from her mother's Belhar home.

Her sister Gadija, 32, a clothing buyer, and their mother, Mrs Rugayah Khan, 61, were detained with her under section 29 of the Internal Security Act which provides for indefinite detention for interrogation.

Farieda's brother, Mr Yusuf Khan, said Farieda's visit was perfectly legal. Whenever she came to South Africa she did so on her South African passport.

Her passport was confiscated when she was detained. He said it was possible her detention was linked to the naming of her husband in the ANC trial. "I don't see any other link."

He was "very concerned" about his mother and sisters.

"Gadija and Farieda are spiritually very strong, but not physically."

Farieda's son, Timol, and his cousin, Rugayah, were taken with the three women when they were detained but taken home several hours later.

'Politics is a bread-and-butter issue for the working class'

# No solution without ANC, Cosatu delegates are told

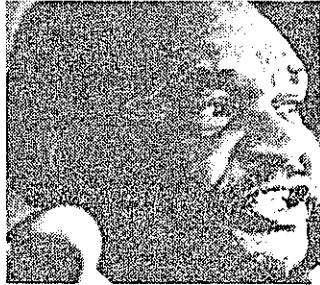
By Mike Siluma

No peaceful and lasting solution to South Africa's political problems is possible without the participation of the African National Congress (ANC), delegates to second annual congress of the Congress of SA Trade Unions (Cosatu) heard yesterday.

About 1500 delegates from Cosatu's 13 industrial unions are taking part in the Johannesburg congress, which is expected, after two days of deliberations, to give political, social and economic policy direction to the federation's 712 000 members.

Delivering his presidential speech, Mr Elijah Barayi said the federation made no apologies for "connecting issues on the shop floor and issues facing workers in society as a whole".

"Politics, and especially the lack of even the most basic



Mr Elijah Barayi . . . politics is a bread and butter issue for the workers.

democratic rights for the majority of our people, is a bread-and-butter issue for the working class.

"Our history and experience has shown us that the working class cannot be independent from sectors of the democratic movement which have occupied and transformed schools, universities and the streets of our

townships into trenches of struggle," he added.

The State could not speak of negotiations before releasing political prisoners, allowing the safe return of political exiles and unbanning the ANC.

Mr Barayi's position on negotiations with the Government was supported by the acting publicity secretary of the United Democratic Front, Mr Murphy Morobe, and the president of the SA Youth Congress (Sayco), Mr Peter Mokaba.

Mr Morobe said the oppressed "refuse to be hoodwinked by Chris Heunis and Stoffel van der Merwe with their semi-sweet talk about reforms".

"On the one hand they talk of 'new dispensations' and 'reforms' while on the other they tacitly support vigilante death squads; (and) are poised to kill by hanging 32 of our compatri-

ots," said Mr Morobe, referring to the 32 people at present in death row for politically linked murders.

Mr Morobe praised Cosatu for demonstrating that it was "not prepared to be beaten into submission by the racist regime", despite attacks by the State.

Other speakers were the Rev Frank Chikane, general secretary of the SA Council of Churches and Mr Ben Ulenga, of the Namibian Mineworkers' Union. Guests included the general secretary of the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference, Father S'Mangaliso Mkhatswa.

● Messages of support included those from the ANC and the SA Congress of Trade Unions. In a Press statement, the National Council of Trade Unions wished the congress "fruitful deliberations".



Delegates singing union songs during a break in deliberations at the Cosatu congress.



Archie Gumedede steers his boat deep sea

s," Jacobs said. Like the tradition of passing the skill on from father to son, the old superstitions are also fading. Only some of the fishermen from older fishing families still use to invite bad luck by taking egg sandwiches to sea. When a fisherman's line got tangled he had to say his wife hadn't combed her hair. And when the fish fell off the line it was used to say his wife was still sleeping.

### Now they just say they're having bad luck

Or when a man didn't get a catch, his wife hadn't got up to wash her face. Now they just say they're having bad luck," Mrs Jacobs said. The fish are so scarce that petty jealousies have developed between fishermen. "When you catch a lot, you are not the purite." "There's no money in fishing anymore. There are weeks when there's no fish. A family can't cope like that," Jacobs said. "One can say that the fishing may improve again — but I doubt it very much," he said.



## Inkatha, UDF talks confirmed

South Correspondent  
DURBAN.— The co-president of the United Democratic Front, Mr Archie Gumedede, has acknowledged holding talks with Inkatha members to lessen tensions between supporters of the two groups in Natal townships.

Gumedede was responding to a statement by the Inkatha leader, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, that the two organisations have for several months been engaged in talks to reduce conflict between them.

Buthelezi said talks between the two organisations must be developed to the stage where their executive committees "talked to each other".

Gumedede said the talks with Inkatha members had been held primarily because "too many lives have been lost in senseless conflict".

The national treasurer of the UDF, Mr Azar Cachalia, said the talks held by UDF members in Natal with Inkatha were supported by other members.

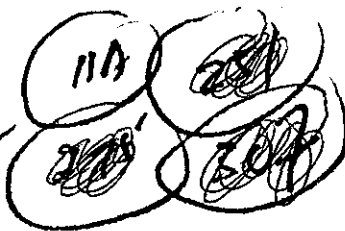
He said the UDF had not yet received an formal invitation from Inkatha for talks to be held between the two executive committees.

"Going purely by our past relationships, I think it will be necessary to receive a formal invitation and the terms and agenda for such talks. Once we received this invitation then we can consider it thoroughly," he said.

South (11A) (11B)



BRGUS 9/7/87



**CITY/NATIONAL**

## 'Beef up Crossroads ... and invite PW'

**Staff Reporter**

THE Mayor of Crossroads, Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana, has been challenged at an informal function with senior Western Cape police officers to redevelop the squatter camp so that President Botha can visit it in five months' time.

Brigadier Ronnie van der Westhuizen, divisional commissioner of police, asked Mr Ngxobongwana to get the support of the unemployed in the area to improve the camp without Government money.

He said: "Build it up so my wife and I can do my shopping in Crossroads. Why don't we set a date? In five months we invite the State President, and show him what has been done."

The function, held in a hall in Khayelitsha, was organised to try to improve relations between the police and leaders from Crossroads and Site C.

### CHANGED HIS MIND

Brigadier van der Westhuizen said the "goodwill visit" was to show that the police and all security forces involved in law and order were "good people".

Initially Mr Ngxobongwana declined to attend but changed his mind when Brigadier van der Westhuizen and Brigadier R P During, the divisional inspector, went to his home and asked him personally.

Brigadier van der Westhuizen asked the guests to stand firm with the police as this would contribute to a better, more peaceful and friendly community.

The ANC's responses to the questions that will be asked at Dakar could affect the degree of support the ANC receives internationally, particularly among the Western powers.

NR6.3 9/7/87 (11A)

# Senegal talks are major test of ANC attitudes

By Gerald L'Ange, editor,  
Argus Africa News Service

**T**HE talks in Senegal between the African National Congress and the Idasa group will be a major test of ANC attitudes on issues crucial to a political resolution of South Africa's race problems.

The ANC's responses to the questions that will be asked at Dakar will have an important influence on future efforts among South Africans to work out a solution. They could also affect the degree of support the ANC receives internationally, particularly among the Western powers.

The talks represent the most ambitious effort yet made to find an alternative to the government's unsuccessful efforts to conduct dialogue with credible black leaders within the Republic.

Especially important will be the picture that emerges from Dakar of the ANC's atti-

tude on three major issues:

- Its continued use of violence.
- Its links with the South African Communist Party.
- Its views on free enterprise in the future economic system.

The government will not negotiate with the ANC unless it renounces violence, and its refusal to do so has bedevilled American efforts to narrow the gap between the two.

The Communist streak in the ANC's political complexion and the strongly socialist nature of some of its economic policies also cause misgivings in the West and are flatly rejected in Pretoria — and probably by most white South Africans.

While the ANC has recently softened its demand for an international cultural boycott of South Africa little else has emerged to indicate any desire within the organisation to review the policies that were

last defined at the organisation's "Consultative" conference at Kabwe, Zimbabwe, in 1985.

This alone must cause the Dakar talks to be viewed with pessimism rather than optimism.

They nevertheless give the ANC an opportunity to promote its campaign to win wider support among whites in the Republic. The meeting is seen by one respected expert on the ANC, who declined to be named, as "an important engagement in the battle to win some of the edges of the undecided middle ground in South Africa."

He believes the meeting offers the ANC an opportunity to take advantage of the ferment in Afrikaner intellectual circles in recent years.

"It will mean no let-up, however, in the ANC's hitherto low-intensity guerrilla campaign or a softening of some of the tough decisions taken at

the Kabwe conferences — which include a decision to go for all-out national insurrection.

"Instead, the Senegal meeting is complementary to political violence. It is an example of the ANC's particular version of 'thump and talk'. It is the latest chapter in the ANC's political offensive within what it calls 'the white bloc'."

This offensive is considered by some analysts to have started with the ANC's meeting with South African businessmen and editors in Zambia in 1985. Some of the major participants in those talks, notably Mr Gavin Reilly of Anglo-American Corporation, appear to have been persuaded that there is little prospect of change in the objectionable aspects of ANC economic policy and therefore little point in further dialogue.

After those talks some ANC leaders are believed to have taken the view that further di-

alogue should not be at the expense of the insurrectionary task the organisation had set itself, mainly within the black community.

Whereas the ANC's top leaders attended the Zambia talks, a relatively low-level team has been sent to the Dakar meeting. Nevertheless, analysts see potential benefits for the ANC in talking to influential Afrikaner opinion-makers. The leader of the ANC team, Mr Thabo Mbeki, is regarded as an important architect of the ANC's campaign to woo white support.

"It would be a mistake to see the ANC's purpose in agreeing to the Dakar meeting as merely a cynical attempt to shift slightly the political balance of forces in South Africa," the ANC expert said.

He believes the ANC will try to project itself as a non-racial movement sincerely appreciative of the many aspects of Afrikaner culture not asso-

ciated with apartheid. It will point to four crucial clauses in the ANC credo for a post-apartheid society, the Freedom Charter, to allay Afrikaner fears of black majority government.

These are that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, that all should have equal rights to develop their own languages and culture, that all national groups should be protected against insults to their race and national pride and that the right to preach and worship should be guaranteed by law.

"In essence, the ANC will be arguing that the centuries-old black thirst for political power and economic advantage is not inimical to Afrikaner prosperity. Instead, the ANC will be saying that white and Afrikaner prosperity depend on majority power being achieved sooner by negotiation rather than later by race war."

Own Correspondent

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JOHANNESBURG. — The National African Federated Chamber of Commerce (Nafcoc) has drawn up a national business charter intended to persuade large corporations and public employers to adopt fair labour practices.

# Nafcoc business labour charter

Presented yesterday at the organization's 23rd annual conference, the charter is meant to supersede such employment guidelines as the EC and Sullivan codes, which "do not go far enough".

Among the commitments the code calls for are:

- The SA business community should commit itself to working towards the eventual elimination of racial discrimination in the work-place and in all facets of private and public life;
- The private sector should support the principle of the lifting of all laws and regulations that impede black economic advancement, participation and upward mobility in the work situation;
- The private sector should undertake to contribute generously to the improvement of black education, the promotion of community development and upgrading programmes;
- The private sector should strive for political representation of all citizens at national, provincial and local structures of government.

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# ANC: SA version of Botswana blast wrong

*CMC Trunk 9/7/87*

*11A*  
*Staff Reporter*

THE ANC has rejected the South African government's version of events leading up to the April 9 car-bomb blast in Botswana's capital of Gaborone, in which a woman and two small children were killed and seven other Botswana citizens injured.

The ANC spokesman in the organization's head office in Lusaka yesterday described the official South African version as "lies" — but hinted strongly that the central figure in the drama, a Mr Keith Charles MacKenzie, may well be an operative in the ANC's armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe.

According to the Botswana authorities, the explosion was caused by the South African Police attempting to cover up a secret operation that had gone wrong.

The office of President Quett Masire said in a statement that a Botswana police investigation had revealed that a minibus was driven into Gaborone on April 4 by Mr MacKenzie, allegedly a South African police agent.

The Department of Foreign Affairs this week released its version of events in which it made allegations of ANC activity in the Botswana capital.

According to the South African version, Mr MacKenzie is an ANC operative working in Botswana in collaboration with a number of other named ANC operatives engaged in planning attacks in South Africa — such as the

1983 Pretoria car-bomb blast — and smuggling arms into the country.

The SAP, said the Foreign Affairs, "has no doubt that the vehicle (which exploded) was fitted with an explosive device by the ANC as planned by MacKenzie and Dumakude".

The ANC spokesman said it was not necessary to answer the South African allegations in detail.

"Some of these people have been blamed for a lot of things throughout SA, which is really not true.

"As far as I know the commanders on the spot decide on what actions will be taken by Umkhonto we Sizwe according to the situation on a day-to-day and week-to-week basis. They are the people responsible for deciding what to do and what weapons to use, be they grenades and mines or whatever ...

"In any case, more than a year ago the Botswana government asked us to cease our activities in Botswana and we have done that."

Asked whether Mr MacKenzie was an ANC operative, the spokesman said: "If the South African authorities' intelligence is correct — which isn't always the case — he may be a member of Umkhonto we Sizwe. However, I can tell you definitely that he isn't in Botswana."

According to the Foreign Affairs statement, the SAP is investigating Mr MacKenzie's activities intensively and believes him to be in Lusaka.

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# UDF must look at new strategy - Gumede

THE violent political stalemate in South Africa has to be broken and it was time that the United Democratic Front (UDF) considered the possibility of using the parliamentary system to bring about the principles and policies of the Freedom Charter.

The co-president of the UDF, Archie Gumede, put forward this suggestion in a frank interview in Durban this week.

Gumede, 73, who joined the African National Congress as a young activist in 1944, said the question of using the tri-cameral parliament was not a matter of principle.

"We have to ask ourselves whether we want a democratic society or dictatorship. I think from our name it is clear that we want a democratic society and not an autocratic dictatorship," he said.

Gumede, who has been banned, detained, house arrested and charged twice with high treason, said the most important question should be: "How do we overcome the violent political stalemate in the country at the moment?"

"Do we want to continue to allow the killings, maimings, burnings and destruction of homes and businesses to continue unchecked?"

"In 1984 we rejected the tri-cameral parliament because it was the right thing to do at that stage. But the UDF has grown to become the biggest political grouping in the country.

"While we have gained support, the regime at the same time has grown desperate and is flexing its muscles not only against us but also against our neighbours.

"I believe there is a need for change in our strategy and we must discuss this in detail before arriving at a democratic decision.

ARCHIBALD JACOB GUMEDE has paid a very heavy price for his anti-apartheid activities.

Born in Pietermaritzburg on March 1, 1914, Gumede joined the ANC in 1944. In the 1950s he played a leading role in organising the Defiance Campaign and in 1951 he was elected the assistant-secretary of the Natal region of the ANC.

After attending the Congress of the People at Kliptown in 1955, Gumede was arrested and charged along with 154 others with high treason for their part in drawing up the Freedom Charter. Five long years later all of them were found not guilty and discharged.

He was detained in 1960 and banned for five years in 1963. During his banning he studied for his law degree and opened his own practice in Pinetown in 1970.

After the Soweto uprisings in 1976, Mr Gumede played a leading role in establishing the Release Mandela Committee and became the chairman of the Natal committee. In 1983, with Dr Allan Boesak, he initiated the establishment of the UDF. At its official launch in Cape Town, Gumede was elected one of the national presidents.

Gumede is now considered by many to be representative of the "old guard", especially in Natal

consequently bring about our goal of a free non-racial, united and democratic society for all South Africans.

Gumede emphasised that he was throwing open the discussion for change in strategy, and not a change of the UDF's principles and policies.

"We are committed in our demands for the release of our political prisoners, the return of our political exiles, the unbanning of the banned organisations and the release of our detainees."

Gumede, who recently returned from an extensive tour of Europe and the United States, said there were no talks taking place between him and the President's Council.

"The only talk, if you want to call it that, was the presentation of my letter to the President's Council about demands before negotiations could get under way."

He said the National Statutory Council was a "non starter" if Mandela and Tambo were still in detention or out of the country.

"There is no point in having another toy telephone and talking shop when the people's leaders are still in detention or in exile. Mandela and Tambo must be unchained before we can take the Pretoria government seriously."

The points raised by Gumede are seen as a tactic by the "think tank" of the UDF to gauge public opinion and the reaction of supporters and members of the UDF.

At this stage it is still too early to assess the mood of the people, but according to Gumede, "there are signs that our people want to break the present political stalemate and a change of strategy may be a wise tactic at this stage in our lives".



Archie Gumede

"If the majority of the people decide that the time is not ripe for such a change in strategy, then that will be a democratic decision. At the same time if the vast majority of the

people in the UDF feel that we need to change our strategy at this crucial moment in our history, then we should also accept this decision.

"Just imagine what will

happen if all the seats in the House of Delegates and the House of Representatives are taken over by UDF people. We will then introduce the Freedom Charter and

# UDF rejects all talk of participation

THE UDF says it rejects any notion that it is "even contemplating" participation in the 1989 tricameral elections.

In a statement issued by the national executive committee of the UDF in Johannesburg, the front said it noted with concern widely-reported statements of UDF co-president Archie Gumede.

"While the UDF will prevent no one from advancing a view on any subject, these views do not necessarily reflect UDF policy.

"After carefully studying the various newspaper reports we are satisfied that Gumede, as far as discernible, at no stage said the UDF is going to participate in government-created structures, let alone the election."

It said UDF policy on the matter was well-documented and remained uncontradicted.

"Revision of our non-participation is not even considered. We are an organisation which prides itself with the extent of democratic participation that takes place in our structures before a decision is taken on any important issue, especially issues of policy.

"It has been through such democratic discussions and debate that we have finally arrived at the conclusion that the only way we can effectively challenge this racist government is through mass extra-parliamentary struggles."

It stated that the

reimposition of the State of the Emergency and the increasing concentration of real state power in extra-parliamentary

structures such as the JMC and the State Security Council "vindicates our view that the present parliamentary process is a totally absurd pretence and abberation of democracy".

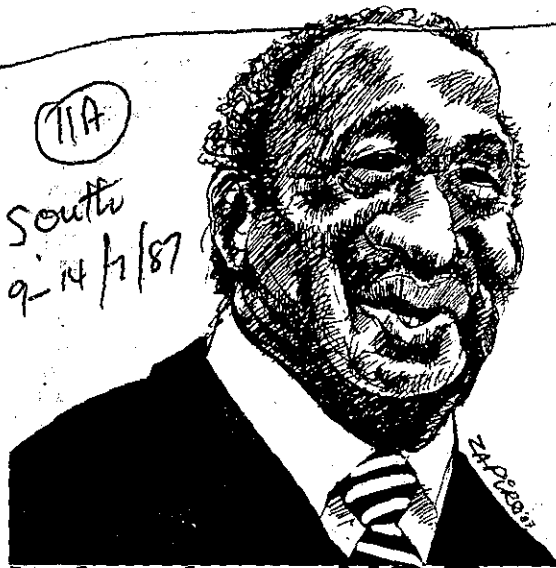
It said the UDF was only one component of the broad liberation movement and a decision to participate could never be taken only by the front. It would have to include the ANC and other banned organisations and leaders in prison and exile.

"The elections will still be racist and white-controlled and conducted under a totally undemocratic constitution.

The statement said the UDF was a living and dynamic organisation and free debate and discussion were key features of its structures.

"Any matter related to policy issues will only be discussed, and consensus arrived at, after it has been raised through the official structures of the organisation.

"We once again call for the dissolution of government puppet structures such as the community councils and management committees. Our people will continue to boycott these structures and sell-out elections like the forthcoming by-election in Lenasia," the statement said.



(TIA)  
South  
9-14/87

## Inkatha, UDF talks confirmed

South Correspondent

DURBAN.— The co-president of the United Democratic Front, Mr Archie Gumede, has acknowledged holding talks with Inkatha members to lessen tensions between supporters of the two groups in Natal townships.

Gumede was responding to a statement by the Inkatha leader, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, that the two organisations have for several months been engaged in talks to reduce conflict between them.

Buthelezi said talks between the two organisations must be developed to the stage where their executive committees "talked to each other".

Gumede said the talks with Inkatha members had been held primarily because "too many lives have been lost in senseless conflict".

The national treasurer of the UDF, Mr Azar Cachalia, said the talks held by UDF members in Natal with Inkatha were supported by other members.

He said the UDF had not yet received a formal invitation from Inkatha for talks to be held between the two executive committees.

"Going purely by our past relationships, I think it will be necessary to receive a formal invitation and the terms and agenda for such talks. Once we received this invitation then we can consider it thoroughly," he said.

South ~~(HSA) (HIB)~~

# Hunt on for Kwazulu activists

WITH increased powers at their disposal, the Kwazulu police appear to have lost little time trying to purge Durban's black townships of anti-apartheid activists.

The Kwazulu government has been given control of four police stations — including those in Kwamashu and Umlazi — and the policing of the black township in the greater Durban area.

Mr Peter Rutsh of the Legal Resources Centre confirmed the centre was advising 21 people from Umlazi who all claimed they were assaulted by the police without any provocation. Among the victims were a number of girls.

He said these people had approached the centre for

help in laying charges against the police.

They intended to sue the Kwazulu Minister of Police, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, for damages. The Kwazulu police said they were unaware of the reported incidents. A spokesman in Ulundi said they had no contact with the police in Kwamashu or Umlazi because telephone lines were down.

Mr Rutsch said the people were arrested at their homes on the morning of June 16. They were beaten by the police and then detained until the next day without being fed. They were released without being charged.

Those allegedly assaulted included two 15-year-old children.

Eighteen other alleged

assaults by the police on Kwamashu residents have been reported to the Durban Regional office of the Progressive Federal Party. Most of the people claimed they were sjambokked, beaten with sticks and batons and threatened with firearms.

## Thrashed again

In an affidavit a young male nurse claimed that when he went to report an assault at the Kwamashu police station he was simply thrashed again. He left without being able to lay a charge.

The latest incidents have done little to ease the tension in Kwamashu where 15 000 students went on boycott early in June protesting the introduction of "kitskonstabels" and

the increased authority of the Kwazulu police.

Student leader Bheki Phakathi was allegedly shot dead by "kitskonstabels" on May 15 at a memorial service at the John Dube High School.

Students at the Sibonelo High School said the June 16 attacks were part of an attempt to break the boycott which was likely to spread when schools re-open this month.

Dissent in the townships has also been fuelled by the passing of legislation recently which makes it mandatory for civil servants to swear an oath of allegiance to the Kwazulu government. Those who do not can be sacked for misbehaviour. In terms of the legislation insulting

the Kwazulu government in any way is also an offence.

Of particular interest is the preparatory examination of seven men — allegedly linked to Inkatha's vigilante wing who have been charged with the murder of seven students whose bodies were found dumped in a ditch in the Lindelani squatter camp on March 16.

Nine men were originally charged with the murder but the charges against two of them were withdrawn in the Durban Magistrate's Court.

Those killed were all aged between 15 and 17.

Considerable interest is also being shown in a damages claim against Chief Buthelezi and Inkatha National Youth



Gatsha Buthelezi

Organiser Joseph Mabusso. They are being sued for half a million by the dependents of three Mphopheni-based trade unionists who were allegedly murdered by

Inkatha supporters on December 5 last year.

Inkatha, Chief Buthelezi and Mabusso have denied the allegations and indicated they will defend the action.

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11B

9-14/7/87



# ANC talks: big statement likely today

MIKE ROBERTSON

9/17/87  
8/10ay  
HA  
Pete

DAKAR — Senegalese President Abdou Diouf is to open the meeting between the ANC and prominent South Africans today with a major announcement.

An ANC spokesman did not specify what Diouf would say. He gave little indication the ANC is prepared to budge on major policy issues but intimated the organisation is eager to win the support of middle-of-the-road whites.

ANC publicity secretary Thabo Mbeki and group leader Frederik van Zyl Slabbert will address an open gathering before the South Africans go behind closed doors.

The three-day debate will centre on four main areas: an assessment of the current political logjam and what is needed to change the situation; building national unity; possible structures of a future government, and the economy.

An agreed statement will be issued on Sunday.

The ANC says it sees the meeting as important both as a chance to present its views and to understand the thinking and point of departure of the group of mainly Afrikaners.

15/Day  
11A

# UDF 'will not participate'

THE UDF was not considering revising its attitude to participation in the tricameral structures. Acting publicity secretary Murphy Morobe was reacting yesterday to co-president Archie Gumede's statement last week to Business Day that the UDF

**Business Day Reporter**

ought to give thought to participating in the 1989 elections.

Morobe said the UDF would not prevent anyone advancing a personal view when it was solicited.

# Cosatu debates Freedom Charter

THE FIRST national congress of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) since the organisation's launch 19 months ago kicks off next Wednesday — with debates on political policy and sanctions and disinvestment promising to be the most important items on the agenda.

But anyone hoping that next week will produce Cosatu's final word on those subjects — and absolute clarification of what they mean — is likely to be disappointed.

While Cosatu's positions will become more focused than those expressed at the inaugural congress, the issues and the debates surrounding them have themselves become far more complex.

## Unresolved

Hence resolutions adopted will probably reflect a great deal of consensus, as far as they go. But it is likely that underlying subtleties will remain unresolved.

For example, the Freedom Charter seems most likely to be adopted as a basis of Cosatu policy. Most of the organisation's largest affiliates have done so individually, as have many of the smaller ones. But a close reading of their attitudes shows apparently minor but actually important differing emphases.

At the same time, the textile union and one faction of the Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union, on the other hand, oppose adoption, while the chemical

## ALAN FINE

union has so far failed to reach consensus on the issue.

For others which have adopted it, the historic document is no longer accepted as the be-all and end-all of political policy.

For example, the National Union of Metalworkers of SA (Numsa) — which is probably closest to what can be called the middle ground in Cosatu — in adopting the Charter described it as containing "minimum political demands".

But the union also resolved that it should be complemented by a workers' charter, and stressed "working class leadership" of the struggle. This is, at least in part, a result of a compromise between differing views.

Numsa also stated its commitment to socialism, although it has not spelt out precisely what kind of economic structures it favours in a post-apartheid SA.

But there certainly is a view that nationalisation of industry is no guarantee of labour interests. Many Cosatu unions, having gained an increasing say in workplace decisions, would resist having these gains reversed merely because managements are State-appointed.

The political debate has important implications for Cosatu tactics today, in particular its relationship with, and relative status in relation to, SA's Chartered political organisations.

On the question of international economic pressure against SA, there is wide acceptance in Cosatu that American and European sanctions employed thus far have been ineffective at best,

harmful at worst. The research document commissioned by Cosatu and reported in this newspaper last month reflects this. But it has probably been misinterpreted by some, including the US State Department, to mean that Cosatu is likely to drop its support for all such pressures.

Rather, in principle, unionists would like to devise measures whose effects would be both prompt and relatively painless for their members. Their cost of implementation should not outweigh their benefits.

The challenge for Cosatu is to work out what these are and, if they exist, to ensure that they are feasible in the complex world of international politics and high finance. The alternative is a call for unrealistic, meaningless and/or self-destructive action. It is a great responsibility, as Cosatu's views are increasingly being seen as pivotal among foreign anti-apartheid groups.

## Growing talk

On disinvestment, the Ford offer will come under great scrutiny. And this debate will be of interest to local and foreign corporations, with growing talk about staff shareholding schemes and labour involvement in management structures.

The dilemma is between increased, though minority, clout within companies or becoming associated with unpopular management decisions.

At the end of it all, though, the key for participants and interested observers alike will be to appraise what the probable militant and angry resolutions really mean for the future direction of what has emerged as one of the key organisations on SA's political and economic stage.

# Senegal president to open indaba

CME Trip  
9/7/82  
111

From MIKE ROBERTSON

**DAKAR.** — President Abdou Diouf of Senegal was due to open the meeting between the African National Congress and prominent South Africans today with a major announcement in the capital.

Conference sources did not specify what President Diouf would say.

The sources intimated the ANC was prepared to budge on major policy issues, but that ANC was eager to win the support of middle-of-the-road whites — loosely defined as being anti-apartheid but not quite prepared to throw in their lot with the United Democratic Front.

The ANC publicity secretary, Mr Thabo Mbeki, and Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa), will address an open gathering before the South Africans go behind closed doors at their meeting today.

## Afrikaner thinking

The three-day debate will centre on four areas: An assessment of the current political logjam in South Africa and what is needed to change the situation, building national unity, possible structures of a future government, and the economy.

An agreed statement will be issued on Sunday.

The ANC says it sees the meeting as important both as a chance to present its views and to understand the thinking and point of departure of the group of mainly Afrikaners.

What the ANC hoped to achieve, put crudely, was to get the professors at the head of demonstrations in South Africa so that police would not shoot.

Failing this it hoped the disparate group would come together to form some kind of organization, not necessarily linked to the UDF, to maximize the impact of their anti-apartheid beliefs.

To clarify its position, the ANC would explain that attacking civilian targets was not an option it considered (recent attacks on bars and shopping malls were carried out against policy, but there was no suggestion the ANC was losing control of its cadres).

One member compared the ANC to the anti-fascist alliance in World War II.

An ANC government would allow Afrikaners to educate their children as they saw fit and protect individual liberties — and it had no intention of nationalizing every conceivable form of economic activity in South Africa.

Members, however, gave no indication of a backdown or change on key questions of abandoning or suspending violence, dropping the campaign to make townships ungovernable or rethinking sanctions.

The organization was at pains to make clear it was taking the meeting seriously, although in private some members

To page 3

From page 1

have expressed astonishment at the diverse nature of Dr Slabbert's group.

Mr Oliver Tambo had prior commitments in the Caribbean, the secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo was in Algeria and Mr Joe Slovo could not make it because of unspecified commitments. All members of the delegation were chosen to match the fields of interest of members of Dr Slabbert's group.

□ Yesterday the government of Ghana officially announced the visit of the South African group.

And in Abidjan, Ivory Coast radio reported that Burkina Faso also announced a visit from the delegation.

The report said the South Africans were to visit Burkina Faso on July 12 and Ghana on July 15.

□ The Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging yesterday demanded that the government revoke the passports of the group. If this was not done the AWB would demand that the group be charged with treason.

□ The Azanian People's Organization's publicity secretary, Mr Muntu Myeza, said: "We want to dispel the impression that this anti-hill conference has the stature of a political mountain.

"That a coterie of whites which includes elements of the clergy, some academics and employers have clubbed together to continue what they have been doing in smaller groups or individually over the years does not necessarily mean success.

"This group consists largely of political has-beens in white politics who have no mandate or sanction from any source but themselves and Western money," said Mr Myeza.

He also said the ANC was only one of the exiled organizations and talking to them alone created "the wrong impression that they are the only organization worth talking to".

He added: "The workers inside the country are the people who are going to decide the fate of this country."



President Abdou Diouf

CAPE TOWN 9/7/87  
Diouf looms large  
in Dakar meeting

From IAN HOBBS

LONDON. — President Abdou Diouf of Senegal looms large — in every sense — in the series of meetings starting in Dakar today between a South African group and the ANC.

President Diouf, who, at 2.03m, is the tallest head of state in the world, is hosting the meeting.

He is a 51-year-old political scientist and a formidable intellectual.

A senior official, who helped arrange the meeting, said: "President Diouf was clearly keen that the message to come out of this meeting must be that white South Africans, and we should emphasize Afrikaners, are as much part of the African continent as any black African.

"He clearly feels that it is vital for this to be felt with confidence in South Africa. If not, how can we achieve political progress?

"His grasp of Afrikaner sensitivities is astonishing. He has a remarkable appreciation of their role in African history and their future."

Following his predecessor, President Senghor, President Diouf is also a firm opponent of communism.

ARGUS 9/7/87

# Dakar delegates arrive for ANC talks

DAKAR. — A group of prominent white South Africans arrived in Senegal enthusiastic about a meeting today with members of the outlawed African National Congress.

The South Africans acknowledged the possibility of rebuke from disapproving South African authorities but said they looked forward to discussing the future of their country and hearing the views of all those who might play a role in that future.

After being welcomed by a Senegalese Foreign Ministry official and representatives of the African Jurists' Association, which helped to organise this week's meeting, South African politician Frederik van Zyl Slabbert outlined the purpose of the visit.

"An important objective is to have in-depth discussions with members of the NEC (National Executive Committee of the ANC) and to talk about the prospects of a democratic alternative for South Africa," he said.

## Working groups

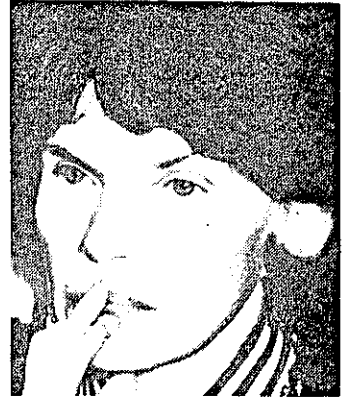
The meeting is due to open with statements from Mrs Mitterrand and Senegalese President Abdou Diouf.

Those taking part will then break up into small working groups, giving individuals an opportunity to raise their own particular ideas and concerns about the future.

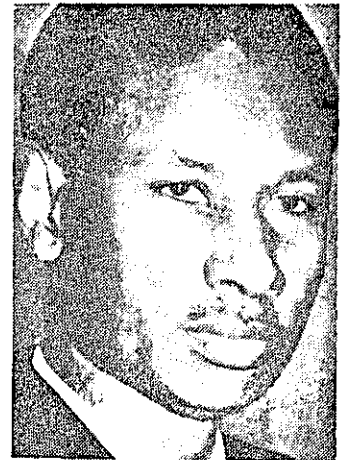
The Argus Correspondent reports from London that the Freedom Charter, and what it will mean to a post-apartheid South Africa, will be the focus of the meeting.

And the ANC believes that South African President P W Botha is secretly pleased the meeting is going ahead because it will give his Government an opportunity to assess the ANC's stance on a range of issues.

British television has described the Dakar meeting as the most significant of the white-black contacts so far, and two news programmes last night gave the British viewer an idea of what is on the agenda.



Mrs Danielle Mitterrand



President Abdou Diouf

In one, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert spoke of his desire to explore the prospects of a non-racial democracy ... and his certainty that the ANC would have a crucial role to play in the future of the country.

He said it was obvious that whites could not expect to preserve their privilege — "if white South Africa does not listen, it must pay the price" — but he also made it clear that there was a need to clarify the real implications of the Freedom Charter.

He said: "The Freedom Charter is not very specific ... and we hope to clear up some of the conflicting interpretations and find out what the ANC has in mind on economic and other issues."

Mr Walter Serote of the ANC said on the same programme that the Charter was "flexible". — Sapa and The Argus Foreign Service.

11A

# UDF won't take part in elections

JOHANNESBURG. — The United Democratic Front rejected reports yesterday that it was considering participating in the next parliamentary elections, scheduled for 1989.

"A decision as far-reaching as that of deciding to 'participate' can never be that of the UDF alone. It must be that of the whole democratic movement, including the ANC and other banned organizations and our imprisoned leaders," said Mr Murphy Morobe, UDF acting pub-

licity secretary, in a statement.

"We therefore reject categorically any notion that the UDF is even contemplating participating (in the next elections)."

Mr Morobe's statement follows speculation and controversy sparked by remarks attributed to a president of the UDF, Mr Archie Gumede, in the press last week.

"After carefully studying various newspaper reports, the UDF is satisfied that Comrade

Archie Gumede has, as far as is discernible, at no stage said that the UDF is going to participate in government-created structures, let alone elections.

"Our policy on this issue is well documented and remains uncontradicted. Revision of our non-participatory stand is not even considered.

"Those elections will still be racist, white-controlled and conducted under a totally undemocratic constitution." — Sapa

# Some tough issues on the ANC-Dakar agenda

Cape Times 9/7/87



By ANTHONY JOHNSON

11A  
ZOPA

NOW that Dr Van Zyl Slabbert's ANC indaba mission is finally under way in West Africa, a number of observers are wondering why the government did not try to stop the venture in the first place.

After all, not too long ago Pretoria confiscated the passports of another group of Afrikaners — Stellenbosch students — when they decided they wanted to find out for themselves what the ANC was all about.

And as one of the delegates on the current initiative put it shortly before leaving: "Sure we feared government action, because just about every statement by cabinet ministers in recent months has tried to depict the ANC as an absolute pariah, intent on nothing more than killing, maiming and destroying."

Even the carefully chosen taunts by the Conservative Party — who "explained" Mr P W Botha's inaction as a sign that the State President was going soft on the ANC, allowing himself to be manoeuvred by overseas influences, and losing control of South Africa's political direction — did not produce the crack-down which many expected.

Perhaps the government is learning from experience. When they blocked the Matie group from going to Lusaka, the resourceful students simply met the ANC at a conference in Harare a few months later.

But more likely is that the government was outmanoeuvred, if only temporarily, by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for SA (Idasa) organizers whose impressively varied and large guest list must have offered some insurance against wholesale passport confiscation or even more extravagant action in front of international TV crews at Jan Smuts airport.

But the government and its agents certainly don't intend letting the indaba-goers off the hook.

Indeed, the lively smear campaign by government-supporting media (and others) launched even before delegates boarded their aircraft is likely to reach a hysterical pitch by the time the two-week trip draws to a close.

Some of the delegates have already steeled themselves for the possibility of official reprisals upon their return. The State President has already issued a number of dark warnings about the evils of foreign funding.

Mr Botha must be especially peeved that the intended "demonstration effect" of the Chris Ball Affair was not powerful enough to persuade prominent South Africans, and Afrikaners at that, to stay at home and watch SATV instead.

But as co-organizer of the trip and Idasa director, Dr Alex Boraine, put it on the day the group left: "This is not a casual safari aimed at having a few informal conversations with the ANC — it's a very serious attempt to address some of the toughest problems facing a new South Africa."

Four major position papers authored by South Africans had been sent to the ANC in advance of the West African conference to serve as formal points of departure during the deliberations. Issues that would have to be grappled with included:

● What effect would a "liberated econ-

omy" have on every sector of the South African economy and on individual citizens?

● The need to address now the sort of system of government South Africa might inherit once apartheid was eradicated — one-party, multi-party, etc.

● What moves are possible now that might help forge a united South Africa and reduce the risks of the country being torn apart in the post-apartheid era?

● The "serious questions" regarding the role of the SA Communist Party and the major East and West-bloc powers, and the thorny issue of violence and armed struggle.

The Idasa delegation was not, as one participant stressed, "a bunch of naive people anxious to give the ANC a pat on the back" but were concerned South Africans determined to get, first-hand, straight answers to serious questions from a key actor in the South African drama.

Group leader Dr Van Zyl Slabbert has emphasized that his delegation is no pushover and they would be looking for a "tough, hard debate" during their three-day conference with the ANC.

In Dr Boraine's view: "If we can get not merely clarifications but some assurances now, more whites may be ready to abandon apartheid. But as long as they remain fearful, a protracted, inconclusive violence is assured."

He believes that the fact that the ANC was willing to meet with a group of mainly Afrikaans-speaking whites "suggests that they have given considerable thought to the kind of South Africa they believe is worth working towards".

That the ANC had not adopted a "take it or leave it" attitude towards a number of key policy issues and were still willing to debate, was significant, he felt.

Dr Boraine argues that following the series of contacts Idasa members had had with the ANC in setting up the Dakar conference it had become clear that the organization's leadership "recognize the importance of convincing those white South Africans who are ready to jettison apartheid totally that there is a non-racial democratic alternative to the present system that would guarantee justice and security for all irrespective of race".

In sharp contrast with Pretoria, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert has made it clear that while his group may differ with the ANC on a number of issues, it is important to engage the organization in debate because "no solution is possible without the involvement of the ANC".

But it would be misleading to suggest that the government has no interest in the proceedings at Dakar. After all, at least one of the participants was approached by the security establishment before leaving in the hopes of getting a briefing upon his return.

And it would be interesting to see if the government's new point man responsible for negotiations with blacks, deputy-Minister Stoffel van der Merwe — who met with Dr Slabbert shortly before the ANC trip — will be interested in a briefing from the former Leader of the Opposition when he gets back.

It might be quite an eye-opener for Stoffel.



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## UDF rejects participation speculation

The United Democratic Front has ended a week of speculation with a statement rejecting any idea that it might take part in the 1989 general election.

In a statement yesterday acting publicity secretary Mr Murphy Morobe said: "Our policy is well documented and remains uncontradicted. Revision of our non-participation is not even considered."

He said the UDF had satisfied itself that copresident Mr Archie Gumede had not definitely said the UDF was going to take part in elections or in Government structures.

Anyone was free to advance his view without reflecting UDF policy, the statement read.

Mr Morobe made it clear the UDF would not unilaterally take so fundamental a decision.

"The UDF is just one component of the broad, national liberation movement. A decision as far-reaching as that of deciding to 'participate' can never be taken by the UDF alone.

"It must be that of the whole democratic movement"

He said jailed political leaders and banned organisations, including the ANC, would be consulted.

Case Files 3/8/87

# Book on breakout by ANC escapees

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Timothy Jenkin, one of the three white prisoners who escaped from Pretoria Prison in December 1979, today has a book published detailing the breakout.

The two other prisoners — all were members of the African National Congress — were Alexandre Moumbaris and Stephen Lee.

Jenkin, who grew up in South Africa, became a Marxist after a trip to Britain in 1970 and joined the ANC in Europe.

In March 1978 he was arrested, with Stephen Lee, tried on subversion charges and sentenced to 12 years' imprisonment. Lee received an eight-year sentence.

## Lengthy extract

After escaping from Pretoria Prison, Jenkin reached the Swaziland border by train, hitchhiking and on foot. All three escapees eventually reached London, where Jenkin now lives.

The Observer yesterday carried a lengthy extract from the prison escape story.

Moumbaris was born in Egypt of Greek parents and grew up in Australia.

He lived in France and Britain, where he became involved with the ANC. He was arrested in 1972 while trying to cross into South Africa from Botswana and sentenced to 12 years for "conspiring with the ANC to instigate violent revolution in South Africa".

His French wife was arrested with him but was deported because she was pregnant. They live today in Paris.

(11A) 5/11/87

# Groups rally for 'apartheid victims'

By Jo-Anne Collinge

A campaign to save the lives of 32 people sentenced to death for murders committed "in the context of political conflict" has been launched by several national anti-apartheid organisations.

— "must be seen in the context of ongoing violence, the source of which is the apartheid system," said Sayco publicity secretary Mr Simon Ntombela.

It was for this reason that Sayco would be campaigning locally and abroad.

The immediate goal is to collect 32 000 signatures protesting against the execution of the 32 and to send these to various Western governments and international organisations.

An appeal has been made to the heads of government of Britain, West Germany and the United States to intervene on behalf of the 32.

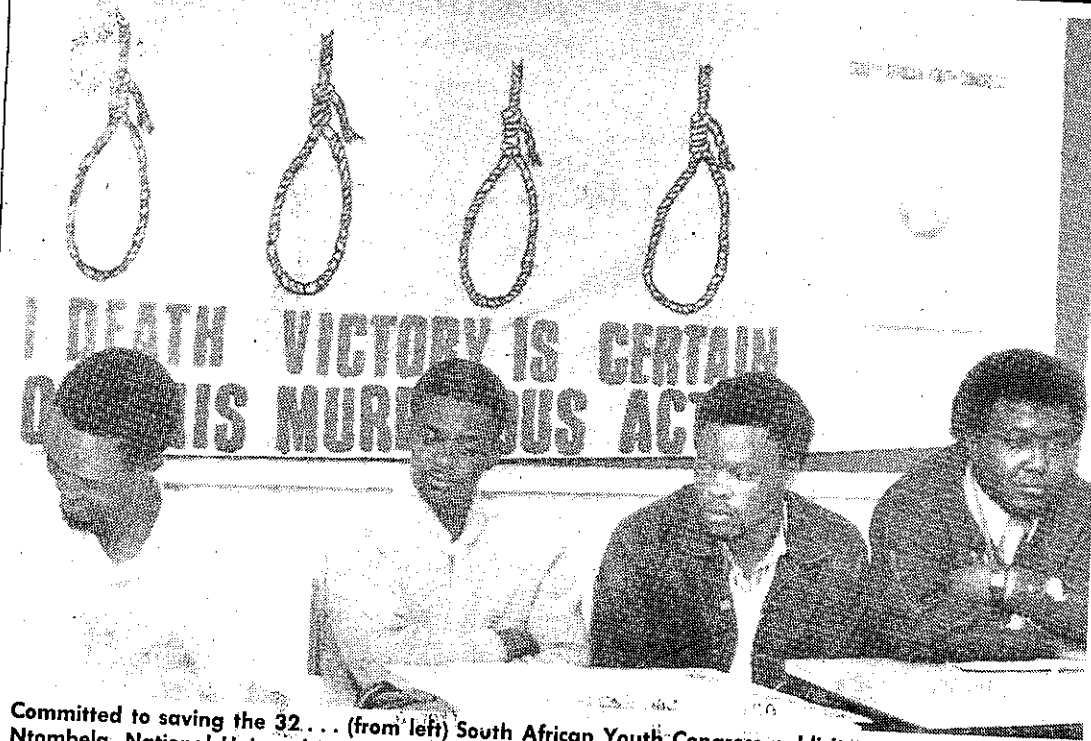
At a Press conference in Johannesburg yesterday, the United Democratic Front (UDF), the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), the Release Mandela Campaign, the South African Students' Congress and the National Education Crisis Committee pledged support for the campaign spearheaded by the South African Youth Congress (Sayco).

Mr Hazy Sibanyoni, representing NUM, noted that the Government had failed to bring anyone to book for the killings of civil rights lawyers Griffiths and Victoria Mxenge "yet it has found it easy to sentence these (32) people to death".

"Political killings" — including necklace murders and the killing of community councillors

Release Mandela Campaign president Mr Aubrey Mokoena, said: "These comrades (on death row) are the victims of apartheid."

Mr Murphy Morobe, acting publicity secretary of the UDF, said he hoped the campaign would become truly national in character, drawing in all South Africans who wanted democracy and an end to conflict.



Committed to saving the 32... (from left) South African Youth Congress publicity secretary Mr Simon Ntombela, National Union of Mineworkers representative Mr Dennis Sekanya, Sayco secretary general Mr Rapu Molekane and its president, Mr Peter Mokaba.  
●Picture by Alf Kumalo.

3 (11A) STORE 9/7/87

# Strolling down Mandela Avenue . . .

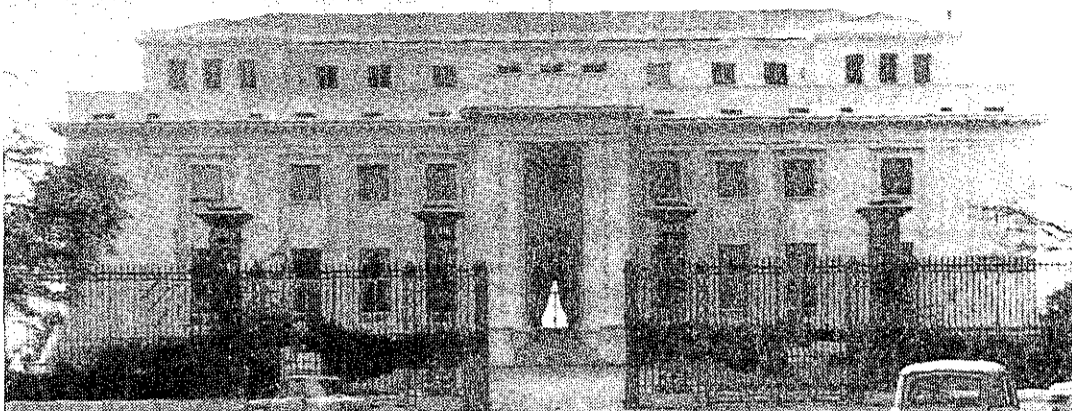
By Ken Vernon,  
The Star's Africa  
News Service

The South African delegation holding talks with the African National Congress in Dakar, capital of the West African state of Senegal, will be able to stroll along Nelson Mandela Avenue and see the sights in Soweto Square in the centre of this historical city that was once the hub of the African slave trade.

The South African place names are an indication of the commitment of Senegal's President Abdou Diouf to the cause of South African "liberation", and a pointer as to why this city was chosen as the scene for the talks.

Senegal is a de-facto one-party state. Although opposition is tolerated, after the last elections in 1983, opposition parties refused to take up the few seats they won because of political skulduggery which allegedly saw large numbers of the dead voting for President Diouf's Socialist Party candidates.

Almost uniquely for Africa, he is only the second leader that Senegal has known in 27 years, being hand-picked by the man who led the country to a peaceful independence under French tutelage, President Leopold Senghor.



Dakar, the capital of Senegal . . . a strong French influence but ruled by a president committed to the "liberation" of South Africa.

President Senghor retired from office of his own choice in December 1980, leaving President Diouf with an economy based entirely on peanuts.

But now, apart from the export of peanut products, which account for a third of foreign exchange earnings, Senegal boasts viable manufacturing and agricultural sectors and well-developed communication and transport infrastructures.

Senegal occupies the westernmost tip of Africa, and is almost sliced in half by Gambia, a tiny country which straddles the Gambia River.

In 1981 Senegalese troops occupied Gambia at the request of its head of state, Sir Dawda

Jawara, who had been ousted by a coup while in London for the marriage of the Prince of Wales.

The troops put down the revolt, with a heavy toll of Gambian life, and then stayed on to act as midwife to the birth of a joining of the two countries into one, to be called Senegambia.

But the christening of the new country has been delayed due to a reluctance on the part of the tiny English-speaking nation to be completely swallowed by its larger and stronger French-speaking neighbour.

While in Senegal most of the white South Africans will avail themselves of the opportunity

to take the 20-minute ferry ride across Dakar harbour to Goree Island, to a fortress called the House of the Slaves.

There they will see massive stone ramparts and old muzzle-loading heavy artillery, put there by some of the earliest Europeans to colonise this part of Africa.

They will peer into the dark dungeons that once housed the slaves and gaze across the ramparts towards an Africa that the ramparts and cannon were designed to keep forever at bay.

And if they dare venture into dank and forbidding dungeons, they will be able to look back through the only exit, called "The Doorway of No Return".

Once the hub of the African slave trade in Senegal . . . Goree Island, with its forbidding cliffs and a fortress called the House of the Slaves.

## Dakar delegate presents a strategy for a negotiated solution in South Africa

# A post-apartheid alternative

What constitutes a solution? This was the question put to ANC and other delegates by Mr Leon Louw, one of the four people who presented official documents to the Dakar Conference.

Because of the many variables, Mr Louw excludes conditions which he regards as "non-solutions" such as a right or left-wing dictatorship or variations on the status quo.

"A solution would need to satisfy what we might call the non-negotiable demands of the majority of black and white South Africans, the major political groups and the major Western governments."

Key actors among those who will participate are the present Government and the ANC.

After questioning the possibility of a "post-apartheid" alternative, Mr Louw concludes that a negotiated settlement, which can include the "non-negotiables" of all major factions, "seems increasingly achievable".

In a "post-apartheid" situation it would no longer be sufficient for opponents of apartheid merely to define their position as being anti-apartheid. It would be necessary to focus on which non-apartheid alternatives should replace the system. The alternatives included partition, consociation, dictatorship, monarchy, one-party

While there are an infinite number of imaginable scenarios for South Africa, most analysts agree there are surprisingly few — maybe only two — that are reasonably likely. One is that there will be a "negotiated solution". MR LEON LOUW of the Free Market Foundation and a delegate the Dakar conference with the ANC presented a paper "Strategy for a negotiated post-apartheid democratic alternative for South Africa". Here are excerpts from the document.

rule, multi-party democracy, a non-party system, direct democracy, federalism, confederalism, centralisation etc.

"In the anti-apartheid movement and in the Freedom Charter, various 'demands' have been articulated that are not strictly apartheid — such as nationalisation and the redistribution of wealth. Questions such as these are not apartheid-specific but are policy issues to be determined in a post-apartheid South Africa.

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For negotiation to be successful three preconditions had to be met. The outcome of negotiations (a possible solution) would have to be saleable, popularised — and, to be able to be popularised, it would have to be a "win-win" solution.

"The 'win-win' situation is, of course, relative.

"To the majority of blacks an unconditional hand-over of power might appear to be the first prize. The alternative to a

negotiated solution is an indefinite perpetuation of the struggle and of black exclusion. If the Government is relatively successful with co-optation and reform, those engaged in the struggle run the risk of losing support and legitimacy.

"For whites, the first prize might appear to be a perpetuation of white rule and privilege in a stable, secure and internationally acceptable South Africa. That too is probably unachievable. If whites hold out for first prize they might be heading towards a fortress scenario

"The win-win alternative offers both black and white South Africans a very attractive second prize."

"To be saleable to white South Africans, a solution would need to provide what we might loosely call 'security'. Security that whites will continue to enjoy the most important freedoms from which blacks have been excluded in the past. Security that there

will be reasonably 'good government'; security against the 'revenge factor' — the fear that, if blacks get into power, they will abuse that power against whites, as whites have done against blacks.

"For a negotiated solution to be saleable to the majority of blacks, it would have to constitute an unambiguous abolition of overt and covert apartheid in all its forms. It means full equality in law, politically, socially and economically.

"It is these two requirements that seem so hopelessly irreconcilable. While the security of white and other 'minorities' has often been regarded as necessary or desirable, as suggested in the Freedom Charter, few significant proposals have been put forward that do not amount to some form of denying blacks the unambiguous scrapping of apartheid. Most proposals have either been formulated to preclude the level of security that would induce whites to agree to the system or the level of political freedom that would satisfy blacks."

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In South Africa the conflict over power is essentially the major problem and a saleable democratic model needs to be one that is maximally conflict reducing and limits and devolves power.

The "core concepts" which

have the potential to be the basis of a negotiated solution and are a combination of all the most intensively democratic features of democracies around the world are given as:

- The unambiguous abolition of apartheid in all its covert and overt forms.
- Full equality in law for all.
- A single South Africa with a single South African citizenship.
- One person, one vote on a common voters role.
- Maximum limitation and depoliticisation of central government.
- Intensive devolution of power geographically to numerous second, third and fourth tier governments so that power is delegated upwards in stead of downwards, and lower tiers have autonomy over purely domestic matters.
- A strong bill of rights providing for normal civil liberties including freedom of association and disassociation, freedom of movement and residence, effective protection of property rights.
- A strong, independent judiciary to ensure government at all levels operates within and honours the constitution and the bill of rights.
- Representative democracy through freely elected representatives in a competitive process with universal adult suffrage.

● Direct democracy through a referendum system whereby the public may override elected representatives and curtail the abuse of power.

● Bicameralism with proportional representation by parties or candidates in one House and equal representation for second tier governments in another House along the lines found in virtually all democracies, East or West.

The first four are "black" or "majority" non-negotiables. The balance are checks and balances to satisfy white or minority non-negotiables.

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"It has hitherto been assumed that, if there is to be a solution in South Africa, it will be one that is spontaneously negotiated by representatives of the main groups. The idea has been that the leaders will come together and negotiate. It is now apparent that this idea has been unrealistic all along and is increasingly so. Political reality is such that the leaders cannot negotiate unless their constituency permits them to.

Under present conditions, if leaders in any of the major groups suggest making overtures to the others, they run the risk of losing their legitimacy and their constituency.

The solution, to some extent, needs to be bottom up rather than top down.

## Govt adopts low-key stance because 'SA delegation poses no threat'

By Colleen Ryan, Political Reporter

The Government's low-key approach to the ANC talks in Dakar is partly because Pretoria does not feel particularly threatened by the group of 52 South Africans involved, says Dr Tom Lodge, lecturer in political science at the University of the Witwatersrand.

Dr Lodge, an authority on the politics of the ANC, said the group comprised some interesting names, but there were no real political heavyweights.

"I suspect the Government's reaction would have been more hostile if the delegation had included people who it perceives as political heavy-weights. The list of people includes almost nobody who can be said to be part of the establishment.

"There are quite a number of significant omissions. Nobody closely associated with the independent movement is there. People like Wynand Malan, Professor Sampie Terreblanche and Mr Gerald Pakendorf don't appear to have been included," he said.

He said that almost universally, the group consisted of people without a defined political base, who were generally regarded as right-wing, albeit non-racial, libertarians.

ranged jointly by Dr Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert's Institute for Democratic Alternatives for South Africa (Idasa) and the ANC, will consist of academics. Several businessmen and other personalities will be attending, but delegates with a specific political background are in the minority and consist mainly of PFP, or former PFP, supporters.

The much smaller ANC delegation did not include its president, Mr Oliver Tambo, but some influential theorists would be attending, said Dr Lodge.

### 'SOME DELEGATES NOT OPPOSED TO DIALOGUE'

Another reason for the Government's muted response to the talks was that there were probably some elements who were not entirely opposed to dialogue, he said.

"After all, a few years ago when a group of South African businessmen met with the ANC, they were briefed beforehand by the Department of Foreign Affairs."

Dr Lodge said it was remarkable that countries like Ghana, who were usually vigorously anti-South African, were prepared to be

tive South Africans who formed part of the Idasa delegation.

He said such discussions at least encouraged contact between South Africa and the rest of the continent and this probably pleased some elements in the Government.

Referring to the participants at the talks, Dr Lodge said although most members had Afrikaans names, they could not be regarded as a typical group of white Afrikaners. "Many are outside of the establishment and some are cultural exiles. Their constituency is as much English-speaking as Afrikaans-speaking."

The fact that the group consisted of people who were generally extremely conservative, particularly on economic issues, would probably give the ANC a new insight on views in the country.

He said the ANC appeared to be taking the exercise seriously since it was not sending the "B team" to the meeting. The organisation was also showing flexibility in agreeing to the involvement of a person like exiled poet Breyten Breytenbach, who has sharply criticised the ANC in the past.

"It will be an interesting exercise. I suspect that it will be more

# UDF won't take part in elections

TIA  
Spector  
10/2/87

THE United Democratic Front (UDF) yesterday clarified its position regarding remarks made by one of its presidents, Mr Archie Gumede, on participation in the 1989 elections.

The organisation's acting national publicity secretary, Mr Murphy Morobe said in a statement yesterday that the UDF categorically rejects any notion that it was contemplating participating in the elections.

"These elections will still be racist, white controlled and conducted under a totally undemocratic constitution," he said.

He said his organisation, after carefully studying various newspaper reports concerning Mr Gumede's remarks, was satisfied that he had at no stage said the UDF was going to participate in Government created structures, let alone the elections.

"Our policy on this issue is well documented and remains uncontradicted. Revisions of our non-participation is not even considered," said Mr Morobe.

"We arrived at the conclusion that the only way we can effectively challenge this racist government is through mass extra-parliamentary struggles.

"The re-imposition of the present state of emergency and the increasing concentration of real power in extra-parliamentary and secret structures like the JMC's and the Security Council vindicates our view that the present parliamentary process is a totally absurd procedure and an aberration of democracy," Mr Morobe added.

*APAC Times*  
*10/782*

# Three 'ANC people shot dead

MBABANE. — Two men and a woman were shot dead by unidentified whites yesterday as they were driving from the airport to the capital, Swaziland television and a police source reported.

Sapa's correspondent reported that the victims were suspected members of the African National Congress.

This is the latest in a series of mysterious shootings that have plagued the landlocked kingdom in recent months.

A police source in Mbabane, the capital, said a man and woman had picked up a passenger arriving at Manzini Airport from Johannesburg.

A car carrying three white men followed their taxi from the airport, forced it to stop, shot the two men in the back seat and gunned down the woman as she tried to flee, said the source.

The assailants drove off, leaving the driver unharmed, he said. — Sapa-AP

# Three 'insurgents' die in hail of bullets

The Star's Africa News Service

MBABANE — Three suspected African National Congress members have been shot dead in broad daylight outside the Swaziland capital of Mbabane just a short distance from the king's palace.

The three — two men and a woman — have yet to be identified.

Late yesterday Swazi police had set up roadblocks around the two major cities of Mbabane and Manzini as part of a widespread dragnet.

According to Swazi police, the driver of a taxi said he stopped his vehicle on the busy road between Mbabane and Manzini after the driver of a following Transvaal-registered BMW flashed his lights. He had left the Matsapa airport shortly before.

He had been hired by the woman in Mbabane to drive to the outlying airport, where she met the men who, it seems likely, had arrived on a flight from Maputo.

The driver said that as soon as he had stopped, three black men burst from the BMW and sprayed the back seat of the cab where the passengers were sitting with automatic weapons fire.

According to reports the three people in the back of the cab died almost instantly.

A brief statement issued by the Swazi police last night said that the driver of the taxi was being held as an important witness to the incident.

11A

# A long way from home

10-16/787

W/Meil



Picture: REUTERS

In Dakar yesterday: Thabo Mbeki and Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, flanked by the ANC's Ahmed Qono, and poet Breyten Breytenbach

## A small step closer to hope

You have travelled far and suffered much pursuing freedom for your country. You have ended up adopting ideologies which some of us have difficulty understanding. Despite that, we have come to talk to you because we realise your critical role ...

FREDERIK VAN ZYL SLABBERT, yesterday

DAKAR, the capital of Senegal, was witness to some of the most extra-ordinary scenes in the history of the South African conflict yesterday when a tumultuous welcome was given to the party of 50 white South Africans arriving for the opening of their historic meeting with leaders of the African National Congress. Dancers in tribal costumes threw themselves about with ecstatic enthusiasm to the thunder of drums while elegant Senegalese men and women in flowing robes strode through ranks of foreign diplomats and local cabinet ministers, gathered to greet the former leader of the South African opposition, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, and his party as they arrived at a conference centre a few kilometres outside the city.

### Own Correspondent: DAKAR

But this scene was eclipsed by an even more startling spectacle, at the conclusion of opening speeches, in an informal ceremony during which both the whites and the ANC members mounted the podium in turn, under the glare of television lamps, to introduce themselves to each other. "I'm a minister of religion at Pretoria University ... I'm a professor of Afrikaans ... I'm a member of parliament ... I'm a sheep and mohair farmer ... I used to believe in radical ideas like apartheid ... I was a youth leader of the National Party ... I'm the PFP member in the President's Council ... I'm principal at the University of the Western Cape ... I've tried to contribute a little to

the struggle against apartheid from within the establishment, I'm not sure it has contributed much ..." went some of the autobiographical sketches from whites.

And they were matched by the ANC: "I'm an Afrikaner," declared Thabo Mbeki, leader of their delegation and the man many believe is a future president of the outlawed organisation. "The longest I've ever been in one place has been on Robben Island," said another. "I studied history and now I'm making history ... I managed to escape from jail ... I'm a professional revolutionary ..." said others.

But it was in speeches made at the opening session that some of the ripest material was provided for major controversy in South Africa — including a reaffirmation of the ANC's commitment to the "armed struggle" from Mbeki; what might be seen in South Africa as outspokenly warm comments addressed to the ANC men by Slabbert, and a startling hint from the Senegalese President Abdou Diouf, that consideration should be given to the establishment of post-apartheid Nuremberg-style trials.

## Quarter million workers vote to strike

By SEFAKO NYAKA

MORE than 280 000 workers in the metal and mining industries have voted to go on strike to resolve wage disputes in the industries.

But whether the workers will go ahead with the strikes will be decided at two crucial meetings at the weekend and early next week.

The National Union of Metalworkers of SA (Numsa) is expected to hold report-back meetings at the weekend.

And officials of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) meet on Monday to discuss the pending strike.

The union is almost certain to call a special congress to decide whether to go on strike or not.

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ment, favoured strike action to resolve the dispute with the chamber.

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P.T.O



# ANC strategy: Talk softly, but don't drop the stick

FOR the outlawed African National Congress, this week's Dakar meeting with a group of leading Afrikaner intellectuals is an important foray in the battle to win some of the fringes of the undecided middle ground in South African politics.

It is an attempt to take advantage of the ferment evident in Afrikaner intellectual circles in recent years.

The meeting will mean no let-up in the ANC's guerrilla campaign. Instead, the Dakar *indaba* is complementary to armed struggle. As such, the meeting is one side of the ANC's particular version of "thump and talk".

It is the latest chapter in the ANC's political offensive within what it calls "the white bloc".

By Howard Barrell, Harare

That offensive started in late 1985 when leading businessmen and editors, then the Progressive Federal Party and others, met the ANC.

The rate of meetings slowed down. Some ANC leaders felt they were spending too much time on talks at the expense of the insurrectionary task they had set themselves.

As a result, say ANC sources, there were calls within the leadership for a closer assessment of the political benefits of any proposed talks before they were agreed to by the ANC.

There is, however, no doubt at all in the collective ANC mind about the potential benefits of this week's Dakar meeting.

The ANC has the opportunity to talk to highly influential Afrikaner opinion-makers, many of them well situated right within the bastions of Afrikaner nationalism such as Stellenbosch University.

The ANC believes the group it is talking to is part of the "forces for change".

The ANC is trying to project itself as a non-racial movement concerned primarily with black liberation which is appreciative of those aspects of Afrikaner culture which are not associated with apartheid.

As such, it is trying to convince the group of Afrikaners that it views the apartheid "system" as its enemy, rather than any specific group of whites.

The ANC's presentation of itself

must necessarily centre on four crucial clauses in the ANC credo for a post-apartheid South Africa, the Freedom Charter, to allay Afrikaner fears of black majority government.

These are that "South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white"; that the law will guarantee the right "to preach" and "to worship"; that "all people shall have equal rights to use their own languages, and to develop their own folk culture and customs", and that "all national groups shall be protected by law against insults to their race and national pride".

News that the ANC delegation is to be led by Thabo Mbeki, the political secretary and a member of the organization's national executive, is consistent with this ANC purpose.

Mbeki, son of jailed ANC leader Govan Mbeki, is himself an intellectual and a skilled diplomat.

The organisation has also rustled up a few of its other intellectual luminaries for its 18-person delegation.

These include Pallo Jordan, an historian who heads the ANC's research department and a member of the national executive; Mac Maharaj, a shrewd politician and one of the ANC's most innovative thinkers on the national executive; Ben Magubane, a professor of politics at an American university; Francis Meli, the editor of *Sechaba* who has a doctorate in history and also sits on the executive; Aziz Pahad, a London-based member of the national executive; Harold Wolpe, a prominent ANC theorist and British-based academic, and Albie Sachs, a professor of law at Eduardo Mondlane University in Mozambique, who is also among the ANC's more prominent commentators on art.

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●From PAGE 1

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mitted to contribute what they can to the whole effort to ensure the triumph of justice over injustice, of democracy over racism and reaction. Their active involvement in the struggle greatly strengthens the momentum for change ..."

In his reply Slabbert said his party had been "simply overwhelmed by this reception". He described the ANC as "a crucial part to the solution of the South African crisis. They constitute the largest movement in that country working for liberation — and the oldest one. We believe that there is no solution possible for a peaceful solution in that country without our involvement."

And in an emotive conclusion to his speech — addressing himself directly to "our compatriots from the ANC" — he said: "There is a sadness that we have to meet so far from our common fatherland. This in itself is a tragic commentary on the history we share."

"Some of you have travelled far and suffered much pursuing freedom for your country. Some of you have ended up adopting strategies and supporting ideologies which some of us have difficulty in supporting and understanding, but which we want to find out more about. Despite that, and despite whatever differences there may be, we have come to talk to you because we realise your critical role in finding a resolution to our tragedy."

"We gather on foreign soil but on a shared continent. We are among friends although we live in a country the government of which is determined to make us enemies. In the few days ahead let us in all sincerity explore a way out of this lunacy."

Talks between the white South Africans and the ANC — most of them in closed session — are expected to continue until Sunday, when delegates will be going on what will be seen as a symbolic trip to visit an old slave island just off the Dakar coast. The whites will be travelling on to neighbouring black African states including Burkino Faso and possibly Ghana, returning to South Africa on July 20.

# WEEKLY MAIL

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The fifty Afrikaner delegates land in Senegal ...

304A  
W/MAIL

# A long way from home



Picture: REUTER

In Dakar yesterday: Thabo Mbeki and Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, flanked by the ANC's Ahmed Qono, and poet Breyten Breytenbach

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Diouf opened the talks with a speech in which he welcomed the whites as "representatives of the patriotic and democratic forces" of South Africa describing them as being engaged in a struggle — to dismantle apartheid — which was "one of the most significant human enterprises of this century, since the victory over Hitler's Nazi party".

But he went on to say that crimes against humanity "cannot be abolished, it must be punished", asking: "Should it therefore not be indicated that in the course of your meeting you should examine the most appropriate ways and means to conduct the

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P.T.O.

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W/Mail  
10-6/1/87  
11A

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## Slabbert chats to the ANC



The head of the African National Congress delegation, Mr Thabo Mbeki, chats with the South African group leader, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, in Dakar. Talks on a post-apartheid future in South Africa have begun in the Senegalese capital. See reports on Pages 3 and 13.

## UDF to debate stance on election

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JWA

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — United Democratic Front president Mr Archie Gumede will raise participation in the 1989 parliamentary elections at the UDF's next national executive meeting to clarify its standpoint.

Confusion arose when a statement from publicity secretary Mr Murphy Morobe said the UDF's attitude was for non-participation after Mr Gumede indicated that it might take part in elections.

But today Mr Gumede repeated that while the UDF had not yet discussed participation, he would raise it for discussion at the national executive meeting.

He denied there was a split in the UDF or that his intention to have the matter discussed was a major shift of policy.

### AFFILIATES

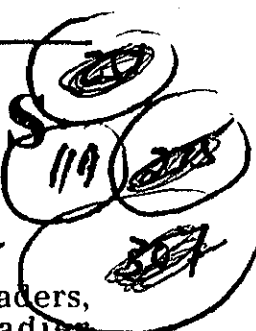
"The statement by Mr Morobe stands, in that the UDF cannot take a decision to contest parliamentary elections on its own and will have to go back to its affiliates.

"I was told at the meeting (last night) that this matter should have been brought up with officials first before it was disclosed to the Press. I think this is the correct procedure," said Mr Gumede.

Mr Morobe, in his statement in reply to Mr Gumede's pro-participation stance, said UDF policy was "well-documented and remains uncontradicted".

"Revision of our non-participation is not even considered."

CAL 10/7/87



# Protest over brigadier's call on Ngxobongwana

By CLARE HARPER

SIXTEEN squatter leaders from Nyanga, Old and New Crossroads, KTC and Khayelitsha yesterday protested at the actions of the Divisional Commissioner of Police, Brigadier Ronnie van der Westhuizen, in meeting the Mayor of Crossroads, Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana, in Khayelitsha on Wednesday night.

The leaders include Mr Prince Gobingca of Old Crossroads (representing an unknown number of Old Crossroads residents), Mr Christopher Toise of the Portland Cement Camp (claimed 9 000 supporters), Mr Reuben Fulani of Site C, Khayelitsha (claimed 17 000 supporters), Mr Isaac Gwiliza of Section L, Site B (claimed 10 000 supporters) and Mr Gladstone Ntamo of KTC (claimed 25 000 supporters).

Speaking on behalf of the leaders, Mr Gobingca said the brigadier "should call all the squatter leaders in the Western Cape — not just Ngxobongwana — for a meeting in a neutral area, if he wants peace".

The squatters said it appeared the brigadier was taking sides, and if that was true "the blood in Crossroads will not stop flowing".

"We want peace, we don't want anybody to be killed," they said.

The squatters rejected Brigadier Van der Westhuizen's challenge on Wednesday night that Mr Ngxobongwana should enlist the unemployed members of his community to rebuild Crossroads and Khayelitsha, saying that the brigadier should contact all the Western Cape squatter leaders for such a task.



# Colonel 'was obeying orders', says Kgosana

Cape Times 10/7/87

By ANDREW DONALDSON

**EXCLUSIVE**

COLONEL Ignatius P S Terblanche was not a traitor, says Philip Kgosana — the former Pan Africanist Congress leader who has troubled the retired police officer's conscience for more than a quarter of a century.

In an exclusive interview with the Cape Times, he said last night from Colombo, Sri Lanka, where he now lives: "He was a policeman. He was simply obeying orders."

Interest in the former PAC regional secretary was rekindled after Colonel Terblanche, the 84-year-old former Deputy SAP Commissioner — castigated for his role in the dramatic march on Cape Town by 30 000 peaceful black demonstrators on March 25, 1960 — was this week finally honoured by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok.

Receiving the rank of honorary brigadier — a promotion he was due for at the time but refused — Colonel Terblanche said he felt as if he had "committed treason" when Mr Kgosana was arrested after the 21-year-old student had led the march.

Promised an audience with the then minister of justice, Mr Frans Erasmus, by Colonel Terblanche,

Mr Kgosana had returned to Caledon Square with a small deputation — and was arrested.

Both men had avoided bloodshed on the day of the march.

While the policeman had persuaded marchers to return home peacefully, Mr Kgosana had altered the course of the march from Parliament — where massed security forces and certain slaughter waited — to Caledon Square police station.

In spite of this, the former PAC leader — now an economist with the United Nations Children's Emergency Fund (Unicef) in Sri Lanka — declined to elaborate on the events that came to be known as "The Miracle of March 30" and was first reported under the headline "Peace Is Aim, Native Says".

"All that happened to me, mattered to me, was that when a promise had been made it was not honoured . . . by the government of South Africa," Mr Kgosana said in the interview last night.

Asked to comment on Colonel Terblanche's professed troubled conscience and that the officer had regarded himself as a traitor following his arrest, Mr Kgosana

said: "I believe that at his level, a policeman, he was only carrying out the orders of a minister (Mr Erasmus). I do not think, as much as I opposed him, that he can consider himself to be a traitor.

"He was simply obeying orders. And the fact that when I went back and was arrested, I think I opposed him on fundamental questions — but this was an issue where a policeman was carrying out the orders of the minister."

Asked if he had any messages for South Africans, he replied: "No, I do not want to say anything at this time. I think it would be inappropriate. But, tell me, how do you promote a retired man of 84?"

When Colonel Terblanche's comments were read to him and how — by disagreeing with a minister and avoiding bloodshed — his actions did not receive a favourable reaction from his superiors, Mr Kgosana said: "This is what I do not understand. At that time in what way did they think that he had done a disservice? Is it clear to you, this disservice?"

"It sounds like South Africa. Disservice means you have killed less. You have failed to kill more people. That's why I say it sounds very much like South Africa."



**FLASHBACK . . .** In shorts, the 21-year-old student and PAC leader Philip Kgosana, his supporters seated behind him, strides towards Caledon Square police station to demand an audience with the then Minister of Justice, Mr Frans Erasmus.

# Five patrons who weren't at the launch

MONO BADELA reports from the launch of the association of writers at the weekend

THREE political prisoners and two exiles were among the patrons elected by the Congress of SA Writers at its launch last weekend.

Jailed African National Congress leader Govan Mbeki, detained newspaper editor Zwelakhe Sisulu and detained writer Modikwe Martins were among the patrons. The exiles who were included were poet Denis Brutus and novelist Wally Serote.

The congress, which brought together about 200 of the country's best-known writers for the two-day "Writers' Forum" in Johannesburg over the weekend, intends "to participate actively and creatively in the transformation of our society".

It is the first serious attempt to incorporate the country's major writers into the "mass-based democratic movement".

The congress initiated an annual Alex la Guma Literary Award, in honour of ANC author-activist Alex la Guma, who died in exile in Cuba in 1985.

The group committed itself to working with "the mass-based movement ... in the struggle for a non-racial, united and democratic South Africa ... and in determining the parameters of the cultural boycott".

In a lengthy declaration, the group "recognised the critical role literature and other arts must play as instruments in the struggle for liberation", and pledged itself to help develop a national culture in South Africa.

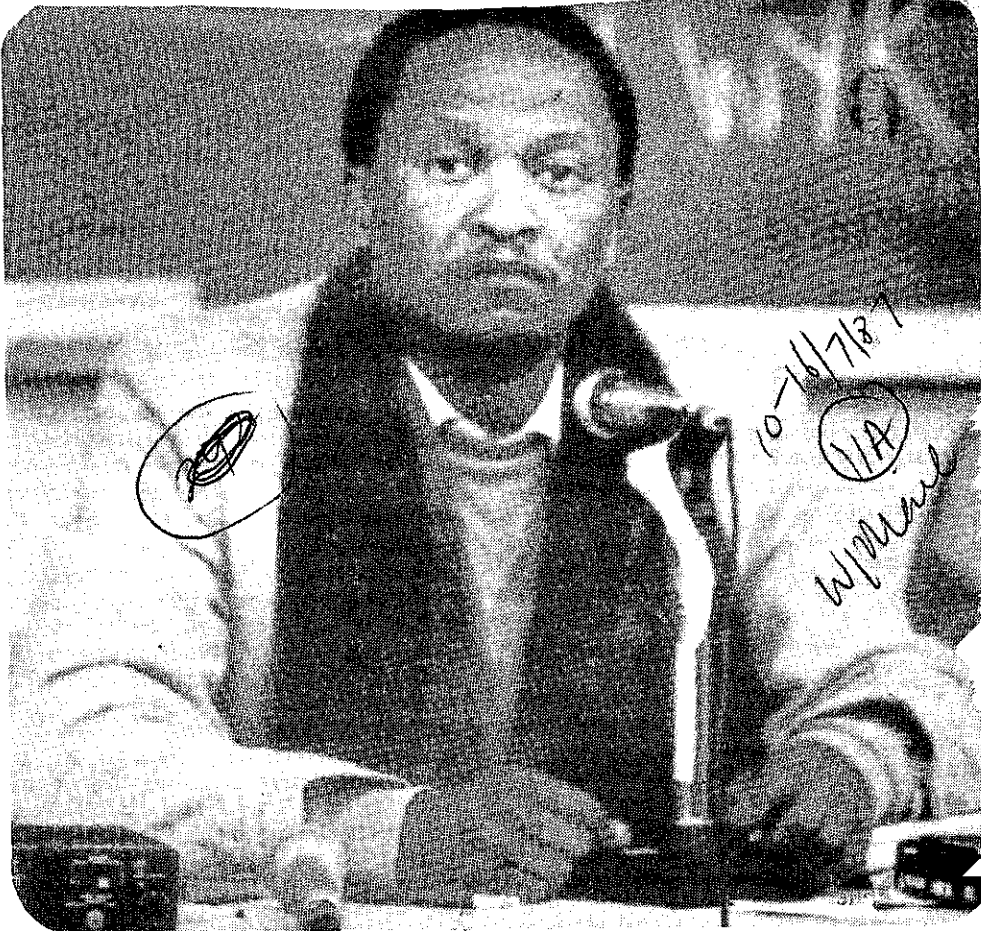
The writers called for the freeing of "our writers" from prison, detention, banishment, banning or "listing" as communists and called for an end to censorship "by the state, South African Transport Services (a reference to the media blitz carried out by Sats during the strike earlier this year), companies owning media, publishers and bookshop chains."

Dr Njabulo Ndebele, novelist and head of the department of English and African literature at the University of Lesotho, delivered the keynote address and was elected president, with poet and trade unionist Mzwakhe Mbuli, Natal Indian Congress leader and author Mewa Ramgobin and Cape Town writer Mavis Smallberg as vice-presidents.

Also on the executive are poet Mbuyiseni Oswald Mtshali (general secretary), Hein Willemse, Mike van Graan, Chris van Wyk, Achmat Dangor and Mi Hlatshwayo, (Cosatu's cultural co-ordinator) and Nana Kutumela (treasurer).

Other patrons include Nadine Gordimer, probably South Africa's most internationally prominent author and a major mover behind the gathering, and Jeremy Cronin, poet, former political prisoner and UDF activist.

Although the writers postponed a decision on whether to affiliate to the UDF, both it and the Congress of South African Trade Unions are



Novelist Njabulo Ndebele — president of the Congress of SA Writers

Picture: WALTER DHLADHLA, AFP

strongly represented in the ranks of the new organisation.

Ndebele said the congress would fight censorship and consult other organisations, like UDF and Cosatu, on the breadth of the international cultural boycott imposed on South Africa in protest against apartheid.

Many South African artists complain that the boycott has stopped even those who oppose apartheid from performing overseas. "We cannot say it will be eased or not. It will depend to a very large extent as the struggle unfolds. There will be an in-depth consultation with organisations. We will align ourselves with decisions taken by UDF and other progressive organisations."

The UDF recently resolved to intensify its campaign to isolate "the regime", but laid down criteria for tours to and from South Africa that were exempt from this.

Mbuli said: "We do not see ourselves operating in a vacuum."

The new body believes that Cosatu is in the forefront of "the struggle".

The declaration adopted by the congress stated that the new body would combat state repression in all its forms; resist imperialism and particularly its manifestation in the cultural sphere; oppose the attempt to impose cultural domination by the establishment media and to build and encourage structures that will critically manifest the aspirations of the majority of the people.

● It was reported last week that a message delivered to the congress by Albertina Sisulu came from her jailed husband, Walter Sisulu. Conference organisers were incorrect in informing *Weekly Mail* of this. The message was from Mrs Sisulu herself.



# SA Govt on trial at ANC indaba

MIKE ROBERTSON

DAKAR — Those taking part in discussions with the ANC were participating in one of the greatest human endeavours since the Second World War victory over Hitler's Nazi regime, Senegal's President Abdou Diouf said at the opening of the meeting yesterday.

He said Senegal was proud to host the conference: "We can only welcome any initiative to move away from the blind alley and to stop the bloodshed".

In what is believed to be the "important announcement" alluded to by ANC members prior to his speech, Diouf hinted at the creation of a research institute at a Senegalese university which young South Africans could attend.

"I invite you to envisage the creation of a South African research institute attached to one of our universities, and which could serve as a place of seminars, conferences and other meetings.

"This institute will at the same time be a place where young South Africans can come to study and thus improve their knowledge of Africa and that which African youth has of South

LONDON — A meeting of the 12 EC foreign ministers in Copenhagen on Monday is poised to unanimously acclaim the talks in Senegal between South African dignitaries and the ANC which started in Dakar yesterday.

All EC member states, including Britain, were yesterday signifying to the EC headquarters in Brussels their unrestrained approval of the initiative.

Africa."

To the obvious embarrassment of the South African delegates, Diouf called on them to discuss in their deliberations ways and means of conducting the trial of apartheid "and its supporters and accomplices".

Earlier, one of the architects of the talks, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, warned against exaggerating the significance of the meeting.

"We are not here to provide an alternative to detente and negotiation. We do

© To Page 2 →

## Apartheid under fire in Senegal

not have the power to negotiate. The significance is in the fact that South Africans are willing to explore alternatives to a brutal catastrophe," he said.

In a section of his address directed at the ANC, Slabbert said "some of us have difficulties in understanding or supporting the strategies and ideas of some of your members.

"Despite that, we have come to talk to you because we realise you have a critical role to play."

Despite government attempts to ensure that the two groups continued to see each other as enemies, he said, "in the few days ahead let us seriously explore ways out of this nemesis".

An ANC representative said: "We

view it as a matter of importance that white comrades become part and parcel of the democratic forces of our country."

Van Zyl Slabbert is leading a delegation of about 60 mostly white South Africans — politicians, academics, farmers, businessmen, artists and sports figures — in the largest meeting ever with the ANC.

The talks should help the group "dispel the myth and break out of our cocoon of ignorance," he said.

"We want to find out more about the continent in which we live. We have succeeded in isolating ourselves in SA."

From Page 1

# Nickel joins SA company

MICK COLLINS

FORMER US Ambassador to SA Herman Nickel has joined a South African economic research company.

In a joint announcement in Johannesburg yesterday, Econometrix MD Brian Nash, and president of Washington-based subsidiary Econometrix US, Darroll Buytenhuys, said as from July, Nickel would be associated with the company as a consultant.

"As international pressures increasingly affect the performance of the economy, we feel Ambassador Nickel's contribution ideally complements our existing analytical services."

Nickel served as the US Ambassador to the SA from 1982 to 1986, and is now director of the Johns Hopkins Foreign Policy Institute Southern African studies project, in Washington.

Nash said Nickel would provide monthly reports and quarterly analyses on developments in US/SA relations.

BUILDING societies and businesses which accepted stolen tax rebate cheques amounting to R233 000 will foot the bill at the Department of Inland Revenue.

Banks are protected by law from refunding "not negotiable" cheques deposited into accounts, as long as they do not make the cash available immediately.

The department's chief director of operations Schalk Albertyn said some of the money had already been received.

"Theft of tax rebate cheques is not a new thing. The issue is being blown up. Only 670 out of 252 000 cheques issued in May and

# Societies to pay for cheque theft

GRETA STEYN

June this year have gone astray," Albertyn said.

Building societies said they notified the police immediately once they became aware of fraud. Inland Revenue did not normally contact the police.

Most of the cheques were in favour of black taxpayers.

# 3 suspected ANC members shot dead

THREE suspected ANC members were gunned down in Swaziland yesterday by white men driving an SA-registered car.

The slayings occurred on the road leading from Matsapa airport, about 20km from Mbabane. Swazi police said they had made no arrests.

They interviewed the driver of the car — the sole survivor — who said the weapon used appeared to be an AK-47 rifle.

He told police three whites travelling in a BMW with SA registration plates overtook a taxi at about 3pm and opened fire.

The police spokeswoman confirmed the three dead, two men and a woman were not Swazi nationals. She said she thought they were South Africans and it was thought the whites were South Africans.

# Hall enjoyed Agatha Christie novels

THERESA May Hall had been reading too many Agatha Christie novels, which

JENNY BOBERG

had admitted, facing her husband's been

made such admissions if they were untrue.

# The 'realist' who wants to talk to PW

## DOMINIQUE GILBERT

SOWETO businessman, theologian and "new-born" politician John Gogotya candidly acknowledges that he may be regarded by many blacks as a "sell-out," lackey or stooge of government.

But he believes he represents a large — and until now, silent — group of moderate blacks who are so desperate for peaceful and "evolutionary" change in SA that, undeterred by petrol bombs and attacks, they will participate in any initiative instigated by President P W Botha, no matter how unpopular.

First on Gogotya's list of priorities is to lead his recently-launched Federal Independent Democratic Alliance (Fida) — and its claimed membership of 300 000 — into Botha's controversial National Statutory Council (NSC).

Gogotya's message is: "We are already a force to be reckoned with and are determined our collective voice will at last be heard in the affairs of this country.

"While various groups are fighting themselves, how long must people in SA wait in suspense for a solution to be worked out?"

He thinks of himself as an "African realist" and believes one man-one vote democracy is impracticable in Africa.

Therefore, the constitutional proposals he will lay on the NSC's table will urge a federal, self-governing "commune" principle based on the Swiss Canton system and condone independent homelands and Botha's proposed city states.

Gogotya's SA would appoint an annually-rotating president, with figurehead status. So every group would have a turn to put forward its own president, who would not be able to "hijack" power or create a dictatorship.

While Gogotya's religious roots lie in the Pentacostal Assembly of God, his party is multi-denominational and Christian-based and Rhema and Anglican Church priests sit on its 12-man multi-racial executive. It has formed 59 regions countrywide.

Gogotya is a virtually unknown, free-marketeering 49-year-old Pondo who speaks 13 languages and has spent most of his life in the Vaal Triangle. Years ago, with a Bible under his arm, he led a march into a NGK church to protest against segregated places of worship.

He says he has travelled extensively in North Africa, particularly Nigeria, which he believes is a "trend-setter" for the continent. He has forged links with Christian organisations in the US where, as a member of the "Coalition for Realism," he recently lobbied against sanctions with, among others, US Vice-President George Bush and at the National Press Club.

Ironically, Gogotya claims his party started as an underground movement which formed cells and committees in the same way as the "radical organisations" he opposes.

Fida's membership — subscription fees are about R5 per person — was boosted by advertisement through an "Amandla series" of propaganda pamphlets distributed in numerous townships since boycotts began in 1983.

The pamphlets purport to be issued by the OAU (with an address in Vanderbijlpark) and use quotes from Martin Luther King Jr ("Don't burn baby burn, but learn baby learn, so that you can earn baby earn!") to urge a stop to school boycotts and calls for disinvestment.

The OAU was a tactical name Gogotya gave to what he says was a cultural self-help movement called Operation Advance and Upgrade — OAU. He says he formed OAU in the



□ GOGOTYA ... "We are already a force to be reckoned with"

early Eighties to train people in basic skills. It was funded with donations from business and church organisations, some US-based.

OAU's funds and membership have been transferred to Fida because, Gogotya says, there is a growing need for moderates within the OAU to protest "against mindless violence and intimidation".

In his talk to the National Press Club in America he said his only fear had been that Western nations were trying to force the SA government to move faster than they possibly could.

The state of emergency had allowed many blacks to "sleep peacefully at night" and many of the detained children, he believed, now

find life more "bearable" in prison, away from intimidation or being used as "cannon fodder".

He has "no quarrels" with Inkatha, says many in the PFP have sided with "radicals" and, at this stage, considers the NRP to be the only group Fida could possibly consider affiliating with.

Asked to comment on allegations that many of the 4 000 who attended the Fida launch last weekend had been under the impression they had come to listen to a church service, Gogotya said: "I saw that kind of comment coming. All those who came did so from out of their own free volition, because they believed in what the party is about."

Gogotya denies he or his party is funded by government.

IDASA-ANC TALKS

## The point of Dakar

The dramatic departure from parliamentary politics by Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert dealt a blow to the Progressive Federal Party (PFP) from which it is unlikely ever to recover. His statements at the time, and his subsequent establishment of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for SA (Idasa), indicated that he had lost faith in parliament as a body for negotiating and initiating change.

Idasa and the highly publicised meeting between it and the African National Congress (ANC) this week represent a reply to those who questioned his leaving the establishment. In effect, bridges are being built; a to-and-fro of debate has been set in motion on the crucial issues of SA's political and economic future. All of which is positive.

But criticisms of the Idasa-ANC conference need to be considered. One is its explicit dissociation from the Independent movement (*see People*). The institute's contingent is predominantly Afrikaans and intellectual — precisely the base on which Denis Worrall and Co contrived such success as they achieved in May. Yet they were not specifically asked along to Dakar — though they may have been approached and must have been aware of what was in the wind.

This gives some cogency to the argument — particularly, but not solely, in the government-supporting media — that Idasa is

unrepresentative of mainstream Afrikanerdom. Is this so? Certainly, some of the names that have emerged are fairly predictable. Breyten Breytenbach's political position is well known — but he is also a pivotal cultural figure in Afrikanerdom. Beyers Naudé is a liberation theologian — but he is not, whatever some may believe, a Leninist.

And what of Johan van Zyl, Leon Louw, Tony Williamson, Albert Koopman, Revel Fox, Hermann Giliomee, Lawrence Schlemmer and Heribert Adam? As extra-parliamentary movements go, Idasa would seem to have no fears about representativeness, though it is preponderantly, and on this occasion deliberately, Afrikaans. The omission of the Independents remains odd.

What is important is that talks are taking place, and that debate cannot be one-sided. Again, government — at least in its initial reaction — has not rushed in with a flame-thrower of condemnation, as it did when the Stellenbosch students wanted to go to Lusaka. Indeed, student leader Philip

Verster is finally getting his wish to meet the ANC.

It is of course easier to take away students' passports than those of responsible academics and businessmen — and there is no election in prospect. But it is not inconceivable that figures like Stoffel van der Merwe and Pik Botha will make a point of keeping themselves briefed on Dakar.

The predominantly Afrikaner composition of the Idasa group is significant in various ways. Unlike many former white Rhodesians, thinking Afrikaners have neither the wish nor the desire to leave Africa, their birthplace. As such they are recognised as a tribe of Africa, and their presence in Idasa enables them to debate the various options of black-white political, economic and social accommodation that will have to be achieved in SA in future.

Debate, of course, is a two-way process. It is unlikely — as diehard National (and Conservative) Party (NP) propagandists would have us believe — that communist influences in the ANC predominate over nationalist ones. But it is a question on the agenda at Dakar. Perhaps a message of conciliation will be brought back — but it would have to include a longer-term commitment to non-violent change by the ANC before the task of convincing government can be addressed.

But simply seeing the results of socialist experiments in Africa should ensure that Idasa's capitalists have an answer to those — and not only those in the ANC — who propagate the tenets of a command economy and nationalisation.

Idasa is neither the first nor the last of the kind of contact-making exercises that will be conducted as long as the NP holds fast to racial social and political engineering, of which the statutory National Council for black-white negotiation is one example, flawed as it is by the "you talk to us — or else" syndrome. At least Idasa shows Afrikaners going to listen, and to set out and hear differing views on a common, and hopefully peaceful and productive alternative to SA now.

Over-reaction by Pretoria to the mission would be the worst possible outcome — it would entrench the laager mentality and heighten the propensity of a violence/oppression cycle in SA occurring every few years or so — indefinitely. After all, it was not all that long ago that P W Botha himself noted that the route to SA's reacceptance by the world lay through Africa. ■



Slabbert



Koopman



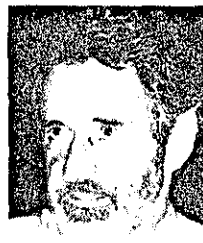
Louw



Williamson



Fox



Breytenbach



Van Zyl



Giliomee

# A tricameral no from the UDF leaders

By MONO BADELA

THE United Democratic Front is adamant: "No participation in the tricameral parliament. Not this year, not next year — never.

"The tricameral parliament is a farce... it's nothing more than a coon carnival," national Treasurer Azhar Cachalia said this week.

After days of controversy over whether the UDF was considering participation in the next tricameral election, acting publicity secretary Murphy Morobe said:

"Our policy on this issue is well documented and remains uncontradicted. Revision of our non-participation stand is not even considered."

He was reacting to press reports suggesting that the UDF has either decided to or would be considering participation in the 1989 parliamentary elections. The reports were based on a comment UDF co-president Archie Gumede made in an interview with the Durban-based Press Trust.

Gumede had said: "There is a need for a change of strategy. The UDF's non-participation in 1984 tricameral parliament was not a matter of principle but a matter of strategy ... If the UDF participated in the tricameral parliament, because of its huge support it could win all the seats in both the coloured and Indian houses. Then we can implement the Freedom Charter."

In the interview he said the UDF would have to discuss the matter of participation and arrive at a democratic decision.

Gumede has acknowledged that the sentiments he expressed were his and not necessarily those of the UDF.

Morobe reiterated the resolution taken at the UDF's recent national conference which called for members of the houses of delegates and representatives to resign and for the Progressive Federal Party to withdraw from the "racist parliament".

He also said there was no prospect of "us participating in PW Botha's latest toy telephone, the National Statutory Council".

After studying the various newspaper reports the UDF was satisfied that "Gumede has, as far as discernable, at no stage said the UDF is going to participate in government created structures, let alone the elections".

Morobe said it was only after "discussion and debate that we finally arrived at the conclusion that the only way we can effectively challenge this racist government is through mass extra-parliamentary struggles".

Morobe said the UDF was just one component of the liberation movement. A decision as far reaching as that of deciding to participate could not be that the UDF alone. "It must be that of the whole democratic movement including the African National Congress and other banned organisations and our imprisoned leaders."

11A  
w/ Morobe  
10-16/7/87

The UDF said it would boycott "government-created puppet structures like community councils".

11A w/ Mail  
10-16/17/87

# Once there was a house. Today, just a pool of blood

By MIKE LOEWE and  
EDYTH BULBRING

THERE was a pool of blood on the ground where the house at 18 Nconyana Street had stood.

A suspected African National Congress guerrilla, known only as Thandaxolo, and his sister, Nombini, died in a shoot-out with security forces on Tuesday.

In a police communique released from Pretoria on Tuesday police said security forces had used a Casspir to demolish a shack in the township of Motherwell when an order for the people to surrender was met with a hail of bullets.

The communique said police were fired on from the shack before the Casspir was brought in.

Acting on information, members of the SAP went to the shack and were shot at after they attempted to enter.

Reinforcements were summonsed and an order to come out was met with renewed gun fire. The Casspir then pushed the shack over.

The bodies of a man and a woman were found along with an AK-47 rifle, a 9mm star pistol, eight 9mm bullets, three AK-47 magazines, 260 AK-47 bullets, one F1 handgrenade and 30 AK-47 cartridge cases.

All that remains of No 18 is a pile of bricks, corrugated iron sheeting, timber and a mass of broken personal effects.

The only remaining structure was an outside toilet. On the ground was a congealed pool of blood.

A neighbour, Violet Njalo, 38, said she and her family were asleep when they heard police banging on the door of their neighbour and a policeman shouting: "Come Out".

She heard Nombini scream and shots were fired. "I heard so many shots. I dived under my bed,"

Then she heard a policeman say they would drive over the shack if the occupants did not come out. This was followed by the noise of a vehicle revving and an enormous crashing sound. Njalo heard the vehicle move in one direction and then return "three or four times."

Njalo said she heard a policeman say loudly: "Kyk as hulle leef of nie (Have a look to see if they are still alive or not)" and the reply "Nee, hulle leef nie (No, they are not alive)".

She said she did know whether they were dead before the Casspir crushed the shack. She had also seen police place two bodies in a yellow van and a man take photographs.

Sylvia Gqadu, 30, a resident in the other neighbouring home, woke to the sound of a banging on the door at 6.15am.

She saw the area was surrounded by security force members and heard up to 100 shots, 13 of which hit her house.

Gqadu said Thandaxolo and Nombini had moved in three months ago from KwaZakele township. They had only been on greeting terms.

"They had no visitors. They were very quiet people. I think she worked at a restaurant in town. Both were in their thirties and I think they were brother and sister." — East Cape News Agency.

WHAT'S a Jewish, former Trotskyite, Dominican Friar doing in the ANC? That question has crossed the minds of several members of the group of South Africans in Senegal to meet the banned organisation.

Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert's group is a diverse one, ranging from dominees to actresses. The ANC's delegation is similarly varied, but the least-likely member is Selwyn Gross, an Oxford-based Dominican Friar.

For some his presence here is a sign that the ANC has gone overboard in

its attempt to rebut charges of being a communist proxy and that Slabbert's North African jaunt is in danger of succumbing to silly posturing.

Gross rejects these cynical observations. While he admits being suprised at being asked, he really is a committed member of the ANC. Gross, born in Cape Town, once attended a Rabbinical school and lived in Israel for several years. At UCT he was exposed to the Unity movement and for a while was a Trotskyite. He converted to Catholicism shortly before he left SA about 10 years ago.

"For a long time I had been interested in Christianity as an outsider, fascinated by the personality of Jesus the man. We have in Christ a fully human person and the world reacts to that humanity by crucifying him."

Gross is vague about his reasons for leaving SA, but says he became disillusioned with the sectarianism of Unity and was moving closer to the ANC. "I was involved in illegal activities in SA — not for the ANC — and feared I would be picked up."

He stayed for a while in Botswana and four years in Israel,

# A Jewish Friar in the ANC

**MIKE ROBERTSON in Dakar**

where he did military service. He holds an Israeli passport.

In 1981 he joined the Dominicans in England and will shortly be ordained as a priest. Gross says an important part of being a Dominican is preaching justice and peace.

"SA has been an important focus in the life of our order. In Britain being a Dominican might involve working for nuclear disarmament. In my case it demands working for change in SA."

Gross cannot remember when he formally joined the ANC, but had been working for the organisation for years. "Being born in SA carries a moral obligation to fight apartheid and it became increasingly clear to me that the ANC was a major force for change."

The Freedom Charter, he says, expresses in a concrete fashion the demands of humanity and love

Defending the ANC's armed struggle, Gross draws a distinction between violence and the legitimate use of force. He subscribes to the theory of a just war, and draws comparison between SA and the armed uprising by Jews in Warsaw. When change comes in SA he "will be back like a shot".

THE DAKAR VISIT

# Hindrance or a help?

Government seems set to adopt a two-pronged strategy in response to the Slabbert safari to West Africa for talks with the ANC. So far, however, the reaction from Pretoria has been surprisingly muted, with President P W Botha's office saying merely that his views on contacts with the ANC are well known and he has nothing more to say.

And Stoffel van der Merwe, the new Deputy Constitutional Planning Minister, spearheading government's efforts to get negotiations with blacks off the ground, similarly declines to comment "at this stage."

But, significantly perhaps, there was no official attempt to prevent the delegation of about 50 from leaving SA. Last year, of course, a group of Stellenbosch University students had their passports withdrawn after announcing plans to meet ANC representatives in Zambia. Interestingly, the leader of that group, Phillip Verster, is a member of the Slabbert delegation.

Perhaps the first prong of government's tactic over the affair is best reflected by the National Party's (NP) official mouthpiece, *Die Burger*, which has energetically attempted to discredit the trip and all those involved.

## Divide whites

The newspaper says Slabbert's efforts are apparently aimed at hindering, rather than helping the negotiating process in SA. It links the ANC to the SA Communist Party (SACP) and the Kremlin and quotes "authoritative information" that claims ANC strategy is to "divide" whites and to prepare them "subtly" for a "black power takeover."

An NP source says "it's fashionable to think that a solution to SA's problems can only be found by talking to the ANC." He describes the trip as a "safari of the wimps" — "a fringe group of Afrikaners who are off on a mission of appeasement." He believes, further, that the inclusion of PFP MPs Peter Gastrow and Pierre Cronje in the group will do their party further damage.

If experience is any guide, delegation members will come in for increasing flak from other government-supporting newspapers and the SABC during the two weeks they are away. Thereafter, the NP itself will lead the attack when parliament resumes at the end of the month.

The second prong of government strategy is likely to be a careful analysis of what — if anything — is achieved by the talks, and, if possible, to capitalise on the outcome.

Although this strategy is unlikely to have official party blessing, it is an avenue that will be explored — probably by Stoffel van der Merwe. It is understood that Van der



Mbeki

Slabbert

Merwe and Slabbert met by chance recently and chatted informally. They are said to have agreed to meet again after Dakar.

Whether or not the group is dismissed as what Lenin called "useful idiots," an idea of what the safari is all about comes from Alex Boraine, Slabbert's co-founder of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for SA. Like Slabbert, Boraine turned his back on parliament two years ago.

Explains Boraine: "A new SA is waiting to be born. Concerned South Africans cannot sit back, they must participate in discussions on these issues."

Certainly, among the issues on the agenda at their Dakar indaba are those uppermost in many minds back home: ANC economic policy (will it be more clearly spelt out?); Joe Slovo and the SACP role in the ANC; violence and the "armed struggle;" and the future political system envisaged by the ANC.

For its part, the ANC reportedly believes the meeting ought to provide a forum for the visitors to "assess what they can do and should do" to end apartheid.

Leading the ANC delegation in the Senegalese capital this weekend will be ANC publicity secretary Thabo Mbeki, who could be its next chief, executive members Palo Jordan, Mac Maharaj, Francis Meli and Aziz Pahad.

Among the local delegation who will do the talking are the Free Market Foundation's Leon Louw, FCI economic consultant Christo Nel and Wits University Business School's Lawrence Schlemmer.

Prominent personalities include: former SA Council of Churches general secretary Beyers Naude; UCT professors Herman Giliomee and Andre du Toit; poet Breyten Breytenbach; author Andre Brink; Western Cape University Rector Jakes Gerwel and Cape Technikon principal Franklin Sonn (the only "coloureds" in the party); former FCI MD Johan van Zyl; Wooltru MD Tony Williamson, former PFP MPs Andrew Savage and Errol Moorcroft, Tukkies student

chaplain The Reverend Theuns Eloff, PFP president's councillor Pieter Schoeman, architect Revel Fox, actress Grethe Fox and businessman André Koopman.

See Leaders



F/M 10/7/87

## Did Archie boob?

Indications are that the United Democratic Front (UDF) will soon be calling on its co-president Archie Gumede to explain his statement that the organisation was considering contesting the parliamentary elections in 1989.

Eyebrows were raised among affiliates of the 600-member umbrella body after Gumede's statements, which appeared to mark a complete change in UDF policy, were reported last weekend.

After all, the UDF was launched in 1983 around the specific issue of opposing the tricameral constitution.

UDF western Cape regional vice-president Joe Marks says his executive has not yet been able to confirm the accuracy of Gumede's reported remarks.

"However, if Mr Gumede was quoted correctly, we want to make it clear that these are only his personal views and that they have not been discussed within the structures of the UDF," he says.

Marks says the UDF decided in 1983 not to participate in the tricameral elections because it was a "powerless, dummy body filled with well-paid puppets," and represents everything the UDF rejects.

"It is both racist and undemocratic. We also want to point out that it is not the UDF that is the obstacle to a peaceful solution to our country's problems, it is the undemocratic and racist government."

Cassim Saloojee, an executive member of the UDF-affiliated Transvaal Indian Congress, says he is "not aware of a single affiliate that has discussed this matter." And nor has the "slightest thought" been given to participating in the present parliament. As far as he is aware, says Saloojee, the UDF's policy is unchanged.

(11A)

Slabbert: ANC  
10/7/87  
talks breaking  
SA's ignorance

DAKAR (Senegal) — White South Africans need to "break out of our cocoon" Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert said at the opening of talks between a group of South Africans and an African National Congress (ANC) delegation here yesterday.

The former leader of the Progressive Federal Party said the three-day meeting, to discuss the post-apartheid future of South Africa was important, but should not be overdramatised.

"We are not here to promote artificial detente or to negotiate. We do not have the power to negotiate."

"We are South Africans willing to explore alternatives to prevent a brutal catastrophe," Dr Slabbert said.

The talks should help the group "dispel the myth and help us break out of our cocoon of ignorance," he said.

He said the group's presence at the meeting showed that "we can talk seriously about a nonracial democracy and not just watch the future unfold."

Speaking of the ANC group, Dr Slabbert said, "some of them have travelled far and suffered much, and some of them have adopted strategies we have difficulties accepting."

"Here on foreign soil we are among friends, although we live in a country where the government wants to keep us enemies. Let us explore together a way out of this lunacy," he said.

After the opening ceremonies, the delegations broke into smaller groups for private sessions scheduled for the next three days. They plan to issue a joint statement on Sunday.

After the conference, the two delegations will visit the former slave trading island of Goree off the Senegalese coast and then travel to Burkina Faso and Ghana, two West African nations run by radical military governments. — Sapa-AP

# ANC talks are a waste of <sup>(11R) 19/7/87</sup> money — UCP

Dispatch Reporter

EAST LONDON — The United Conciliation Party (UCP) has hit out at the group of 62 South Africans holding talks with the African National Congress (ANC) in Senegal this week.

A co-president of the party, Mr Tamsanqa Linda, said from Komga yesterday that the party was "worried about the waste of money" in visiting the ANC.

"About 20 houses could have been built for needy blacks in the country."

The delegation, led by the co-founders of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa), Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert and Dr Alex Boraine, is expected to hold three days of talks with the ANC in Dakar, Senegal.

Mr Linda said white South Africa should talk to black moderates.

The Dakar talks gave the "wrong impression" that the ANC was representative of South Africans. "This is not the case."

Turning to the United Democratic Front (UDF), Mr Linda said the party welcomed reports that some members of the UDF had recognised the need to participate in local elections.

It had always been his party's belief "that to break the will of apartheid one has to negotiate with this illegitimate white government".

"We are appreciative and thankful for some elements in the UDF who see a need of participating in local elections.

"We feel even now that blacks must go to the National Statutory Council and put some new ideas on how a new constitution should be devised for South Africa."

Mr Linda said the party, which was formed in Johannesburg last year and was launched in East London last month, was registering voters to take part in local authority elections.

Some 750 people were registered members of the party, he said.

weeks help says

# Down under, but thriving moderately

THE president and founder of the newly-launched Federal Independent Democratic Alliance would rather not name the other 12 executive members.

Fida, the political arm of the Christian self-help organisation Operation Advance and Upgrade, was launched in Crown Mines, Johannesburg, at the weekend. More than 4 000 delegates from all provinces except Natal are said to have attended.

The organisation was formed "by using almost identical methods to that used by radical organisations. By stealth we formed cells and committees, spreading our tentacles throughout the country," a Fida document said.

Asked what his attitude was to the United Democratic Front, Gogotya,

By VUSI GUNENE

49, said "the UDF had high on its agenda plans to necklace black moderates like us".

He said even if the Freedom Charter was adopted by a large spectrum of organisations it was "a document of ideals and can't run the country".

Gogotya wrote off the visit by 50 prominent South Africans to the African National Congress this week as "meaningless".

He said the fact that the delegation went to Senegal to meet the African National Congress and ignored the Pan Africanist Congress was like "the Verwoerd government of apartheid".

The former churchman said the ANC was only interested in the tran-

fer of power. "The ANC is not the sole representative of the people in South Africa. It cannot articulate the needs and aspirations of the people within the country."

On the question of jailed leader of the ANC, Nelson Mandela, Gogotya believes "he is in prison by his own choice ... He has been told if he renounces violence he will be free".

Gogotya said black moderates welcomed the State of Emergency with a "big sigh of relief" because before then they couldn't "sleep peacefully" as they were targets of several organisations.

He further accused black journalists of being biased. "I know that our black journalists fear the comrades. They fear the necklacing. I have a very low respect for them."

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w/ Mail 10/6/7/87

Argus 10/7/87 (11) (32217) (P)

# Dakar call to 'try SA Govt for its crimes'

DAKAR. — President Abdou Diouf of Senegal has called for a trial of "the supporters and accomplices of apartheid" and declared that the abolition of legalised racism was the greatest task facing mankind "since the victory over nazism".

Mr Diouf was opening what he termed a "historic" three-day conference here between a group of about 50 white South Africans and leaders of the outlawed African National Congress.

He said: "A crime against humanity cannot be forgiven — only punished. Would it not therefore be indicated that in the course of your meetings you would examine the most appropriate means of conducting the trial of apartheid, in the name of the civilised values of us all, the trial of its supporters and accomplices?"

Although he did not elaborate, Mr Diouf appeared to be suggesting that after the abolition of apartheid the South African Government be publicly tried for "crimes against humanity".

## Dialogue

Mr Diouf, chairman of the Organisation of African Unity in 1985 and 1986, promised to help mobilise support throughout Africa for whatever proposals the conference might put forward.

He further invited delegates to consider "the creation of an institute of research at one of our universities ... where young South Africans could study and improve their knowledge of Africa".

President Francois Mitterrand's wife Danielle, head of the human rights organisation France-Liberte, one of several groups which helped organise the meeting, called for increased dialogue aimed at bringing about change in South Africa.

Earlier the leader of the South Africans, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, said they were in Dakar "to break out of the cocoon of ignorance" in which whites were wrapped at home.

Addressing "our compatriots from the ANC", Dr Slabbert spoke of "the sadness that we have to meet so far from our common fatherland".

## Alternatives

He added: "This in itself is a tragic commentary on the history we share. Some of you have suffered much pursuing freedom for your country. Some of you have ended up adopting strategies and supporting ideologies which some of us find difficulty in supporting or understanding, but which we

"We gather on foreign soil, but on a shared continent. We are among friends, although we live in a country whose government is determined to keep us enemies. In the few days ahead let us, in all sincerity, explore a way out of this lunacy."

He emphasised that the group had no power to negotiate.

The agenda for the talks is centred on plans for a post-apartheid South Africa, but most of the non-South Africans taking part said they wanted immediate action to topple the Pretoria government. — The Argus Foreign Service and Sapa-Reuter.

● Visiting Soweto in Dakar, Page 13.

# Ivan the unwanted gets his reprieve. For now ...

DR IVAN TOMS had braced himself for several months in jail when the SA Defence Force decided this week it didn't want him after all — or not yet, anyway.

The 34-year-old conscientious objector was intending to report for duty and then refuse to do an army camp, which started on July 1. He said this week his lawyer was told by an SADF official his call-up had been rescheduled for sometime in November because the army already had "too many doctors". But, he added, he believes the publicity which would have surrounded his case, combined with an End Conscriptio Campaign, changed minds within the military hierarchy.

If Toms had refused to serve, he would almost certainly have gone to jail. A new amendment to the Defence Act tightens existing rules governing conscientious objection, laying down as six years the length of time alternative community service must be performed — and then only if the objector meets the government's definition of a religious universal pacifist. Those who object on moral or political grounds don't qualify for alternative service. Instead they face a jail sentence, calculated as one and a half times the time they "owe" the SADF — which could be six years for a new conscript.

A barrage of abusive and "incredibly threatening" telephone calls to Toms' home, which reached a peak of 25 calls in one day, stopped abruptly last Friday morning, just hours before Toms received the telegram informing him his call-up had been withdrawn. There have been no more calls since — implying the callers "had information no-one else knew about," he told WM.

Toms has regained the weight he lost two years ago when he fasted for three weeks "for a just peace" during the ECC's Troops Out campaign. An ECC member since its inception in 1983, he completed his two-year national service as a non-combatant, spending six months in the Namibian operational zone. Already a committed Christian, he started recognising "the links between the military and apartheid" while serving his internship at Kimberley Hospital.

His experiences in the army clarified his political choices: "When I worked in the Ciskei homeland I was told by a major in military intelligence that my role as a doctor was to spy on my patients. The SADF always thought of its needs and not those of people in apartheid's dumping grounds. Doctors were removed

**Conscientious objector Ivan Toms, who once fasted three weeks calling for a 'just peace' had a stark choice for July: An army barracks or a prison cell. then the SADF changed its mind ... GAYE DAVIS reports**



Dr Ivan Toms

tary hospitals where there were more doctors than patients in the ward."

In Namibia, even as a non-combatant doctor servicing mission hospitals in the area, he felt the "dislike and rejection" of the local people, who "felt they were oppressed by an invading army". He also came to realise that his refusal to carry a gun did little to limit his usefulness to the SADF. He was still part of the system.

But it was his experiences in Crossroads, where, "challenged by God to serve the poor", he had founded the SA Christian Leadership Assembly (Sacla) clinic in 1980, that cemented his decision never again to wear an SADF uniform.

Toms and the Sacla team had treated about 500 people for gunshot wounds in the months of political turmoil preceding November 1985 when heavily armed troops and riot police surrounded the clinic one day before searching it and demanding information about wounded patients.

But the "ultimate evil" occurred in May and June the following year, when the area erupted in a conflagration which left 70 000 people homeless.

"Because of threats to the lives of some of the black staff the clinic closed. Within four days the SADF symbolically occupied the buildings on June 16, 1986, the 10th anniversary of the Soweto uprisings. What

Christian staff was then used by the SADF to try to win the 'hearts and minds' of the people. Posters saying 'SADF from the people for the people' were put up — yet the doctors treated patients with pistols in their belts and the orderlies changed dressings with their rifles standing in the corner.

"The SADF identified so closely with 'the people' that they would not use the same toilets: they brought in their own portable chemical one on the back of a three-ton truck."

For Toms, who now forms part of a team working in Cape Town's black townships training community health workers, applying to the Religious Board of Objection for community service is not an option.

"There has never been a sincere attempt to accommodate conscientious objectors ... it was simply a political manoeuvre to defuse a growing conscientious objection movement. It only caters for people who believe in God and who are not prepared to fight in any armed force."

Toms is not a pacifist: he believes the war the SADF is waging is unjust. "Mainly, though, I believe in standing in solidarity with political and moral objectors, who fall beyond the board's ambit.

"I am committed to South Africa and believe that a truly patriotic action would be to go to prison rather than deny my faith and my beliefs. I believe that justice and truth stand on the side of the oppressed blacks."

He finds it strange that "people in this very Nationalist government demanded for themselves the right not to be conscripted to fight against the Nazis in World War II, yet they won't give young white men the right to choose whether or not to fight in their civil war in defence of apartheid".

It is the second time the SADF has withdrawn Toms' name from a camp call-up list. "Is it that the SADF is afraid of the growing support in the white community for the ECC and the increasing unhappiness that conscripts and their families feel about fighting in a civil war? Or are they just playing cat and mouse with me?"

Part of the answer might lie in the support he rallied during a nine-day trip around the country, canvassing organisations for help and advice on an ECC campaign to be built around his case.

"One got a real sense of strong support, especially from South African National Students' Congress members. I sensed in them a real desire that whites should stay and contrib-

THE Government has accepted in principle that there should be an election for urban blacks to choose representatives to the Government's proposed statutory National Council, the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, said today.

Previously, it was intended that the President should nominate blacks to the council.

Mr Heunis said the Government had accepted the major change "in principle".

The proposal for an election for urban blacks will be incorporated in a revised draft of the Bill dealing with the statutory National Council.

### Negotiations

Once published, the Bill will be referred for comment again to interested parties.

The National Council is designed to negotiate with the Government about black political rights.

At this stage, it seems unlikely that the legislation will be brought to Parliament this year.

In the original draft Bill it was laid down that representatives of blacks outside the self-governing areas would be nominated by the President.

A number of black leaders made it clear that they would not consider taking part in the proposed National Council unless leaders were elected, not nominated.

One of them is Mr Steve Kgame, chairman of the Urban Councillors Association of South Africa (Ucasa).

Mr Heunis said today that the Government was interested in having a forum where leaders of different communities could consider a political system for the future and it was not bound dogmatically to any particular institution.

### Nelson Mandela

In the past year there had been intensive negotiations with a wide spectrum of leaders about the draft Bill. One of the problems was the conditions for participation put by some.

Among these were the release of Mr Nelson Mandela and other "political prisoners", the unbanning of the African National Congress and the abolition of discriminatory laws.

Mr Heunis said his standpoint had always been that conditions for negotiations should not be put but that they should be on the agenda of the negotiation proceedings. People who were in favour of peaceful solutions should also not have difficulty in renouncing violence.

He said there were problems with identifying leaders and their willingness to take part in

a negotiation process, something which was affected by intimidation.

The background to the proposed National Council was that it was accepted that one community should not prescribe the political and constitutional development of the country.

Any solution had to be found on the basis of negotiation and to increase the credibility of the negotiation process it had to take place among the real leaders of the various communities, Mr Heunis said.

The official Opposition in the  
(Turn to Page 3, col 6)

AR66 10/7/87 (11A) (304A)  
**Blacks to vote**  
(Continued from page 1)

Assembly, the Conservative Party, was quick to reject the new concept today.

Mr Frank le Roux MP, the party's chief whip, said the party did so because the proposed council was part of the Government's power-sharing exercise which would give blacks a say over the destiny of whites.

He felt that the fact that the election of black leaders would be on a democratic basis was a plus point, but he doubted whether there would be a big turnout of voters as blacks did not trust the Government.

Mrs Helen Suzman MP, Progressive Federal Party, said that it now remained to be seen whether the black community would participate in such elections.

# VOTE

# Blacks to

# Govt agrees to election for National Council instead

By TOS WENTZEL  
Political Correspondent

AR66 5  
10/7/87  
11A

of nomination by PW

CAF Times 10/7/87 (11A)

# The friar who joined the armed struggle

From MIKE ROBERTSON

**DAKAR.** — Why is a Jewish, former Trotskyite, Dominican friar hanging around with the ANC?

The question has no doubt crossed the minds of members of the group of South Africans assembled here to meet with the banned organization.

Friar Selwyn Gross, an Oxford-based Dominican friar, is a committed member of the ANC.

Born in Cape Town, he once attended a rabbinical school and lived in Israel for several years after his parents had emigrated there. He converted to Christianity rather than Roman Catholicism, shortly before he left SA about 10 years ago.

"We have in Christ a fully human person and the world reacts to that humanity by crucifying him."

For Friar Gross, the crucifixion epitomises the Holocaust, the oppressiveness of apartheid and the tragedy of the Palestinians in Israel.

While at UCT he was exposed to a sect of the Unity Movement and for a while was a Trotskyite.

Friar Gross is vague about his reasons for leaving the country, but says that at the time he became disillusioned with the sectarianism of the Unity Movement and was moving closer to the ANC.

"I was involved in illegal activities in SA, not for the ANC, and I feared I would be picked up."

He stayed for a while in Botswana and then for four years in Israel where he did military service. He still holds an Israeli passport.

In 1981 he joined the Dominicans in England and will soon be ordained as a priest.

"In Britain being a Dominican might involve working for nuclear disarmament, in my case it demands working for change in South Africa."

Friar Gross said he had been working for the ANC for years.

"Being born in South Africa carries a moral obligation to fight against apartheid."

The Freedom Charter, he says, expresses in a concrete fashion the demands of humanity and love which are at the heart of the Christian message.

Friar Gross draws a distinction between violence and the legitimate use of force.

He subscribes to the theory of a just war and draws a comparison between South Africa and the armed uprising by Jews in the Warsaw ghetto.



# Women who champion similar aims

By Garner Thomson of The Star's London Bureau

11A

10/7/87

As social unrest and economic problems continue to harass the government of Pakistan's President Zia, remarkable similarities now exist between the beliefs and activities of his arch-opponent, Miss Benazir Bhutto, and the revolutionary struggle of South Africa's Mrs Winnie Mandela.

Although 10 years apart in age, both women were young when they reluctantly inherited their struggle against what they regard as oppressive regimes from powerful male relatives inactivated by State action. Miss Bhutto's father, former President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, was executed on a dubious murder charge eight years ago. Mrs Mandela's husband, Nelson, was sentenced

to life imprisonment in 1964.

Miss Bhutto also inherited the considerable power of her father's Pakistan People's Party (PPP) while Mrs Mandela has taken a kind of unofficial leadership of the ANC inside South Africa. But both lead largely populist movements with a strong youth contingent often in conflict with the police.

The clashes between the Soweto "comrades" and the police have strong echoes in Karachi, where jeering and taunting young Pakistani militants confronted police in scenes strongly reminiscent of Soweto from 1979.

But, despite such popular support, both Mrs Mandela and Miss Bhutto are characteristically cautious leaders, often absent from the more radical throng at times of high tension. Their respective periods in detention have doubtless taught them circumspection in the face of increased action against political dissidence.

Despite the regular charges made

by their antagonists, both Miss Bhutto and her South African counterpart are ostensibly opposed — or, at least, publicly neutral — to violence as a means of achieving their political ends.

In Miss Bhutto's most recent interview, with *The Times*, she stressed that patience was the key to her new strategy. "We do not want change through bloodshed and have rejected that option for the time being," she said.

Even when calling for the total elimination of apartheid, in her speech at Hammanskraal on April 11, Mrs Mandela offered several suggestions for action as "alternatives to carrying an AK".

Miss Bhutto has correctly identified the economy as the Pakistani regime's weak point; likewise, Mrs Mandela calls for the isolation of South Africa, not only in the political, diplomatic, military, educational and cultural fields, but of its economy as well. Both countries have grave problems with unemployment, migrant labour and foreign debt.

Nor is South Africa alone in suffering from ethnic tensions. Paki-

stan's Pathans, the tall hillmen from the North-West Frontier Province, and the Mohajirs, more recent arrivals from India, appear at least as incompatible as the Xhosas and the Zulus.

Both women are therefore faced with a driving need to create and maintain a broad base of support. There is no doubt that both already do so, but the activities of both movements are hampered by the fact that the supreme power of both countries remains with its armed forces.

Their commitments are virtually indistinguishable — to the total eradication of the forces which they believe are beyond reform. Mrs Mandela might have been speaking for both of them when she said: "To wipe out this sustained crime against humanity requires a sustained and determined campaign on the part of our people and the international community."

And, finally, their most unshakeable belief of all... that time alone stands between them and the realisation of their respective vision of deliverance and peace.



Miss Bhutto

# Crossroads tension

concerns

Tutu

Staff Reporters

ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu is concerned by "the growing tension" in Crossroads, a spokesman said after a meeting between the archbishop and Old Crossroads squatter leader Mr Prince Gobingca.

The archbishop's press secretary, Mr Matt Esau, said an "upset" Mr Gobingca and a group of followers had told the archbishop yesterday they had learnt from a "very reliable source" that Mr Gobingca was to be attacked by the Johnson Ngxobongwana faction.

According to the information received, Mr Gobingca was to be "assassinated", but the attack would be "executed so as to appear like a faction fight", the archbishop was told.

Archbishop Tutu had asked the Legal Resources Centre to deal with the matter.

A spokesman for Brigadier Ronnie van der Westhuizen, Divisional Commissioner of the Western Cape, has confirmed that the brigadier received a call from the LRC.

"But police have no information or any reason to believe that Mr Prince Gobingca's life is in danger or that there will be an attack on him," the spokesman said.

# UCT prof sets tone for debate

From MIKE ROBERTSON

DAKAR. — The first full day of talks here has centred on the ANC's support for armed struggle and the question of exploiting political structures like Parliament.

Delegates, who are meeting behind closed doors, say the ANC has been "bending over backwards" to explain its policies and to try to seek common ground.

Professor Andre du Toit, of the Department of Political Studies at UCT, set the tone of the debate in a paper in which he said a realistic political strategy had to realize the dangers involved in uncontrolled political violence.

"It may be psychologically understandable or even morally justifiable to turn to political violence, especially in desperation or as a last resort, but strategically this can only be of limited use if not counter-productive.

"Confronting a repressive state that, in military or coercive terms, it cannot hope to match, or even seriously threaten, the greatest asset of any resistance movement is the actual and potential legitimacy and support it is able to muster amongst the population as well as internationally."

Prof Du Toit said the indiscriminate use of violence or terror "frightened the more conservative groupings and the majority of whites into the government's laager".

It also created the kind of conditions "in which the state can unleash its massive powers of repression with greater impunity and turn loose vigi-

lante groups and reactionary forces to wreak havoc in local communities".

Prof Du Toit added that if local initiatives such as "necklacing" were not consistently and authoritatively disowned, a climate would soon be created in which a responsible political movement could only lose the initiative.

Prof Du Toit argued for a flexible strategy which, while attacking sham reform, exploited the opportunities provided by the limited electoral democracy.

"It should be borne in mind that the continuity of constitutional legality vested in the institution of parliament is an important political resource which should be utilized rather than spurned."

Prof Du Toit also said the task of forging national unity in SA would not be furthered by any organization attempting to claim a monopoly of political legitimacy.

"A viable political strategy must accept the pluralist nature of the opposition and resistance movement itself."

ANC executive member Mr Mac Maharaj delivered a formal response to Prof Du Toit's paper, but after a flurry of questions it was decided the ANC should have another formal opportunity to state its position.

The ANC decided after meeting in caucus for two hours that this be done by publicity secretary Mr Thabo Mbeki.

Mr Mbeki's address was described by delegates as "brilliant", "highly illuminating" and "going as far as he could without compromising the ANC".

## VIP welcome for SA group

DAKAR. — When the South African group entered the conference room here for their talks with the ANC, their arrival was given the sort of treatment usually reserved for visiting heads of state.

Most of Dr Van Zyl Slabbert's delegation looked slightly bemused as they were welcomed by dancers on stilts in colourful traditional costume, drummers and dancers.

"It's a great show, isn't it? We should do something in return," commented one delegate as he watched the gyrations of a dancer waving the green flag of Senegal's ruling Parti Socialiste.

"We have come from inside South Africa and are simply overwhelmed by this reception," Dr Slabbert added.

The hospitality continued last night

with a champagne reception at the presidential palace where President Abdou Diouf and Mrs Danielle Mitterrand shook hands with each of them.

Mrs Mitterrand, wife of French President Francois Mitterrand and head of the human-rights foundation France-Liberte, played an important role in arranging this week's talks.

Yesterday the group toured a Senegalese textile plant and a yoghurt factory before entering a second day of talks.

Delegates who discussed the closed meetings on condition of anonymity said some of the Afrikaner participants were dismayed by the ANC's apparent insistence on playing the dominant role in the anti-apartheid movement. — Sapa-Reuter-AP



DAKAR MEETING . . . The leader of the South African delegation to Senegal, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, with the publicity secretary of the ANC, Mr Thabo Mbeki in Dakar yesterday. The South Africans are holding talks with an ANC delegation led by Mr Mbeki, who is banned in South Africa and cannot be quoted.

Picture: REUTERS

# Freedom Charter today

**Prof GRETCHEN CARPENTER,**  
Department of Constitutional  
and International Law, Unisa

The Freedom Charter was adopted 32 years ago on June 26 1955.

It is of some interest to analyse this document afresh in the light of recent developments in South African constitutional law.

Like most statements of this kind, the charter is, to a major extent, a political manifesto. It nevertheless contains a number of elements which are of interest to the constitutional lawyer as well as the politician and the political scientist.

## The preamble to the constitution:

This is normally a political manifesto or statement of intent, pure and simple. (The preamble to the South African Constitution Act of 1983 states that the independence of the judiciary will be respected; this does not mean that any parliamentary enactment which ousts the jurisdiction of the courts in a particular case can be imposed in a court of law.)

The preamble to the Freedom Charter falls in the same category.

It is, for the most part, a somewhat emotional declaration rejecting the policy of apartheid and its consequences.

## The people shall govern:

The essence of this paragraph is the recognition of the universally accepted principle that the government must enjoy the consent of the governed: "Every man and woman shall have the right to vote for and stand as a candidate for all bodies which make laws" signifies acceptance of universal adult suffrage, a principle recognised by the South African Government itself.

The reference to all legislative bodies is significant, implying as it does that the right to vote for representatives in the central legislature is a vital one.

## All groups shall have equal rights:

This is simply a clause embodying the principles of equal treatment irrespective of race and colour, of the right of any group to protection of its own culture and customs and to protection against insults and slurs of a racial nature. This type of clause is common to most declarations of the fundamental rights.

(It should be mentioned that there is a large body of black political and legal opinion in South Africa which is opposed to the incorporation of a Bill of Rights in the South African constitution. The reason for this opposition apparently lies in the perception that any Bill of Rights will serve only to entrench white supremacy. It is nevertheless true that many of the princi-



The Freedom Charter was 32 years old last month. This Braamfontein poster reminiscent of the event's 25th anniversary was published in The Star in 1980.

ples endorsed by the very people who reject the concept of a Bill of Rights are to be found in virtually every declaration of fundamental rights in modern legal systems.)

Although South Africa has no constitutionally entrenched Bill of Rights, most of the rights and freedoms which are commonly encountered in Bills of Rights are recognised by our common law.

They are not guaranteed, however, because the South African Parliament, in keeping with the principle of legislative supremacy which is a feature of the Westminster system of government, may limit or impinge upon them in an Act of Parliament. It should nevertheless be pointed out that there is a presumption in South African law against discrimination; in practice this means that, in order to be valid, a discriminatory provision must be expressly authorised by Parliament.

The fact that discrimination has been so authorised on many occasions does not detract from the basic principle.

## The people shall share in the country's wealth:

For the most part this paragraph reflects the socialist philosophy of the writers of the Charter. White South African opinion tends to favour the free enterprise system and the preamble to the South African Constitution reflects this predilection. While a manifesto endorsing socialism need not necessarily be regarded as inherently sinister, it must be classified as "political" rather than "judicial" in essence. The final sentence in this paragraph, which accords recognition to the right or freedom to trade or



work wherever one chooses may, however, be said to contain a legal principle, although it must be emphasised that restrictions are placed on these freedoms in South Africa (and in most modern states); it is, for example, virtually impossible to engage in any kind of trade without the requisite licence.

## The land shall be shared among those who work it:

What was said about the previous paragraph applies equally here. The idea of the division of land is a socialist principle, but, on the other hand, the freedom to occupy land wherever one chooses is universally acknowledged, subject, of course, to restrictions such as zoning laws. The removal of restrictions on land ownership based on race may also be seen as being in line with the general democratic principle.

## All shall be equal before the law:

The principles that no one may be convicted without a fair trial, that no one may be condemned by the order of a government official, that the police and defence force shall be open to all and that laws which discriminate on the grounds of race, colour or belief should be repealed, are universally regarded as valid legal precepts. One could perhaps look askance at the statement that the courts should be representative of all people: if this means merely that appointments may not be confined to one racial group, no more need be said; but if it means that such appointments must reflect all shades and classes in the community without regard to professional merit, it is suspect as a legal principle. By the same

token, the statement that imprisonment shall be only for serious crimes against the people is open to various interpretations.

## All shall enjoy human rights:

This paragraph merely endorses generally accepted rights and freedoms such as freedom of speech, of association, or worship and of movement, the right to privacy and so on.

As has been mentioned above these rights and freedoms are, in principle, recognised by South African common law, but they may be curtailed by Parliament if this is deemed to be in the interest of the community as a whole.

## There shall be work and security:

This is essentially nothing more than recognition of freedom of association (manifesting itself in the right to form and belong to trade unions), of freedom of movement (to work wherever one pleases), the right to receive equal pay for equal work, and so on. The clauses relating to working conditions can be found in the accepted labour practice of most Western countries. (It is of interest that mention is made of maternity leave: discrimination based on sex is not mentioned elsewhere in the Charter; on the other hand, it must be remembered that the Charter was drafted more than 30 years ago, at a time when discrimination on the basis of sex was not as much of an issue as it is today.)

## The doors of learning and culture shall be opened:

Apart from the principle of equal opportunity in the sphere of education and the reiteration of the ideal that

the colour bar should disappear, this paragraph contains little which is of interest to the constitutional lawyer. It falls largely within the category of policy statements.

## There shall be houses, security and comfort:

For the most part, this is an idealistic, not to say utopian, picture of the society envisaged by the draftsmen of the Charter. While it may certainly be government policy to produce adequate housing for all, to establish a system of free medical care, to eliminate slums and ghettos and so on, no constitution can actually guarantee that "rent and prices shall be lowered, food plentiful and no one shall be hungry" or even that "new suburbs shall be built where all shall have transport, roads, lighting, playing fields, creches and social centres". The right to live where one chooses may, however, be regarded as having legal rather than purely political content. Again it is freedom of association and movement which is at issue.

## There shall be peace and friendship:

The final paragraph restates the common credo of most states, namely that the state is fully sovereign and independent but that it recognises the sovereignty of all other states, and that any international dispute will be settled by negotiation rather than war. Specific mention is made of the rights of African states to independence and self-government, and the principle of equality of all South Africans is emphasised once again.

In conclusion, the Freedom Charter may be described as a political manifesto which has a distinct leaning towards socialist (though not necessarily communist) philosophy.

The primary concern of the Charter is, understandably, the abolition of apartheid. It nevertheless contains a number of principles adhered to by all Western democracies and recognised by South African common law.

The question of fundamental rights is a vexed one in South African law, however; for one thing, there is no unanimity about the legal status of the so-called "civil rights" such as the "right" to vote, and about the status of some of the freedoms mentioned above. They are seen by some as fully-fledged rights and by others as mere privileges which do not automatically accrue to the individual.

However, in spite of the opposition to the concept of a constitutionally entrenched bill of rights, in which individual rights and freedoms and the circumstances in which these may be curtailed are spelt out in detail, this would still appear to offer the best solution to South Africa's constitutional dilemma.

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# Assurance that averted a riot — unpublished facts now on record

By ANTHONY HEARD: EDITOR, CAPE TIMES

IT IS necessary, in the interests of the historical record, to place a footnote on the Philip Kgosana story, which was in the news again this week.

I have some previously unpublished evidence about the march on Cape Town of March 30, 1960, which must now be given.

For 27 years, the evidence has been gathering dust in a drawer. It is in the form of a statement, made by me as a reporter who covered the events, and it confirms that a categorical assurance was given to Philip Kgosana, the leader of the 30 000 Africans on the march, that an interview with the Minister of Justice, Mr F C Erasmus, would be arranged if the crowd dispersed.

It is explicitly clear that this was not a matter of a "request" for an interview — as most versions, so far, have it. No, if the assurance had not been given by Colonel I P S Terblanche, that other man of destiny outside Caledon Square police station on March 30, there would have been a violent confrontation and much bloodshed.

It is a matter of history that Mr Kgosana and some colleagues were arrested when they turned up later, confident that the South African Government would keep its word.

This betrayal has always worried me, particularly against the



Cape Times reporter Anthony Heard (left) speaking to Philip Kgosana (extreme right) and some of his aides at the Jutland fly-over bridge above Roeland Street on March 30, 1960, just before the confrontation at Caledon Square.

background of the powerful need for negotiations, based on good faith, between white and black to address the country's problems. It worried me so much at the time, in view of persistent denials of such an assurance, that I handed in a statement to the Langa riot commission on May 12, 1960.

The statement was handed to the then Attorney General who was leading evidence at the inquiry, Mr W M van den Berg. It no doubt forms part of the Langa commission papers, though when the report (incidentally, an excellent, lucid document compared with the turgid Sharpeville re-

port) came out, there was no publication of accompanying papers.

The best way to tell the story of an assurance that saved Cape Town but, when broken, shattered the faith of countless Africans, is to publish that statement, which follows:

ON March 30, 1960, when a crowd of Africans gathered outside Caledon Square, I travelled in a Cape Times car, preceding one group along De Waal Drive, while another group went to Caledon Square another way (apparently along Main Road).

Leaving his crowd sitting on the grass above Jutland fly-over bridge,

Kgosana walked down Roeland Street, to Caledon Square, where he was met by police officers, including Colonel Terblanche, Colonel Muir and Coloney Reay, and other policemen, who stood amid a huge crowd.

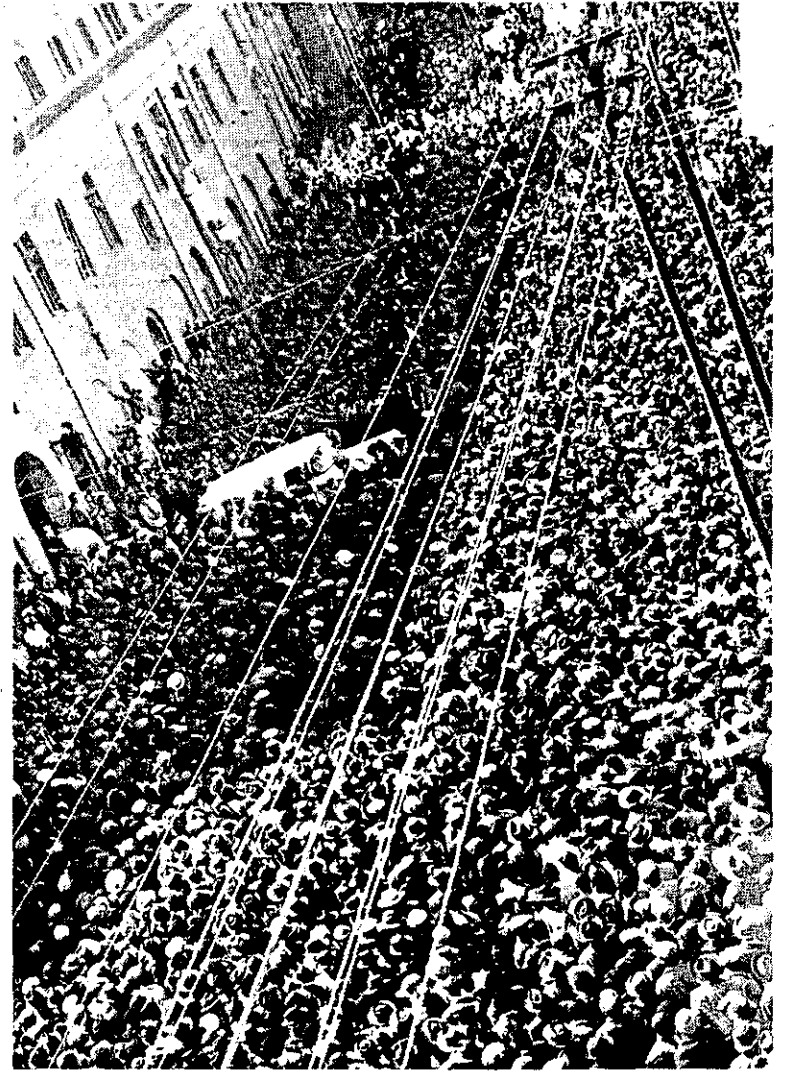
I walked down most of the way with the group of Africans, and when they approached Colonel Terblanche, I stood a few feet away from the two central figures: Colonel Terblanche and Kgosana. One of the first things Colonel Terblanche did was to ask Kgosana to quieten the crowd, which he did by means of a loudspeaker. He told the Africans to be as quiet as the grave-

yard — and they were silent.

He then addressed Colonel Terblanche. Colonel Reay was standing just to the side of Colonel Terblanche and Colonel Muir was walking about seeing that the crowd kept back from the group. Kgosana's demands included a personal interview with the Minister of Justice immediately, and an assurance that the police would not continue beating Africans at Langa in their efforts to get them to go to work. Colonel Terblanche said the minister was not available at the time (it was lunch time), and Colonel Reay remarked: "Come on, Kgosana, you can't see the minister with all these people round you. Come back with a few of them." (or words to this effect).

I then heard Colonel Terblanche clearly promise to arrange an interview later between Kgosana and the Minister of Justice. He gave his personal assurance that he would do this, and I heard no talk of his trying to arrange such an interview.

After hearing this assurance, I saw a (Cape Times) photographer standing near the charge office door, and because I had been trying to locate our photographers earlier, I went over to him. Shortly after this Kgosana was lifted shoulder-high and he told the crowd that an assurance had been



The crowd outside Caledon Square on March 30, 1960.

given that he could have an interview with the minister. He then told the crowd to disperse quietly.

I was convinced that if this assurance had not been given, Kgosana would not have been sat-

isfied and would not have told the crowd to disperse. I felt great admiration for Colonel Terblanche because he had, I believe, avoided bloodshed that day by his tact, and his preparedness to discuss

things with Kgosana and give this assurance.

I believe an intransigent attitude or an unsatisfactory assurance could easily have sparked a riot.

# Dakar delegates deny right-wing 'treason' charges

*Cape Times 11/7/87*

*(11A)*

DAKAR. — The South Africans conferring with the African National Congress (ANC) yesterday denied charges of treason levelled against them by right-wing organizations in South Africa.

Yesterday, after the first working session on the future of South Africa in a potential non-apartheid era, Professor Andre du Toit, of the University of Cape Town, said that right-wing critics had their own idea of what constituted a nation and what constituted treason.

"We are meeting here with members of the ANC as compatriots and as patriots," he said.

ANC spokesman Mr Mac Maharaj said he hoped the international community would ensure that no reprisals are taken against the South African liberals who travelled to Senegal to understand the ANC better and to learn more about other African countries.

"We would like to appeal to governments, especially the allies of South Africa, to send unequivocal messages that it (the Pretoria government) has an obligation to ensure that this visit cannot be used by any forces to act against them," he said.

Earlier yesterday an extreme right-wing organization, the Blanke Bevrydingsbeweging (White Freedom Movement), filed a formal complaint with police accusing the white liberals in Senegal of high treason.

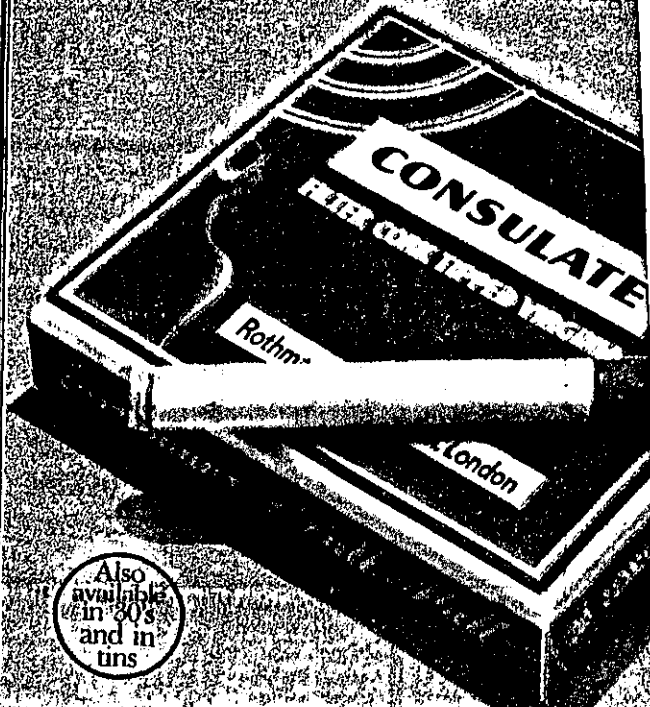
The obscure BBB claims to be to the right of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB).  
— Sapa-Reuter

UCT prof sets tone for debate — Page 2



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**Amusement Guide**  
— PAGE 8

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# ANC calls for protection for SA group

DAKAR. — The African National Congress (ANC) has called on the international community to provide protection for a group of white South African liberals here for discussions on the future of the Republic.

ANC-spokesman Mr Mac Maharaj said he wanted to ensure that white South Africans who travelled to Senegal this week for the talks "are not victimised for this action".

A right-wing organisation in South Africa yesterday filed a formal complaint with the South African Government accusing those attending the Dakar talks of high treason.

The Blanke Bevrydingsbeweging (White Freedom Movement) added its charges to those of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB).

"The ANC takes these threats to the South Africans who have come to meet us very seriously and appeals to the allies of the Pretoria Government to ensure that no action is taken against them," Mr Maharaj said.

Asked which South African allies he was referring to in his call for protection, he mentioned the United States and West Germany. "I had in mind those who claim that by having relations with South Africa they have leverage and influence," he said.

The ANC spokesman's remark was a clear refer-

ence to the Reagan Administration's policy of constructive engagement with South Africa.

A leading member of the white South African delegation, Mr André du Toit, rejected the charges of treason.

"We are committed to a very different conception of the South African nation and have a different view on what constitutes treason and what is patriotism," he said.

Speaking to journalists after the first full working session of the controversial meeting, the head of the delegation, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, said much of the day had been taken up with strategies for achieving change.

"There were some very clear divisions on this."

He said the South Africans and the ANC today debated on broad lines the issue of national unity in the Republic.

Dr Slabbert said: "There has been a wide agreement on the desirability of a non-racial society and everyone was concerned about how we could reach such a society."

"But one issue which was certainly an issue of controversy involved the question of the armed struggle."

The delegation leaves Senegal on Monday for Burkina Faso, where they will be greeted by President Thomas Sankara. They will then visit neighbouring Ghana. — Sapa-Reuters

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## ANC suspect shot grabbing grenade

DURBAN — A suspected African National Congress (ANC) guerilla was shot dead in Lamontville this week, seconds before trying to pull the pin on a hand grenade while showing police where he had buried money from an armed robbery last year.

The suspected guerilla was identified as one of three men responsible for a sub-machinegun hold-up at a Chatsworth bus company in January last year in which an employee, Mr Herbert Sibani, 27, was wounded.

A Port Natal police spokesman, Major Charl du Toit, said yesterday the man had accompanied Warrant-Officer Jurie Prinsloo, of the Durban murder and robbery unit, and other members of the force to a spot on Thursday afternoon where he said he had buried the R1 116 taken in the armed robbery.

"He started digging and a plastic bag emerged. When he stood up a hand grenade fell from the bag and as he turned around they saw he was pulling the pin from another grenade," Major Du Toit said.

W/O Prinsloo immediately fired four shots at the man, who later died on the way to hospital.

Later investigations showed that the man was "a trained terrorist", Major Du Toit said.

At the time of the robbery at the Metrolite Bus Service on January 15 last year, police said they had not ruled out the possibility that the three suspects were ANC members. — DDC



CAPE Times 11/7/87



# Erasmus: Morale-busting minister

By ROGER WILLIAMS  
Chief Reporter

THE LATE Mr F C (Frans) Erasmus, who as Minister of Justice castigated the then Western Cape police chief, Colonel IPS Terblanche, for not using force against 30 000 angry blacks who marched on Cape Town on March 30, 1960, is one of the most controversial figures in South African political history.

His name was recalled this week after Colonel "Terry" Terblanche, now 84, was honoured by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok.

At a ceremony at which no reference was made to the 1960 drama, or to Mr Erasmus, Mr Vlok conferred the honorary rank of brigadier on Colonel Terblanche — the rank denied him by Mr Erasmus more than 20 years ago.

Colonel Terblanche and the leader of the black marchers, Mr Philip Kgosana, were credited with saving Cape Town from a bloodbath, in what the colonel himself has referred to as "the miracle of March 30".

Mr Erasmus, later accused of betrayal after he had had Kgosana arrested, is widely remembered as the man who as Minister of Defence dealt (although inadvertently) a staggering blow lasting 11 years to morale in the armed forces. He was noted for the way he "bowler-hatted" able and respected officers — or withheld promotion from them.

An apostle of apartheid and one of the architects of the National Party's victory at the polls in 1948 — he was an outstanding organizer — Mr Erasmus was rewarded by the Prime Minister, Dr D F Malan, with the defence portfolio in the first post-war NP cabinet.

A paradoxical personality, he did not fit the blustering jackbooter image of himself projected in

some quarters. Quietly spoken, urbane and courteous, he was out of the Cape Nationalist mould. While he gave the impression of having an obsessive hatred of anything to do with Britain, and its royalty, he often proudly sported the blazer of the sailing club he belonged to — Royal Cape Yacht Club.

An ardent Afrikaner Nationalist who had strenuously opposed South Africa's entry into World War II on the side of the Allies, he dismissed without thanks the wartime Prime Minister, General Smuts, from his honorific post of Commander-in-Chief of the Union's forces.

Mr Erasmus later said he would refuse to sit at the same table as any follower of Smuts.

He "bowler-hatted" General Evered Poole, then regarded as SA's ablest and most distinguished soldier (he had commanded the South African 6th Division during the war), by giving him a semi-diplomatic posting abroad.

Mr Erasmus, a man with no military experience, then appointed Lieutenant-General Len Beyers as Chief of the General Staff and set about remodelling the army on the old commando system.

But he became so active in bowler-hatting Smuts government appointees and replacing them with "reliable party men" that General Beyers resigned in anger and disgust, saying that as a professional soldier he could no longer tolerate what he bluntly

called "political interference" by the Minister.

Mr Erasmus abolished the "orange flash" that had distinguished SA servicemen as volunteers during the war, and he started changing uniforms and insignia. He put sailors into new, Germanic outfits, after referring to the uniform worn by ratings of the British Royal Navy as consisting of "soup-plate hats, wide-skirted trousers and women's jumpers".

Opposition MPs referred to him as "a glorified military tailor".

Among other things, Mr Erasmus banned liquor in Defence Force messes in 1958, and his unpopularity manifested itself in many ways, which included the removal or defacing (in one case with jam) of his portrait in military establishments. This led to at least one court-martial of an officer — a SAAF war hero with a DFC.

Morale recovered only after Mr Erasmus was relieved of the defence portfolio in 1959 and replaced by the late, ever-popular Mr Jim Fouché, who subsequently became State President. Mr P W Botha, who succeeded Mr Fouché in the Defence Ministry, also did much to repair damage done by Mr Erasmus.

Mr Erasmus held the Justice portfolio for two years before his surprise resignation in 1961. The then Prime Minister, the late Dr Hendrik Verwoerd, sent him to Rome as South Africa's ambassador — an appointment he held for four years.

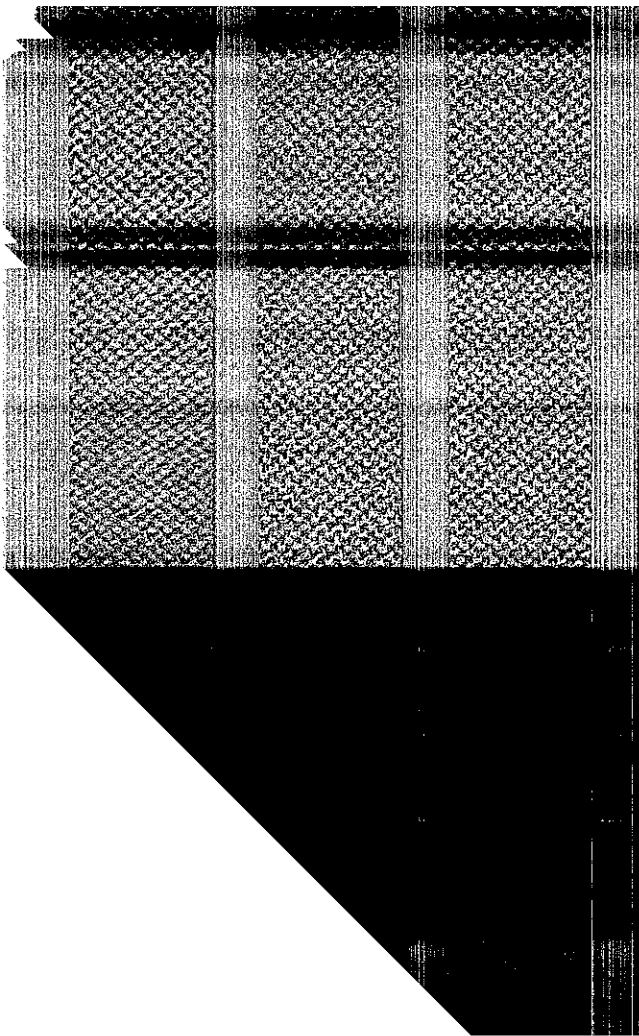
Mr Erasmus died suddenly while on holiday at Die Mond, near Bredasdorp, in 1967.

□ Anthony Heard on the assurance given to Philip Kgosana — Page 6.

□ Troubleshooter "Terry" Terblanche — a man of wide culture — Top of the Times, Page 16.



The late Mr Frans Erasmus



Picture:  
TERRY  
SHEAN

An old man stands at the spot where 26 years ago he defied a Minister but averted a bloodbath. He was a police colonel, and he stayed a colonel. Till this week . . .

# THEY'VE RIGHTED THE WRONG, SAYS THE NEW

A SENIOR policeman who defied the Minister of Police to save Cape Town from what he believed could have been a "bloodbath" only nine days after the Sharpeville shooting, this week spoke emotionally of the 26 years it took for him to be vindicated.

With tears welling in his eyes the 74-year-old former policeman said: "The wrong that was done to me that day has at last been righted."

Brigadier Ignatius "Terry" Terblanche was promoted to the rank of brigadier by Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok this week.

The customary promotion from its rank of colonel to brigadier on retirement was denied to him 25 years ago when he was castigated by the incumbent Minister of Police, Mr Frans Erasmus, for not taking punitive and "drastic" action against a group of more than 30 000 protest marchers in Cape Town.

## Explosive

Twenty-six years ago Brigadier Terblanche was then a colonel and head of the S.A.P. in Cape Town.

The political atmosphere in South Africa at the time was explosive as an almost decade-long, non-violent protest by blacks against the Government peaked in 1960 with a countrywide campaign against the pass laws.

A state of emergency had been declared, and nine days earlier 63 protesters died when police opened fire on them at Sharpeville.

Then, on March 30 1960, two separate crowds totalling more than 30 000 people left the townships on the Cape Flats and marched into Cape Town.

One group converged on Cape Town's central police station, Caledon Square, while the second waited a few blocks away at the Roeland Street fire station.

The protest was led by a young



FLASHBACK: Young student Phillip Kgosana, leader of 30 000, on his way to Caledon Square

## By SYBRAND MOSTERT

student in shorts, 23-year-old Phillip Kgosana, the regional secretary of the now-banned Pan Africanist Congress.

Blacks had heeded a call to stay away from work and planned to march on police stations throughout South Africa where, without their pass books, they would present themselves for arrest.

"The march had started at about 11am and a crowd of about 14 000 blacks had gathered in front of Caledon Square by noon," Brigadier Terblanche said.

Summoned from his office close by, he said that he and another police officer had moved through the

crowd surrounding the police station to reach the entrance.

The crowd extended several blocks up and down the street.

## Peaceful

"The situation was tense, but they were peaceful and silent," he said.

He said that he had "immediately decided" not to use force. "It would have been a bloodbath if I had."

On his instructions the two huge swing doors which lead to the inner courtyard were locked, and only a few high-ranking officers were allowed outside.

Nearly 200 armed policemen waited inside the building.

He addressed the crowd and asked them what they wanted, telling them that he did not want to use

force to disperse them. He received no answer as they were waiting for their leader.

Meanwhile more and more people, including women, children and onlookers, joined the crowd. The high buildings around the police station were packed with foreign and local newsmen.

"The slightest wrong I've could have sparked a riot and the whole world would have known within a few hours what had happened on Caledon Square."

"Everyone was ready, everyone was waiting — and so was I."

It was an explosive stalemate as the crowd and the police waited for the leaders to arrive.

"I asked them, I begged them to bring forward their leader so we could negotiate, but there was just silence," he said.

At that stage he was called inside to take a telephone call from the then Minister of Justice, Mr Frans Erasmus.

Brig Terblanche is reluctant to reveal details of the conversation he had with the Minister.

"But I will tell you that he gave me instructions that I could not follow. I told him that I could not do what he wanted. It was too dangerous."

"We had an argument over the phone. I felt very bad after that call."

"After the call I went outside and a miracle took place.

"The crowd was still there, standing silently in the street, when a man came up to me.

"He asked to speak to me. I will never forget you," he told me."

The man turned out to be a cook who had been stationed under Brig Terblanche when he was in command of the Wynberg police.

## Nerves

The cook had been assaulted by a constable in the mess and the brigadier, then a captain, had personally handled the case and imposed the maximum penalty for such an offence on the young policeman — a £5 fine.

"He told me that their leader was a young student, Phillip Kgosana, who was waiting with another crowd at the Roeland Street fire station."

Brig Terblanche sent for Mr Kgosana and the crowd which was waiting with him followed.

"They must have numbered about 30 000 by then," he said.

Brig Terblanche fearlessly strode forward into the throng to meet the young student leader.

The seasoned policeman and the nervous young student — the two who held the fate of hundreds in their hands — met in the middle of



FLASHBACK: Kgosana

the street, and talked for an hour while Cape Town breathed.

"He was a ball of nerves shaking like a leaf in pants," he said.

"It was the first time I met, although I knew of him. He said they had demanded the release of leaders."

Brig Terblanche said he led the young student people back home peacefully that afternoon with Mr Kgosana.

"I said to him he had me into using force as I thing that I wanted to."

Brig Terblanche arranged an escort for the crowd as told him they were aff

FROM EXILE, THE ONE-TIME MARCHER SAYS:

not where 26  
 but averted  
 colonel, and  
 week . . .

UNITED

11A

Picture:  
 TERRY  
 SHEAN



FLASHBACK:  
 Colonel Ignatius  
 Terblanche in  
 the early '60s as  
 head of the SAP  
 in Cape Town

# SAYS THE NEW BRIGADIER



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 who held the fate of hundreds in  
 their hands — met in the middle of



FLASHBACK: Kgosana is lifted shoulder-high after being promised an interview with the Minister

the street, and talked for about half  
 an hour while Cape Town held its  
 breath.

"He was a ball of nerves at first,  
 shaking like a leaf in his short  
 pants," he said.

"It was the first time that we had  
 met, although I knew all about him.  
 "He said they had come to demand  
 the release of all their  
 leaders."

Brig Terblanche said he persua-  
 ded the young student to "send his  
 people back home peacefully" in ex-  
 change for a promised meeting later  
 that afternoon with Mr Erasmus.

"I said to him he must not push  
 me into using force as it was the last  
 thing that I wanted to do."

Brig Terblanche arranged for an  
 escort for the crowd as Kgosana had  
 told him they were afraid of being

attacked by police on their way  
 back.

With the near-disaster averted,  
 Brig Terblanche went off to report  
 to the then Commissioner of Police,  
 General Rademeyer, who had just  
 seen the Minister.

The commissioner told him the  
 Minister had issued an order that  
 Kgosana be arrested when he re-  
 turned that afternoon.

## Fled

The Minister later denied in Par-  
 liament that he had given the order.

"I told the Commissioner that I  
 could not accept that decision. I  
 couldn't do it. I felt like a traitor."

He also then learnt that the Com-  
 missioner had tendered his resigna-  
 tion after an altercation with Mr

Erasmus.

When Philip Kgosana arrived  
 with a deputation that afternoon he  
 was arrested and charged with or-  
 ganising an illegal gathering.

Released on bail, he fled to Swazi-  
 land the next day.

The young student is now working  
 for a United Nations organisation,  
 Unicef, in Sri Lanka.

Minister Erasmus was relieved of  
 his post soon after and became  
 South Africa's ambassador in Rome.  
 He died in 1987.

A spokesman for the Minister of  
 Law and Order, Mr Adrian Vlok,  
 said Brig Terblanche's promotion  
 was made in recognition of his com-  
 munity service since retiring in  
 1961.

There was no link between his  
 promotion and the events 27 years  
 ago, the spokesman said.

# DATELINE

## DAKAR



Ancient guns — part of the colonial past of Senegal.



At the top: President Abdou Diouf (LEFT) and his wife, Caroline.

SPECIAL REPORT: Weekend Argus Africa News Service, in DAKAR

**I** AM an Afrikaner," is how one black ANC leader introduced himself to a contingent consisting predominantly of visiting Afrikaners at the historic workshop in the Senegalese capital this week.

It set the tone for a remarkable day 65 South Africans experienced in West Africa when they arrived for talks with a 16-man African National Congress delegation.

It started with the South Africans being taken to the government conference centre in a convoy led by smart police outriders with flashing lights and screaming sirens. They stopped all traffic in Dakar.

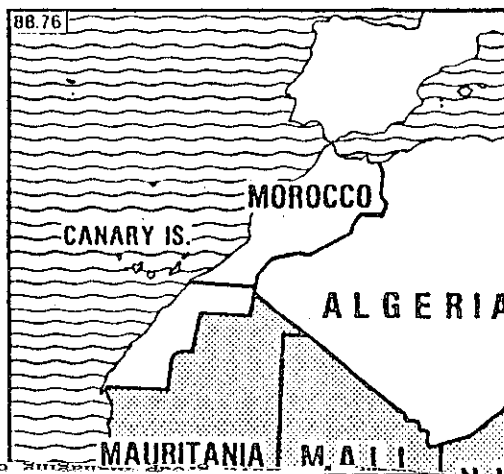
Slabbert — treated almost like a head of state . . .

Dr Slabbert was warmly applauded when he said it was proper for these meetings to take place in Africa and not elsewhere, because it would help show white South Africans that they are really part of Africa and not an isolated part of Europe.

Addressing the ANC, Dr Slabbert said some of their members had adopted strategies and policies that many South Africans did not understand or accept. But it was nevertheless of crucial importance for the groups to get to know each other and to explore ways out of the conflict in which South Africa was involved.

With the Senegalese gone, it was time for the two delegations to be introduced.

One by one, the delegates from the two teams walked up to the podium to state where they were born and what they are doing now. Several white and black delegates found that they were born in the same town



...centre, the visitors were met by scores of colourful Senegalese in traditional dress. They beat drums and performed acrobatic tribal dances. This went on for an hour until the popular, 1,9m President Abdou Diouf arrived and was met by the directors of the Institute for Democratic Alternatives for South Africa (Idasa) Dr Fredrik van Zyl Slabbert and Dr Alex Boraine, Afrikaans poet Breyten Breytenbach and the ANC's information secretary, Mr Thabo Mbeki.

The French President's wife, Mrs Danielle Mitterrand, who co-sponsored the talks, arrived with the Senegalese president. Large numbers of foreign television and Press representatives were present to hear President Diouf emphasise how proud he was to host this important forum for witnesses and victims of apartheid trying to pre-empt a blood-bath".

### Strong support

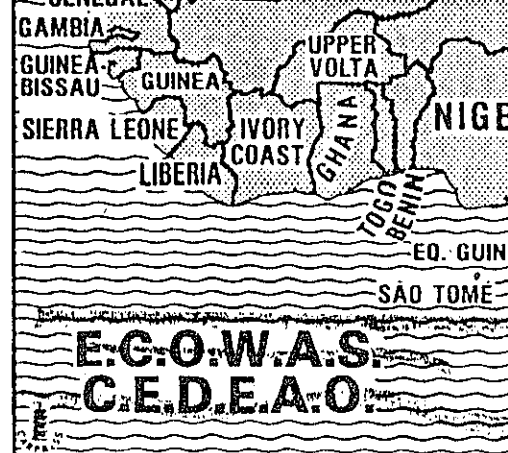
He said the South African Government was trying to create a myth that the country's problems were an East-West issue.

Mrs Mitterrand, whose organisation, France Liberte, helped organise the talks, spoke strongly in support of Idasa.

The leader of the ANC delegation, Mr Thabo Mbeki, also spoke but he may not be quoted in South Africa because he is banned.

Dr van Zyl Slabbert was treated almost like a head of state, and the overwhelming welcome the South Africans received proved that Africa was keen to host and initiate discussions between South Africans who reject apartheid.

Dr Slabbert said the delegation was not in Dakar to promote an artificial detente. He warned that the importance of the meeting



### Outriders, sirens

Then it was back to the hotel — with outriders, sirens and all — for the main function of the two-week conference: the workshop between the two groups.

After three hours, the delegates went to the impressive white palace of President Diouf for an official state reception.

Dr Slabbert stood next to President Diouf welcoming the large contingent of diplomats and senior government leaders.

They queued up to talk to the South Africans, who by this time had broken the ice and could be seen in little groups talking about the one thing they have in common: home.

THE overwhelming welcome the South Africans received proved that Africa was keen to host and initiate discussions between South Africans who reject apartheid.  
— van Zyl Slabbert.

should not be overestimated, but added that it was of great value nevertheless because it would help dispel the myths and prejudices between two crucial groups of South Africans.



Welcoming South African delegates, ANC held

Weekend Argus Africa News Service, in DAKAR

**A**FRICAN National Congress delegates were told by a South African academic at the Idasa conference here that the ANC's use of violence might turn out to be counter-productive.

Professor Andre du Toit, of the University of Cape Town, gave the ANC a strong warning against the dangers inherent in a proliferation of uncontrolled violence.

He said during a "workshop" meeting between the two sides that any responsible resistance movement would lose the political initiative if it did not quickly dissociate itself from local initiatives such as necklacing.

The professor, who heads the political science department at Cape Town, also said it was unrealistic and cynical of the South African Government to require the ANC to renounce violence as a precondition for negotiation.

He was the keynote speaker at the first working session of the talks being held in the Senegalese capital.

The two sides got down to serious talks after a colourful welcoming ceremony staged by President Abdou Diouf and his people, which visibly moved the delegates from South Africa.

Spokesmen for both sides expressed satisfaction with the first day's talks. Delegates said the workshop exchanges were remarkably cordial. They said there was considerable agreement on the need for consolidation of the forces opposing the present government in South Africa.

Professor du Toit's statement was replied to by a member of the ANC national executive, Mr Mac Maharaj, who is also believed to be an executive member of the South African Communist Party. As he is banned he cannot be quoted in South Africa.

The Idasa delegation fired many questions at the ANC team, mostly about the organisation's attitude to violence, its control over insurgents in the Republic, its stance on negotiation, on human rights in a post-apartheid society and about the ANC's extremist rhetoric.

Professor du Toit warned that South Africa was faced with the prospect of an escalating civil war or at least the proliferation of internecine conflict which would cost lives and diminish the economy while giving the ruling powers wide scope for pursuing divide-and-rule strategies.

ANC speakers made it clear that the debate on whether apartheid could be changed or reformed was now over and that the only topic was central political power.

They said the ANC had always been and still was in favour of a negotiated settlement.

The ANC's alliance with the SACP was defended on the grounds that the Communists had shown they were committed to the ANC's "democratic ideals and goals".

Professor du Toit said a viable political strategy must be a multiple strategy and take into account the pluralistic nature of the opposition. He specifically mentioned Inkhatha and the New Unity Movement.

# Police for more talks with leaders

*Cape Times*  
11/7/87  
Crime Reporter

POLICE are working towards bringing together the various factions and community leaders in the black townships, the Commissioner of Police for the Western Cape, Brigadier Ronnie van der Westhuizen, said yesterday.

He said he had pointed out during informal talks this week with the Mayor of Crossroads, Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana, and 30 committee members from Crossroads and site C, that he would be holding more informal talks with all leaders.

Yesterday, following a report that Mr Prince Gobingca and 15 squatter leaders from Old and New Crossroads,

KTC and Khayelitsha, had protested at the particular meeting, he said that the differences between the two groups did not allow such a meeting at this stage. However, he was convinced that in time such meetings would be held. He was willing to talk to all leaders, he said.

Mr Gobingca and others had visited his office on several occasions, he said, the last two being on June 29 and July 8.

"It is peace and prosperity which we are all after and the only way we can attain this is for all leaders to come to terms with each other and to tackle the problems together."

W/EAR 663 11/7/87

# Shacks gutted, tension in Crossroads

Weekend Argus Reporter  
**THREE** shacks were gutted in Crossroads today when squatters turned on Mr Prince Gobingca, allegedly formerly a "witdoek" member, and attacked the home he lived in and the houses of two friends.  
  
The attack followed rising tensions in the area and claims and counter-claims by rival groups over who is in control in the squatter camp.

Police said it was not known who set the shacks on fire about 9am.  
  
He said that one of the shacks burnt was that occupied by Mrs Florence Khaso, a close friend of Mr Gobingca. Mr Gobingca stayed with Mrs Khaso, police said.  
  
"According to our information, Mr Gobingca has no property of his own in Crossroads."

Police said that as far as could be established, there had been no injuries. No arrests had been made.  
  
Mr Gobingca, who has feared for his safety for some time, had a meeting yesterday with Archbishop Desmond Tutu, who later expressed concern at the growing tension.  
  
Earlier this week, at an informal meeting between the divisional commissioner of police, Brigadier Ronnie van

der Westhuizen, and Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana, the "mayor" of Crossroads, in Khayelitsha, Mr Ngxobongwana, challenged Mr Gobingca's claim to being a squatter leader.  
  
The next day Mr Gobingca was part of a group of squatters who protested at Brigadier van der Westhuizen meeting with Mr Ngxobongwana, saying they too should have been invited if there was to be peace.

The police then issued a statement saying Mr Gobingca had met regularly with senior policemen, including Brigadier van der Westhuizen.  
  
Mr Jan van Eck, MP for Claremont and a member of the PFP's Unrest Monitoring Committee, said Brigadier van der Westhuizen told him after today's attack that the police would do their best to ensure the safety of people and property in the area.

11A  
CP Press  
12/7/67

# Gunfire kills two in Motherwell

CP Correspondent

THERE was a pool of blood on the ground at No 18 Nconyana Street, in Motherwell township, where a suspected African Nation Congress guerrilla, known only as Thanduxolo, and his sister, Nombini, died in an apparent shootout with security forces on Tuesday.

In a police communique released from Pretoria on Tuesday, police said security forces had used a Casspir to demolish a shack in the black township of Motherwell when an order for the people inside it to surrender was met with a burst of gunfire.



The communique said that members of the SAP, acting on information, went to the shack and were fired on after they attempted to enter it.

Reinforcements were summoned and an order to come out was met with renewed fire. The Casspir was then used to push the shack over.

The bodies of a black man and woman were found along with 3 AK-47 magazines and other ammunition were found inside the shack.



# Will UDF or won't it, all are asking

Alrens  
11A  
12/7/87



Archie Gumede

THE STORM caused by media reports that the United Democratic Front could participate in the 1989 apartheid-sponsored elections, although subsequently denied by the front's co-president, Archie Gumede, is still raging in the black townships and the white suburbs.

The controversy has become a talking point in buses, trains, taxis and cars.

In the townships, many residents are members of one or other UDF affiliate and questions are being asked about whether the front has changed its course to meet today's political realities, or whether it is conforming to apartheid's pressures.

To some whites the suggestion that the UDF may participate in the elections appears to have been met with a sigh of relief and hope for a new political dispensation.

The UDF's participation in the establishment, they believe, would have the immediate effect of significantly reducing the number of extra-parliamentary organisations and bodies and perhaps also scale down the present



REV NTOULA

degree of violence.

However, it has now become clear that the UDF has not deviated from its stated policy of non-collaboration - at least for the moment.

As a front, rather than an organisation, the UDF cannot dictate policy to its affiliates. Instead, affiliates take up UDF campaigns in ways suited to their activities and circumstances.

In its declaration, adopted at its launch in 1983, the UDF stated as its aim the creation of a united democratic South Africa, free of "bantustans" and group areas.

One of the UDF's main endeavours, also spelt out at its launch, is "to achieve maximum unity among all democratic, peace-loving South Africans".

By definition "democratic" excluded all apartheid-created institutions like homelands, local authorities and the trica-

people, "the main burden of exploitation and discrimination fell on the working class".

Its main thrust, therefore, was the participation of the working class in its programs.

The front has pledged "to organise community, women, students, religious and sporting bodies and to build and strengthen these organisations".

It has also pledged "to consult with people regularly, to represent their views, to educate the people about the coming dangers and to unite in action against the new constitution, the Koornhof Bills and other day-to-day problems of the people".

Maximum unity among UDF affiliates was the organisation's top priority "but not with those who worked within the system", said Trevor Manuel, the front's Cape secretary, in 1983.

Meanwhile, the war is

was confusing the UDF national co-president, Archie Gumede's statement on the 1989 parliamentary elections and UDF involvement.

The comment from the TIC, which together with the UDF launched a massive campaign against the separatist tricameral parliamentary elections in 1984, follows Gumede's recent hints that he was considering suggesting to the UDF that it should participate in the 1989 tripartite elections.

The reason Gumede had advanced for this statement was that the only way the people could finally govern was for them to name the UDF as their representative in Parliament.

The UDF would then act towards dismantling apartheid from within.

In a statement to the Africa News Organisation, the TIC said that Parliament was not a vehicle for change because it was designed to cater for the interests of the white minority through the "white, coloured, Indian (4:2:1) formula in the tricameral system".

"Participating to bring

## A plane steal

A CESSNA aircraft, worth about R150 000 and owned by a Swazi businessman, has been stolen from Matsapa Airport in broad daylight.

The plane, owned by Rudolph Kurik, was apparently collected last Wednesday by a person who said he was flying the plane to South Africa for repairs.

Airport officials said the man calmly filled in a flight plan before flying out.

Kurik discovered the theft on Friday. - Sapa.

## Gumede denies election claim

By REVELATION NTOULA

ARCHIE GUMEDE, co-president of the United Democratic Front, has categorically denied that he had at any stage said that the organisation was to participate in the 1989 apartheid-sponsored elections.

Instead, he said, he had said that he would table the matter before the next UDF national executive "for its serious thought".

He referred to reports about the UDF's participation in the elections as "mischievous" and "misleading".

Gumede had been the subject of controversy since news about the UDF's election participation swept the country last weekend. Several UDF affiliates distanced themselves from the statement while some

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GUMEDE, co-president of the United Democratic Front, has categorically denied that he had at any stage said that the organisation was to participate in the 1989 apartheid-sponsored elections.

Instead, he said, he had said that he would table the matter before the next UDF national executive "for its serious thought".

He referred to reports about the UDF's participation in the elections as "mischievous" and "misleading".

Gumede had been the subject of controversy since news about the UDF's election participation swept the country last weekend. Several UDF affiliates distanced themselves from the statement while some of the organisation's top-ranking officials refused to be drawn into the controversy.

The report also drew sharp criticism from black consciousness organisations like Azapo, who accused the UDF of selling out.

democratic South Africa, free of "bantustans" and group areas.

One of the UDF's main endeavours, also spelt out at its launch, is "to achieve maximum unity among all democratic, peace-loving South Africans".

By definition "democratic" excluded all apartheid-created institutions like homelands, local authorities and the tricameral Parliament.

In one of its major policy statements, the UDF executive noted that, while it articulated the viewpoint of a broad cross-section of

gers and to unite in action against the new constitution, the Koornhof Bills and other day-to-day problems of the people".

Maximum unity among UDF affiliates was the organisation's top priority "but not with those who worked within the system", said Trevor Manuel, the front's Cape secretary, in 1983.

Meanwhile, the war is raging on. *City Press* correspondents report that the Transvaal Indian Congress, a major affiliate of the UDF, said it believed the media in South Africa

towards dismantling apartheid from within.

In a statement to the Africa News Organisation, the TIC said that Parliament was not a vehicle for change because it was designed to cater for the interests of the white minority through the "white, coloured, Indian (4:2:1) formula in the tricameral system".

"Participating to bring about change in South Africa is wishful thinking as the Nationalists will never be removed through a parliamentary struggle.

"The Nationalists can only be removed from power through struggle outside Parliament," said the TIC.

The statement went on to say: "Our refusal to participate has never been on principle but on the fact that strategy to participate will fail in its objectives because of the in-built Nationalist majority."

The TIC pointed out that the majority of South Africans were denied the vote on a one-person-one-vote basis.

The whites-only election results had confirmed this position and it was because of this that the last national working conference of the UDF called on the Progressive Federal Party as well as Indian and Coloured MPs in Parliament to resign.

"However, the TIC is aware that Indian and coloured MPs will not resign because they are in Parliament to further their selfish interests only.

"Otherwise they would have refused to sit in Parliament after over 85 percent of Indians and coloureds boycotted the 1984 tricameral elections.

"Through the own affairs portfolios, these MPs are sowing havoc in our community," said the TIC.

Nevertheless the TIC said it would always be open to any non-violent strategy that would help to neutralise collaborators.

## 'UDF won't use govt structures'

THE United Democratic Front released a statement this week saying it noted with "much concern" the widespread Press reports suggesting that it has either decided or would be considering participation in the 1989 parliamentary elections.

These comments were allegedly made by Archie Gumede, the UDF's co-president, said the statement.

In the statement, the UDF said it would prevent no one from advancing a view on any subject whenever such a view was being solicited.

"But such a view will not necessarily always reflect UDF policy," said the front.

The UDF said after careful study of various newspaper reports, it was satisfied that the president, Gumede, has, as far as discernible, at no stage said the UDF was going to participate in government-created structures, let alone the elections.

The UDF said: "Our policy on this issue is well-documented and remains uncontradicted. Revision of our non-participation is not even considered."

The full UDF statement, released by acting national publicity secretary Murphy Morobe said:

"We are an organisation which prides itself on the extent of democratic participation that takes place in our structures before a decision is taken on any important issue, especially issues of policy.

"It has been through such democratic discussion and debate that we finally arrived at the conclusion

that the only way we can effectively challenge the government is through mass extra-parliamentary struggles.

"The re-imposition of the present state of emergency and the increasing concentration of real State power in extra-parliamentary and secret structures like the Joint Municipality Councils and the Security Council vindicates our view that the present parliamentary process is totally an absurd procedure and an aberration of democracy."

The UDF added: "In any case, we, are just one component of the broad national liberation movement."

The UDF said a decision as far-reaching as that of deciding to "participate" can never be that of the UDF alone.

It must be that of the whole democratic movement, including the ANC and other banned organisations and "our imprisoned leaders".

The UDF statement continued: "We, therefore, categorically reject any no-

tion that the UDF is even contemplating participating in the supposedly forthcoming 1989 general election.

"These elections will still be racist, white-controlled and conducted under a totally undemocratic constitution.

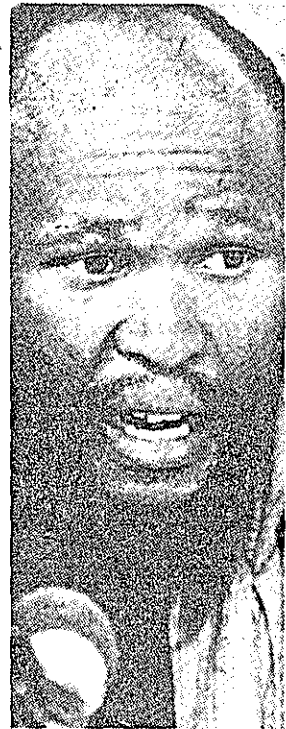
"But as a living and dynamic organisation, free debates and discussions are the key features of our structures.

"Any matter related to policy issues will only be discussed and consensus arrived at when raised through the official structures of the organisation."

The UDF reiterated its call for the dissolution of all government-created "puppet" structures like community councils and management committees.

"Our people will continue to boycott such structures and any sell-out elections like the forthcoming by-election in Lenasia and the election in Bophuthatswana," said the statement.

It also added that it stood by the resolution taken at its recent national



Murphy Morobe

conference, calling on, firstly, those participating in the Houses of Delegates and Representatives to resign; and secondly, calling on the PFP to withdraw from Parliament.

"The UDF stands by the central demand of the Freedom Charter, which we will be adopting on August 20, that the 'People Shall Govern'," the statement concluded.

## Captain's conduct 'unacceptable'

THE head of the Bellville unrest unit, Capt Ockert van Schalkwyk, has been replaced by another officer after being rebuked by two Supreme Court judges.

One of them said his conduct was "high-handed and unacceptable".

Police also confirmed that a top-level departmental investigation has been ordered by the divisional commissioner of police, Brig Ronnie van der Westhuizen.

Judge L Rose-Innes recently ordered the release of printer Allie Parker, detained by Van Schalkwyk on June 12.

The judge described the captain's refusal to give Parker reasons for his arrest as "high-handed and unacceptable".

The captain's attitude and use of "unreasonable force" was also criticised two months earlier by another judge, Acting Judge HP Viljoen.

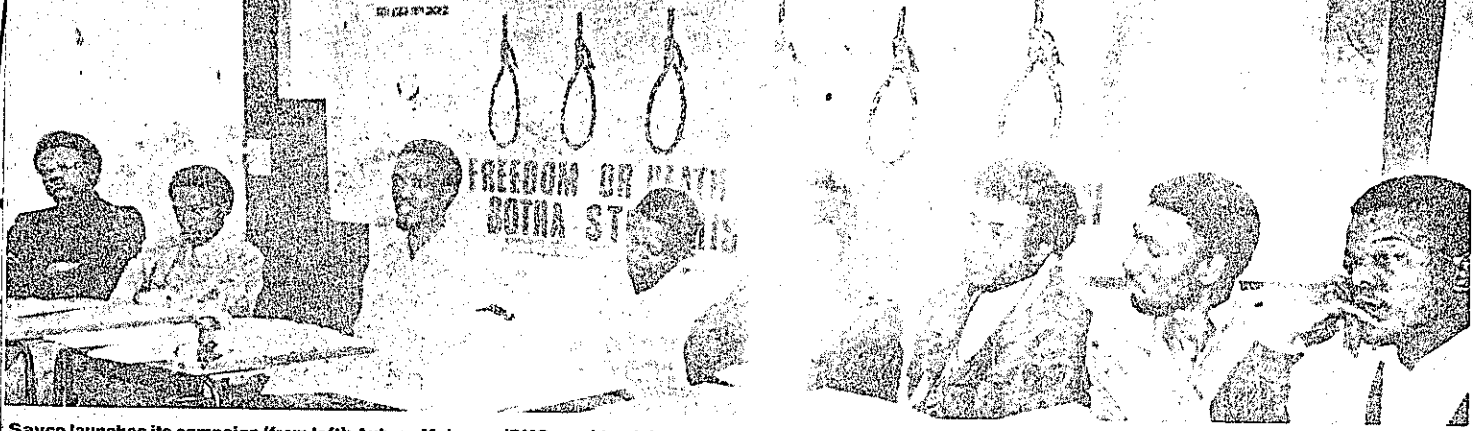
On April 23 this year he awarded damages of R15 000 to a Bellville South schoolboy, who was 14 when he was shot in the back by Van Schalkwyk on September 5, 1985.

The judge found that Van Schalkwyk had used unreasonable force in arresting the boy after dispersing a group of stone throwers.

The name of the officer replacing Van Schalkwyk has not yet been released. - Sapa.

*[Handwritten signature and date]*  
12/7/87

SAVE THE THIRTY ONE PATRIOTS - DO NOT LET THEM HANG



Sayco launches its campaign (from left): Aubrey Mokoena (RMC president), Hazzie Sibanyoni (NUM), Simon Ntombela (Sayco), Denkie Sekonya (NUM), Rapulane Molekane (Sayco general-secretary), Peter Mokaba (Sayco president), Moeti Mooti (Sansco), Ephraim Nkde (Sayco education officer).

# DON'T LET 32 HANG — SAYCO

THIRTY-TWO of the 253 South Africans awaiting their fateful appointment... with the hangman's noose have been condemned for offences resulting from politically motivated crimes.

Among the 32 is a Sharpeville resident, Therese Ramashale, 25, the first black woman to be sentenced death for committing a crime for political reasons, and three National Union of Mineworkers members. Ramashale was sentenced - together with five men - Mojalefa Reginald Sefatsa, Duma Joshua Khumalo, Francis Don



**SELLO SERIPE**

Mokhesi and Reid Malebo Mokoena, all of Sharpeville, for their role in the murder of a Vaal councillor, Jacob Dlamini. The six have come to be known as the Sharpeville Six.

In the wake of the imposition of this sentence on the 32, the SA Youth Congress this week launched a campaign to save the 32 and is hoping that 32 000 South Africans will attach their signatures to a petition in a bid to save them.

The petition would then be presented to State President PW Botha, asking him to reprieve them.

The campaign is entitled "Save the 32 Patriots - Do Not Let Them Hang".

The campaign, announced at a Press conference held at Wits University on Wednesday, has been endorsed by the UDF, RMC, NECC, SA National Students' Congress and the NUM.

Many other trade unions, church and political organisations are expected

to endorse it soon. Addressing the conference, Sayco co-ordinator Simon Ntombela said that letters would be sent to the United Nations and the Organisation for Africa Unity appealing for their support in this cause.

"We would ask various member states of the two bodies to educate their respective communities about this campaign.

"In turn, these international communities would send petitions to Botha and plead with him to spare the lives of the 32 condemned fellow-South Africans," said Ntombela.

Ntombela also said letters of a different tone would be directed to US President Ronald Reagan, British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and Chancellor Helmut Kohl, of West Germany.

He said Reagan, Thatcher and Kohl were quick in denouncing the "war" coming from the side of the oppressed and

had stated that they abhorred violence.

"This is a great opportunity for them to reiterate their stand on violence and we expect them to employ their influence to stop these hangings by the Pretoria government," said Ntombela.

RMC president Aubrey Mokoena said his organisation believed that violence was engineered by the minority SA government through the manufacture of apartheid.

"This is the time for President Botha to come out and show the world that his government is based on Christianity by sparing the 32," said Mokoena.

NECC executive member Eric Molobi said the government had told the ANC to denounce violence while "they were prepared to administer it on the 32".

Molobi said the government should be exemplary by reprieving the condemned.

UDF acting publicity secretary Murphy Morobe said: "The UDF shall be fully involved in this campaign with Sayco.

"The 32 were condemned for acts which were triggered by SA's un-

democratic laws and they should be granted prisoner of war status."

Other than the Sharpeville Six, the following have been condemned to death: Lili Webushe, sentenced for his role in a "necklace" murder; Alex Matshapa Matsepene, Solomon Mankopane Maowasha, for killing two alleged informers; Dickson Madikane, Desmond Majola and Patric Manginda, for the death of an Oudshoorn councillor in 1986.

Daniel Maleke and Josiah Tsawane have been sentenced for the murder of a policeman in Sebokeng in 1986. Moses Mnyanda Janjies and Mlani Wellington Mielies, condemned for the murder of an Eastern Cape councillor, Kinikini and family; Pauli Setlaba, condemned

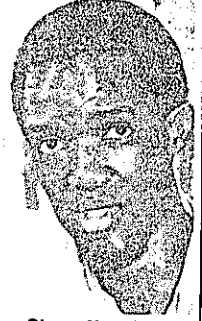
for the killing an alleged informer.

Addo Youth Congress members Similo Lennix Wonci, Christopher Mziwoxolo Makeleni, Ndumiso Silo Sephenuko and Machezuane Menze have been condemned for the murder of a farmer and his wife.

Robert McBride was sentenced for the Durban bombing; NUM members Tjebubayo Mgedezi, Solomon Mangaliso Ngwani and Paulos Tsietsi Tshelana were sentenced for killing a team-leader at Vaal Reef.

Mzwandile Gqebe, Wanto Silinga, Lundi Wana, Theminkosi Press Feet, Mzandile Mnzini and Monde Tingwe were sentenced for a necklace murder in Queenstown.

The last in the list is 19-



**Simon Ntombela**

year-old former Soweto student Phillip Bekisizwe Ngidi, sentenced last week by the Rand Supreme Court for his role in the killing of a Soweto police sergeant in April last year.

## 000

Swaziland and pay sales tax on them, or have their cars muzzing results.

ge numbers of Swazis for a ded paying sales tax, Swazity insurance and road fund the country's roads without ntributions. - Sapa.

# 'PAC aims viol

**By SOL MORATHI**  
THE Pan Africanist Congress is an outlawed political organisation committed to violence and the overthrow of the South African government by force. An expert on PAC ac-

tivities, who is also a SA security policeman, Col Jacobus Buchner, said this in the terrorism trial of seven alleged PAC members and two members of the Muslim Qibla organisation in the Pretoria Supreme Court this week.

He said Poqo was involved in attacks of several police stations in the country.

Buchner admitted that when the PAC was formed, it's officials made representations to the SA government in an effort to bring about peaceful solu-

**Dakar indaba stalls as Slabbert is told: The killing goes on**

# ANC TALKS: IT'S DEADLOCK



ALL SMILES — Frederik van Zyl Slabbert and Thabo Mbeki in Dakar

ST  
12/7/87  
11A

By MICHAEL ROBERTSON  
Dakar

THE African National Congress will not abandon its campaign of violence. This was the stark message to emerge yesterday from the Dakar Indaba between Dr van Zyl Slabbert's delegation of Afrikaners and the banned organisation.

As four days of intense debate came to an end in this steaming West African city, it became clear that beneath the surface bonhomie a wide gulf persisted between the two sides.

At the controversial conference in the former French colony of Senegal, it was the central issue of armed struggle and fears of spiralling violence in South Africa that drew a line between the ANC and the Slabbert delegation of 60.

The ANC delegation was led by Mr Thabo Mbeki, information secretary of the ANC and the man tipped to be its next leader.

## Surprised

While delegates were surprised at the lengths to which the ANC was prepared to go to placate Afrikaner fears, those from within South Africa said they could not accept the banned organisation's violent strategy.

Nor were the Slabbert team satisfied with the ANC's response to acts of terror against civilians.

Nevertheless, even on the crucial question of the armed struggle...

## JOY AND TEARS ON TWO VERY DIFFERENT WEDDING DAYS

### Angry priest rages at the bride

By SHAUN HARRIS

THE bride cried on her wedding day — but they were not tears of happiness.

She had been scolded... at... by... minister... five minutes late for her wed...



## Nat MP in sacking punch-up

By DE WET POTGIETER

AN architect this week told how he was viciously beaten up by a retired SADF brigadier — now a Nationalist MP — and his student son.

The assault took place after the architect had sacked the son's girlfriend.

Mr Hendrik Graphorn still suffers from the injuries he received when Brigadier Kobus Bosman, National Party MP for Germiston District, and his son, Joubert, 23, attacked him in his office near



# punch-up

By DE WET POTGIETER

**AN architect this week told how he was viciously beaten up by a retired SADF brigadier — now a Nationalist MP — and his student son.**

The assault took place after the architect had sacked the son's girlfriend.

Mr Hendrik Graphorn still suffers from the injuries he received when Brigadier Kobus Bosman, National Party MP for Germiston District, and his son, Joubert, 23, attacked him in his office near the University of Pretoria.

It happened last August, nine months before Brig Bosman won a seat in Parliament in the general election.

But the full story can now be told for the first time with the termination of court proceedings this week.

In February, Brig Bosman, former director of public relations in the Defence Force and a senior man in the SABC news department before that, paid an admission-of-guilt fine of R100 for assault.

## Vicious

This week his son, a second-year pharmacy student at the University of Pretoria, was fined R200 (or one month) on a charge of assault.

Speaking after Joubert Bosman's trial, Mr Graphorn told the Sunday Times: "I will never forget that day when the brigadier grabbed me by the throat and choked me as he held me against the wall."

"When I desperately tried to get away, his son took a vicious swipe at me and fractured my cheekbone."

It was only when two of Mr



KAREN SWART  
"Staff warned me"



KOBUS BOSMAN  
Admission of guilt

Graphorn's clients and members of his staff came to his rescue that his assailants left.

Brig Bosman told the Sunday Times he had paid an admission-of-guilt fine "purely to avoid the inconvenience of a prolonged court case".

Mr Graphorn, who is still deciding whether to proceed with a civil action for the "thousands of rands in medical costs" and for pain and suffering, said: "What disturbs me is that a man with his violent attitude represents people in Parliament."

He had tried in vain to reason with his assailants.

## Dismissed

He said he fired Joubert Bosman's girlfriend, Karen Swart, because she "sat with her feet on the table talking on the phone the whole day". "She was a student working for the holiday and I even



JOUBERT BOSMAN  
Said he was hit by door

very aggressive, tall men standing in my office doorway," he said.

"They demanded to see me immediately and, in view of their attitude, I realised something serious was going to happen."

He asked his two clients to wait next door.

According to Mr Graphorn, the brigadier did most of the talking and demanded that the money owed to his son's girlfriend be paid out immediately.

"I tried to explain that I

□ To Page 2

became a... surface bonhomie a wide gulf persisted between the two sides.

At the controversial conference in the former French colony of Senegal, it was the central issue of armed struggle and fears of spiralling violence in South Africa that drew a line between the ANC and the Slabbert delegation of 60.

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## Surprised

While delegates were surprised at the lengths to which the ANC was prepared to go to placate Afrikaner fears, those from within South Africa said they could not accept the banned organisation's violent strategy.

Nor were the Slabbert team satisfied with the ANC's response to acts of terror against civilians.

Nevertheless, even on the crucial question of the armed struggle, this meeting, which saw some of Afrikanerdom's leading intellectuals locking horns with their counterparts in the ANC, revealed some areas of agreement.

There was, for example, wide acceptance of the view expressed by Professor Andre du Toit of Cape Town University that the ANC's commitment to armed struggle was an historical fact.

To a lesser extent they supported Professor du Toit when he said he found acceptable the ANC's explanation of its refusal to renounce violence, given the present attitude of the Government.

## Violence

Dr Slabbert, who chaired the meeting, told the Sunday Times in an interview: "It was made abundantly clear to all that the prime responsibility for reducing the escalation of violence through armed struggle lay with the Government."

"It has the option of changing the circumstances which led the ANC into the armed struggle in the first place — the banning of political organisations, the detention of political prisoners and the continuation of apartheid."

"If the Government does not believe these conditions set by the ANC, it has the option of calling its bluff by meeting them and testing whether the ANC will reconsider the armed struggle."

Dr Slabbert said most of the South Africans found it a matter of deep regret that the ANC's commitment to armed struggle continued.

"The ANC men said they could understand the problems which South Africans from inside the country had with this issue and that it also created problems from within their own community."

"However the ANC did not expect people to join and support the armed struggle if they did not wish to."

"But they certainly wanted to know what white South Africans who were committed to a non-racial democracy were prepared to do to promote the interests of the majority."

Dr Slabbert said that despite the crucial issues which were debated, the meeting had been free of acrimony.

"There was an extraordinary meeting of the minds on certain fundamental issues such as a common citizenship, a democratic structure of government in one South Africa, no institutionalisation of any racism or ethnicity, and a franchise for everyone on an equal basis."

In the discussions the ANC expressed support for a bill of rights which entrenched the rights of individuals.

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# Dakar

Sunday Times July 12, 1987

## The ANC talks do no harm, but let's not forget that Pretoria serves the real boerekkoffie ...

IT WAS quite an occasion this week when a group of Afrikaners flew from the southernmost tip of Africa to the westernmost tip of the continent to talk to the ANC. But how much of an occasion was it really?

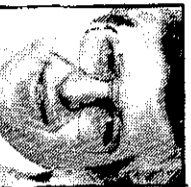
Talking to the ANC is not so exceptional these days. A whole row of people have done it. There is even a booklet published by the Government entitled "Talking to the ANC", published, one suspects, to counter an Afrikaans booklet with the same name — "Praat met die ANC" — which came at the subject from a totally different angle.

Ah, but you see these are Afrikaners. That's the difference. And there is a whole planetload of them. That makes it an occasion. But what kind of an occasion?

Interesting certainly. Instructive for both sides. Maybe even emotional in finding out that they are all just South Africans after all. And perhaps learning from each other that the answers to our vexed problems will have to be found by us.

But let us not overplay the occasion. Talking is better than fighting and it is always good when antagonists get to know each other — and

ANOTHER VOICE



HARALD PAKENDORF

men are antagonists of the nothing, except that it is ANC, never mind what some newspapers may be saying.

The Dakar talks are to be commended but let us stand back a little from the noise and see if we can get a perspective of what it all means.

The Government has probably sent the clearest

Round one to the Government. For the ANC the occasion was a boost. The world's media were there, even a strong contingent from South Africa. There will be publicity the ANC could not buy. Its image will be polished, it will look important, even reasonable.

### Not on

ANC leader Oliver Tambo is not bothering to be there, but a good second string is. That tells you the ANC knows how much it can get out of the meeting.

Round two to the ANC. Van Zyl Slabbert and his Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa) have managed to catch the world's eye. They are seen trying to bridge the divides in South Africa.

And that is good, not only in an abstract sense but also for Idasa and any future fund-raising efforts. Good for its credibility too. Round three to Slabbert and Idasa.

For the South Africans —

side the country — it was an exciting, for some may be even exhilarating experience. They learnt that the worst of one's expectations need not always be fulfilled; learnt that maybe talking makes sense.

They will have taken an important step towards better understanding.

Round four for the validity of talks.

But this bout has many, many more rounds than four.

The ANC is fairly well-informed. It will know that it has been speaking to people who have turned their backs on the ruling National Party but without thereby turning towards the ANC.

It is a well-balanced group, an interesting group, an intelligent group. There are politicians, actors, journalists, film-makers, architects, businessmen, academics.

Yet it is not politically in the heavyweight section. The heavies are still in Pretoria and Cape Town. And the ANC will have learnt over the last three years — as has the UDF and Cosatu — that marching on Pretoria is not on.

are here to stay, their will to do so not even denied, even stretched.

A frontal attack, a revolution, an insurrection, an uprising — call it what you may, but it is not on.

Another way will have to be found, a new strategy developed.

### Truths

As much as it is true, as everybody keeps on saying, that the ANC is a factor which has to be reckoned with now and in a future South Africa, it is true that the National Party is here to stay.

In Dakar the ANC will have known that while it spoke to Afrikaners they are not the ones who wield power or even do much to

influence decisions.

The last three years have shown that a stalemate has been reached. Black expectations about political power and economic well-being have been raised to a pitch where they will not go away.

But the whites have shown that while they are prepared to face those issues they won't do it in the way black radicalism is expecting.

Now then, the time would appear to be ready for a compromise.

Not that there is too much reason to hope for an accommodation. The State has regained control of the situation, the economy is picking up and Stoffel van der Merwe is making sweet noises — so pressure from the white electorate on the

Government is dissipating. That does not change the need for a new initiative, for talking to the ANC — but also talking to everybody else who wants to talk, as the ANC is only one of the power factors.

### Certainties

There are many others, inside South Africa who could be, and should be, engaged in discussions. Unfortunately many of them are in jail, becoming less and less inclined to talk.

One thing is certain and that is we have to stop looking at the ANC as an organisation which sits in Lusaka. Its politics as expressed in the Freedom Charter are with us, are part of the programme of a

wide spectrum of people and form the most important expression of black feelings.

Divorcing the ANC in Lusaka from the Charter and beginning by addressing the Charter and its supporters inside South Africa may offer an alternate approach to just saying no all the time.

It should be seen as first and very important step, but one which needs a second leg. And that would be talking to the ANC through third parties who have credibility with the Government as well as with the ANC.

The ANC, too, must know by now that it will not get its way and must begin to act more reasonably — by not speaking out against

those who speak to the Government, and most certainly by not acting against them.

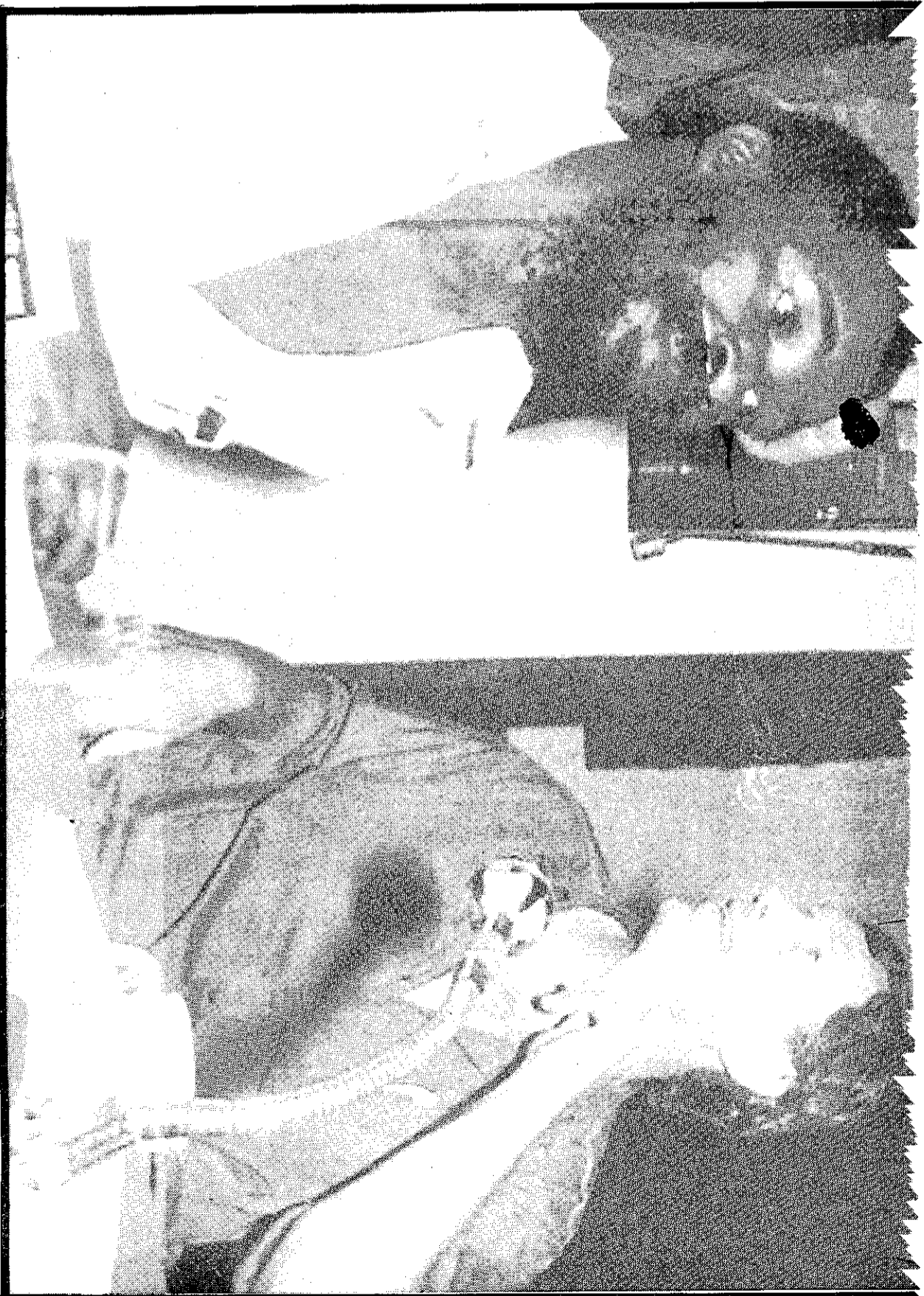
And by being prepared to speak through third parties without making a public noise about it.

### Foolish

Talking to the ANC in Dakar with such media hype is nice and constructive but not the way we will reach a resolution of the problem.

Slabbert should be commended for keeping lines of communication open but Thabo Mbeki and his ANC men will be foolish if they think that the cups of coffee they have been sharing contain "egte Boerekkoffie".

Getting to know you: ANC delegation leader Thabo Mbeki and Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert talk about their problems in Dakar



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# HISTORY IS MADE . . . BUT PERHAPS ONLY

By **MIKE ROBERTSON**  
Dakar

SENEGAL'S President, Abdou Diouf, described the meeting between "concerned citizens from South Africa and ANC representatives" as one of the most important endeavours undertaken this century. He was guilty of gross exaggeration.

But there is a sense among participants that they are in the process of creating a small piece of history.

As delegates began to introduce themselves, after a carnival-like opening ceremony, it was clear Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert was not the only one who wanted hard, tough discussions with a minimum of rhetoric and posturing.

The discussions got off to a slow start, mainly due to the excessive hospitality of the hosts. A reception at Diouf's palace meant the first session had to be ended early just as the debate was getting under way.

The next morning they had to endure a tour around a local yoghurt factory. When the discussions finally got under way again, they centred on the armed struggle and the use of violence.

Professor Andre du Toit of the Department of Political Studies at the University of Cape Town was one of the main contributors.

After the discussion on violence he said: "One can't but accept as a matter of historical reality the ANC's commitment to the armed struggle."

## Impossible

Later he added: "One can see that it is impossible to ask the ANC at this stage to renounce the armed struggle."

But Professor du Toit said he had not been satisfied by the response of the ANC to the question of uncontrolled violence.

The ANC, he said, needed to take a clearer stand on repudiating and denouncing acts where civilians became the victims.

Progressive Federal Party MP Peter Gastrow said that many of the questions regarding uncontrolled violence were not dealt with in a way that could breach the difficulties people had with the ANC position.

"The question of the armed struggle and escalating violence was something on which no agreement was reached. There was a greater understanding as to why the armed struggle was adopted but it was made clear that we can't commit ourselves to it."

An Afrikaans theologian, the Rev Theuns Elloff, said he had come to understand why the ANC said the armed struggle was morally justified, but he could not believe in the theory of a just war.

He had argued that while violence was adopted as a "last resort" by the ANC, the principle of the armed struggle should not be a static one.

Elloff said he had asked if circumstances had not changed sufficiently to warrant a re-assessment of the armed struggle — or whether the armed struggle had not become an end in itself.

Most of the delegates from South Africa agreed that the ANC had taken their concerns seriously.

Dr Slabbert said ANC members had been far more willing to search for areas of common understanding and to occupy the middle ground than on the previous occasions he had met them.

"Perhaps it is because they see Afrikaners who have not come to capitulate, but who have come to understand."

Mr Gastrow said he sensed a greater determination on the part of the ANC to try and play their part in recognising and accommodating those whites, specifically Afrikaners, who were prepared to turn their backs on apartheid.

"I suppose it is because they recognise the key role that such Afrikaners can play in their community and in a future South Africa."

But this willingness to accommodate the concerns of Afrikaners did not translate into any specific compromise on the question of the armed struggle.

## Result

In fact the ANC rejected a suggestion of unilateral suspension of violence.

Such an action, members said, could be taken only if they could be assured it would achieve a certain result.

The organisation believed President Botha was not interested in a negotiated settlement.

The ANC did appear to concede ground on the question of the plurality of the struggle against apartheid.

According to Mr Gastrow, ANC members had made it clear that "as long as the starting point of anyone opposing the Government was working for a "nonracial, democratic, united South Africa", it was not a condition that such an individual or party operated under the umbrella of the ANC or its supporters within the country.

Mr Elloff said there was a wider acceptance than he had imagined possible that there were other organisations working against apartheid.

At the outset of the meeting Dr Slabbert warned against over-exaggerating its significance.

But there can be no denying its emotional effect.

Former Springbok rugby captain Tommy Bedford said that for him it had been an intensely rewarding experience, not just meeting the ANC delegates, but also the wide cross-section of Afrikaners from within South Africa.

The quality of debate, he said, could not be matched in Parliament.

"It's been a real privilege, but South Africans won't believe it. The reason is that one party is not allowed its voice in South Africa."

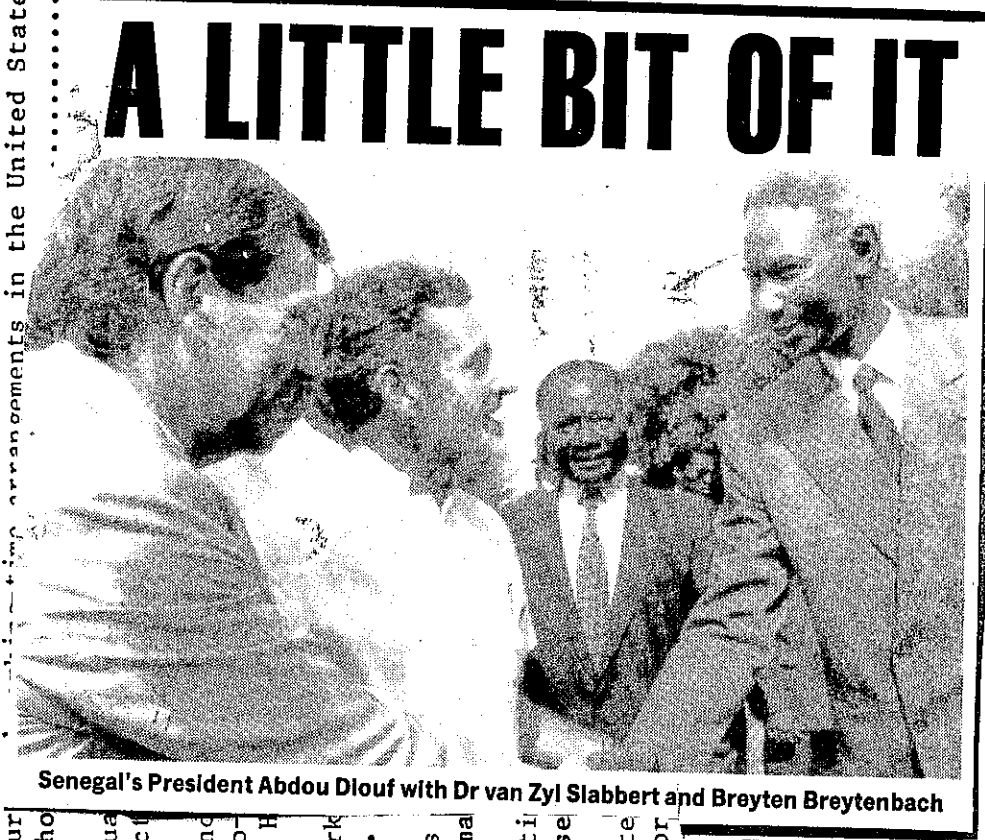
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# A LITTLE BIT OF IT

Senegal's President Abdou Diouf with Dr van Zyl Slabbert and Breyten Breytenbach



# He was just a messenger

A MIDDLE-aged Philip Kgosana, speaking from exile in Colombo, Sri Lanka, says he has no quarrel with Ignatius Terblanche.

"It sounds like South Africa — to be castigated for not killing people."

"As far as I am concerned, Terblanche was just a messenger. He was part of the system that we were fighting."

A promising student at school in the Transvaal, Philip had wanted to become a pharmacist, but was told that

## Sunday Times Reporter

blacks could not enter that profession in South Africa.

Instead, he gained a bursary to study economics at UCT and was a first-year student when he fled South Africa.

He completed his education overseas and now works as an economist for the United Nations' Children Emergency Fund (Unicef) in Colombo.

"It must be one of the

shock stories of South Africa that they can start having a re-think about what happened on that day 27 years ago," he said.

Asked how he, as a 23-year-old, could have controlled 30 000 marchers, Kgosana said: "The people were ready to follow, even with a minimum of leadership.

"I had total confidence in them, and they in me. We were one.

"And even with the numbers on our side, we would have been guilty of betraying

our cause if we had turned to violence."

Told that Brigadier Terblanche had actually disobeyed the Minister's instructions by negotiating with him, and was castigated afterwards, Kgosana said: "As far as I can see, the order from the Minister must have been to shoot."

As to Brigadier Terblanche feeling that he had been "betrayed" when the protest leader was arrested, Kgosana said: "At his level, as a policeman, he was only part of a system.

"I do not think, as much as I opposed him, that he can consider himself to have been betrayed."

Kgosana said that he had returned for the promised interview with the Minister at about 5pm and had been arrested by a Captain van der Westhuizen.

"I was told that the Minister had no time to see me."

Kgosana said the marchers had been jubilant when they left Caledon Square.

"We felt that we had won a partial victory. In those days it was almost unthinkable for blacks to impose their will upon a Minister."

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By Chris van Gass  
 a single member of the  
 had been arrested either  
 re, during or after yester-  
 s fracas outside the inter-  
 nal arrivals hall at Jan-  
 ts Airport, a spokesman  
 he extreme right-wing or-  
 sation told The Star.  
 ne organisation's Press sec-  
 ry, Mr "P W" Bingle, said  
 organisation's leader, Mr  
 re TerreBlanche, had  
 d AWB supporters to dis-  
 e before the trouble began.  
 could only speculate that  
 e action followed, as cer-  
 e people would not disperse.  
 r TerreBlanche left the ar-  
 ls area soon after an an-  
 nouncement that a Press con-

## No arrests at airport after group arrives home — claim

ference by the Dakar group had been called off and after informing his supporters to disperse.  
 He immediately moved out of the airport building with a phalanx of newsmen, photographers, TV crews and AWB supporters following him. He did not stop outside the building while walking to the car park. He appeared determined not to stop and answered questions from newsmen while on the move.

Mr Bingle said the fact that the Dakar group had avoided the AWB construed a victory for his organisation.  
 Asked if his leader would take up Dr Van Zyl Slabbert's invitation to have a meeting, Mr Bingle replied: "Under no circumstances will we talk to the ANC or their fellow travellers."  
 He said the AWB would give the Government a "reasonable chance" to take action against the Dakar group.

Asked what he considered reasonable, he said if the group had been arrested at the airport or their passports had been withdrawn preventing them from re-entering the country.  
 "At least they should be charged with high treason."  
 Should the Government not take action against the group there were "many legal options" left to the AWB, but he refused to elaborate.  
 Asked what legal options there were for the Government, he said: "There is the security legislation. We are saying to the National Party: 'You have created the legislation, now use it'."

## Student comments on arrests

By Tim Cohen

Witwatersrand Student Representative Council member Ms Rosemary Hunter, who was involved in a scuffle with members of the AWB at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday, said she was surprised several AWB supporters were not arrested.  
 "Many journalists and supporters of the talks were arrested but none of the 150 AWB supporters, some of whom physically assaulted tour supporters," she said.  
 When the small group of about 20 Nusas, Sansco and Five Freedoms Forum members gathered to sing "Nkosi Sikile! iAfrika" in response to a speech by AWB president Mr Eugene TerreBlanche "we were herded out of the airport by the police", she said.  
 Ms Hunter said she went to the aid of Five Freedoms Forum member Mr Noel Stott who was being attacked by AWB members.  
 "I shouted 'Let him go' and grabbed the nearest AWB guy.  
 "Someone hit me on an ear and the police then separated the AWB supporters and Noel and me."



A smiling Mr Eugene Terre-Blanche at the airport yesterday.

Violence still a factor, but ANC and Idasa agree conflict should end

# Dakar 'can show the way'

The Star's Africa News Service  
DAKAR — The Idasa conference with the African National Congress has been described as a great meeting of minds by the Idasa executive director, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert.

Even when there were differences there had been flexibility and understanding, he said in an interview after the release of the joint declaration.

Dr Slabbert and members of the ANC delegation expressed deep satisfaction with the outcome of the historic conference and vowed to continue the contact and even broaden it.

Dr Slabbert said the Dakar Declaration, as it is now being referred to, refuted reports published in South Africa that the meeting had been a failure.

A senior ANC member told a large international Press conference yesterday: "All persons who have been here the last three days are changed persons. It has reaffirmed our earlier belief that Afrikaners and Africans can and will resolve the conflict in South Africa."

Referring to the most sensitive issue discussed here, that of violence, Dr Slabbert said the actual responsibility to reduce the violence in South Africa lay with the Government.

He said the conference had demonstrated that the two delegations could work together in the struggle for a nonracial democracy.

Several key members of the two delegations stayed behind in Dakar today to continue an informal workshop when the others left for Burkina Faso, where they will be the guests of President Thomas Sankara.

Those remaining behind include Professor Lawrie Schlemmer, Professor Herman Gillomee and Mr Steve Churcher, and possibly Dr Slabbert and Dr Alex Boraine, deputy director of Idasa. They will try to discuss in finer detail the differences between the two delegations that remained unresolved at the end of the formal meetings.

The crucial elements of the declaration, which was worked after considerable discussion between the two sides, are:

### FINER DETAIL

● The main area of concern arose over the ANC's resolve to maintain and intensify the armed struggle. The group accepted the historical reality of the armed struggle and although not all could support it, everyone was deeply concerned over the proliferation of uncontrolled violence. However, all participants recognised that the source of violence in South Africa derives from the fact that the use of force is fundamental to the existence and practice of racial domination.

The group developed an understanding of the conditions which have generated a widespread revolt by the black people as well as the importance of the ANC as a factor in resolving the conflict.

● Proceeding from the common basis that there is an urgent necessity to realise the goal of a nonracial democracy, participants agreed that all have an obligation to act for the achievement of this objective.

● Conference unanimously expressed preference for a negotiated resolution of the South African question. Participants

recognised that the attitude of those in power is the principal obstacle to progress in this regard.

It was further accepted that the unconditional release of all political leaders in prison or detention and the unbanning of organisations are fundamental prerequisites for such negotiations to take place.

The South Africans yesterday visited the former slave-trading island of Goree, 10 km from Dakar, and it turned out to be an emotional experience for some of them.

Dr Slabbert, at a ceremony attended by the wife of French President Francois Mitterrand, said a slave's prayer scribbled on a cell wall: "let my people's suffering make them great" should also become the prayer of South Africa.

He said the Dakar conference was about preventing the kind of brutal interaction between black and white to which the island was a monument.

Fears among delegates from South Africa of right-wing rebellion on their return to the Republic increased yesterday with

the release of the declaration. Dr Slabbert said he did not take the AWB's threats lightly and would like to talk to the organisation about it and about the conference. He said the delegates had not come to Dakar to surrender unconditionally, but to find out what a crucial element in South Africa's future was all about.

... and on to Burkina Faso

DAKAR — Most of the white South African delegation, having ended their talks here with officials of the African National Congress, today visit Burkina Faso on the second leg of their controversial West African tour.

A joint communique after the talks urged similar meetings in future.

Sources said that in Burkina Faso, the delegation would have talks with the radical military leader Captain Thomas Sankara.

The group will also visit Ghana before flying home next week — Sapa-Reuter.

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DAKAR — Following is the partial text of a joint communique issued yesterday by the 17-member delegation of the African National Congress and the 59 white South African liberals who ended three-day talks in the Senegalese capital:

1. The participants from South Africa took part in their individual capacities. They shared a joint commitment of having rejected both the ideology and practice of the apartheid system.
2. Participants could not but be aware that some of the adherents of apartheid regarded the participation of the group as an act of betrayal, not only to the apartheid state, but also to the community of Afrikanerdom. (White liberals' leader Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert added that this was totally rejected).
3. The conference was organised around four principal topics: strategies for bringing about fundamental change in South Africa; the building of national unity; perspectives with regard to the structures of the government of a free South Africa; and the economy of a liberated South Africa.
4. The discussions took place in an atmosphere of cordiality and a unity of purpose.
5. The group listened to and closely questioned the perspectives, goals and strategies of the ANC. The main area of concern arose over the ANC's resolve to

# Joint statement from conference delegates

maintain and intensify the armed struggle.

The group accepted the historical reality of the armed struggle and although not all could support it, everyone was deeply concerned over the proliferation of uncontrolled violence.

However, all participants recognised that the source of violence in South Africa derives from the fact that the use of force is fundamental to the existence and practice of racial domination.

The group developed an understanding of the conditions which have generated a widespread revolt by the black people as well as the importance of the ANC as a factor in resolving the conflict.

6. The conference unanimously expressed preference for a negotiated resolution of the South African question.

Participants recognised that the attitude of those in power is the principal obstacle to progress in this regard. It was further accepted that the unconditional release of all political leaders in prison or detention and the unbanning of all organisations are fundamental prerequisites for such negotiations to

take place.

7. Proceeding from the common basis that there was an urgent necessity to realise the goal of a non-racial democracy, participants agreed that they had an obligation to act for the achievement of this objective. They accepted that different strategies must be used in accordance with the possibilities available to the various forces opposed to the system of apartheid.

8. It was accepted by the two delegations that further contacts were necessary. Equally, it was important that such contacts should involve more and wider sections of the South African people in order to dispel misunderstanding and fear, and to reinforce the broad democratic movement.

9. The conference expressed profound appreciation to President Abdou Diouf and the government and people of Senegal for the warm welcome extended to the delegates as well as the assistance afforded to them to assure the success of the conference.

It further expressed gratitude to Mrs Danielle Mitterrand for her assistance in organising the conference

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# Kriel 'product of '85 upheaval'

Cape Times 13/7/87 11A



Mr Ashley Kriel

By CHRIS BATEMAN

MR Ashley Kriel, 20, shot dead by police in a "skirmish" in Athlone last Thursday, was an African National Congress guerilla who joined the armed struggle after the 1985 schools upheaval in Bonteheuwel, anti-apartheid organizations said yesterday.

Spokesmen for three organizations said this at a press conference called by the Bonteheuwel area committee of the United Democratic Front.

The family at first would not speak to the Cape Times, but yesterday Mr Kriel's elder sister, Michelle, told journalists police had continually visited the family's Vlamboom Road home since his disappearance two years ago.

"But we'd had no contact with him, no letters, nothing, and could honestly tell them that we knew nothing," she said.

She said police arrived at the family home on Friday and, after a thorough

search of bedrooms, cupboards and bedding, had "bluntly" informed them of her brother's death. She had then been asked to find some one to accompany her to identify the body.

A spokesman for the Cape Youth Congress (Cayco) said Mr Kriel joined the former Bonteheuwel Youth Movement (now Cayco) in 1982 when he was 14.

"His qualities as a leader and a person who took the struggle for freedom and justice seriously made him an automatic choice as Cayco co-ordinator on stage," she said.

Late in 1985, because of "continual harassment by the police", he stopped working in Cayco and decided to leave the country and join the armed struggle.

A spokesman for the Bonteheuwel Inter-Schools Congress (Bisco) said Mr Kriel's development should be seen against the background of Bonteheuwel "bearing the brunt of particularly repressive State action in 1985".

A UDF spokesman "noted" that the same conditions which made Mr Kriel

leave still prevailed.

He said several school rallies were planned this week to mark Mr Kriel's death, culminating in a symbolic suburb-wide candlelight vigil and church service on Thursday night.

□ Approached for comment last night, a police liaison officer for the Western Cape, Lieutenant Attie Laubscher, referred the Cape Times to a police statement released on Friday.

In this statement, police said they had raided a house in Hazendal, Athlone, and, in a "skirmish", shot him. Firearms were seized afterwards.

Police investigations are continuing.

□ Mr Kriel's funeral will be held from the New Apostolic Church in Bonteheuwel on Saturday.

The National Education Crisis Committee, Western Cape, said last night: "We salute Ashley Kriel as a leader in the struggle. As a founder member of Bisco his work is an example of commitment to us all. We send our condolences to his family."

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SAPA

# ANC rejects blacks' vote plan

DAKAR. — The exiled African National Congress yesterday rejected South African government plans that could allow millions of blacks to elect representatives to an advisory body to debate the country's future.

Speaking after a meeting between liberal white South Africans and the ANC in the Senegalese capital of Dakar, ANC spokesman Mr Pallo Jordan described the proposals as cosmetic.

"It is just another instance of tinkering with the instruments and mechanisms of apartheid."

"We don't feel it is possible to reform the apartheid system. We feel it has to be uprooted," he said.

Mr Jordan is deputy director of information for the ANC and has been a member of its ruling body, the National Executive Committee, since July 1985.

The advisory council proposals, announced by a senior South African government minister on Friday, do not give executive powers to the proposed National Council, which has been rejected by most black leaders, including moderates like the influential Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi. — Sapa-Reuter

# Slabbert vows to meet ANC again

Carle Times 13/7/87

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From MIKE ROBERTSON

**DAKAR.** — A delegation of South Africans has pledged to meet the ANC again and has rejected claims that its presence here is an act of betrayal of their community.

However, the Citizen newspaper reported today that the possibility of changing the law to prevent South Africans meeting the ANC — such as at the Dakar conference — was under scrutiny.

The paper said its information came from "government sources". These sources stressed that there was no actual legislation in the pipeline, Sapa reports.

Meanwhile, at the end of four days of talks, described by Dr Van Zyl Slabbert as "an extraordinary meeting of minds on a number of important issues", 59 members of his delegation and 17 members of the African National Congress issued a joint communiqué.

Two members of the internal delegation did not support the communiqué because they were attending in their official capacities. They were the managing director of Wooltru, Mr Tony Williamson, and Standard Bank economist Mr Andre Hamersma.

## Threats from AWB

Members of the internal delegation have been stunned by the reaction in South Africa to the talks.

Some have had to take their children out of schools and threats to them from the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging are being taken seriously.

The communiqué said: "Participants could not but be aware that some of the adherents of apartheid regarded the participation of the group as an act of betrayal, not only to the apartheid state, but also to the community of Afrikanerdom. This was totally rejected by the group."

On the question of the armed struggle, which has dominated the talks, the communiqué said: "The main area of concern arose over the ANC's resolve to maintain and intensify the armed struggle."

"The group accepted the historical reality of the armed struggle and although not all could support it, everyone was deeply concerned over the proliferation of uncontrolled violence."

It added that all present had expressed a preference for a negotiated settlement in South Africa.

The unconditional release of political prisoners and detainees and the unbanning of political organizations were fundamental prerequisites for such negotiations.

The communiqué said that not only was there a need for further contacts, but also a need to involve a wider section of South Africa's population.

Dr Slabbert said there was nothing new about the propaganda directed against the meeting.

"Part of the reason I was keen on bringing about this discussion was to show South Africans not to

blindly accept propaganda but to go and find out for themselves.



**SLAVE CHAINS...** Breyten Breytenbach explains to newsmen on the island of Goree how slave chains worked. Yesterday the two delegations visited the island, off Dakar, from which thousands of blacks were shipped to the United States as slaves early in the previous century. Dutch slavers used the island as their base for almost 300 years. A plaque on the wall of the main building says: "Slavery and apartheid — two institutions that have the same object: One race's exploitation by another."

Picture: REUTERS

"The people here did not come to unconditionally surrender. They came to find out, to discuss, to see if there could be a meeting of minds.

"A great deal of misunderstanding has been resolved. There has been a very good, tough intellectual debate on many issues and differences were clearly articulated ...

"In a country which is riddled with disinformation this is absolutely necessary."

The delegates fly out today to Burkino Faso and Ghana.

Speaking on BBC radio earlier, Dr Slabbert said that to try to "propagandize" the ANC as some sort of external terrorist organization under some kind of foreign control was denied by the reality inside South Africa.

"If that was so and if it had no support inside then the government certainly didn't need a state of emergency to keep control of the ANC.

"The very fact that inside the country large numbers of people have demonstrated their support for the ANC must then, by definition, make 10 or 15 million people inside South Africa terrorists."

□ Delegates' communiqué — Page 2

□ ANC rejects blacks' plan to vote — Page 3

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# Dakar delegates issue communique

DAKAR. — Following is a partial text of a joint communique issued yesterday by a 17-member delegation of the African National Congress and 59 white South Africans who ended three-day talks here at the weekend:

1. The participants from South Africa took part in their individual capacities. They shared a joint commitment of having rejected both the ideology and practice of the apartheid system.

2. Participants could not but be aware that some of the adherents of apartheid regarded the participation of the group as an act of betrayal, not only to the apartheid state, but also to the community of Afrikanerdom. (Dr Van Zyl Slabbert added that this was totally rejected.)

3. The conference was organized around four principal topics: Strategies for bringing about fundamental change in South Africa, the building of national unity, perspectives with regard to the structures of the government of a free South Africa, and the economy of a liberated South Africa.

4. The discussions took place in an atmosphere of cordiality and a

unity of purpose.

5. The group listened to and closely questioned the perspectives, goals and strategies of the ANC. The main area of concern arose over the ANC's resolve to maintain and intensify the armed struggle.

The group accepted the historical reality of the armed struggle and although not all could support it, everyone was deeply concerned over the proliferation of uncontrolled violence.

However, all participants recognized that the source of violence in South Africa derives from the fact that the use of force is fundamental to the existence and practice of racial domination.

The group developed an understanding of the conditions which have generated a widespread revolt by the black people as well as the importance of the ANC as a factor in resolving the conflict.

6. The conference unanimously expressed preference for a negotiated resolution of the South African question.

Participants recognized that the attitude of those in power is the principal obstacle to progress in this regard. It was further accepted that the uncondi-

tional release of all political leaders in prison or detention and the unbanning of all organizations are fundamental prerequisites for such negotiations to take place.

7. Proceeding from the common basis that there is an urgent necessity to realize the goal of a non-racial democracy, participants agreed that they have an obligation to act for the achievement of this objective. They accepted that different strategies must be used in accordance with the possibilities available to the various forces opposed to the system of apartheid.

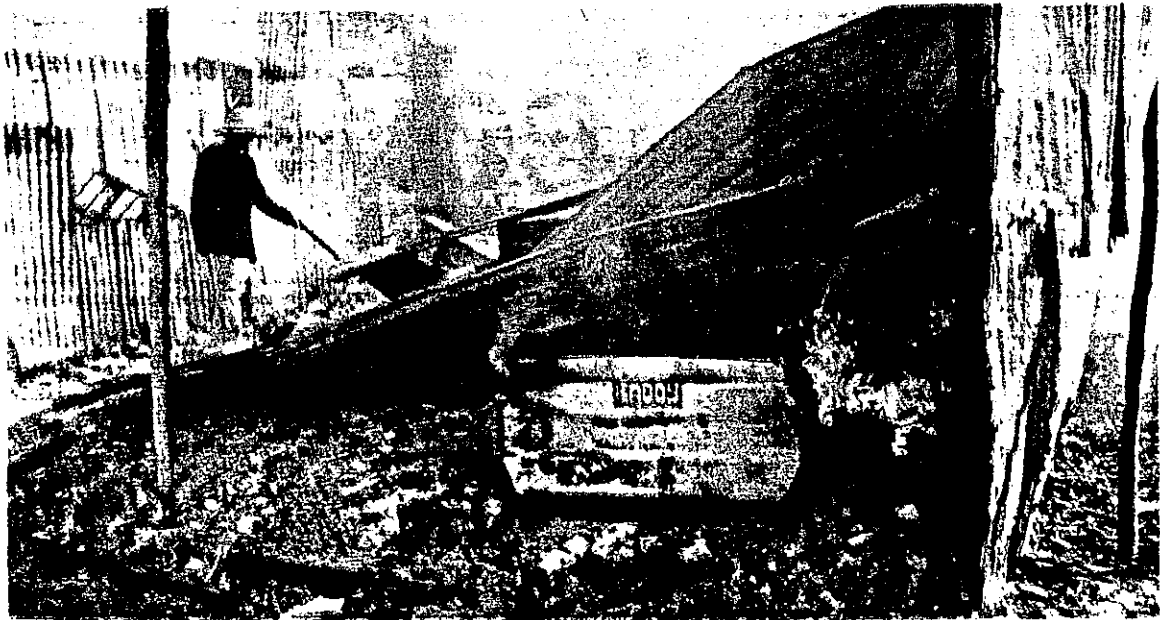
8. It was accepted by the two delegations that further contacts of this nature were necessary. Equally, it was important that such contacts should involve more and wider sections of the South African people in order to dispel misunderstanding and fear and to reinforce the broad democratic movement.

9. Conference expressed profound appreciation to President Abdou Diouf and the government and people of Senegal for the warm welcome extended to the delegates as well as the assistance afforded to them to assure the success of the conference.

It further expressed gratitude to Mrs Danielle Mitterrand for her assistance in organizing the conference. — Sapa-Reuter

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**CROSSROADS BURNINGS ...** A fireman douses one of 24 shacks set alight in Old Crossroads on Saturday.

Picture: OBED ZILWA

*Cape Times*  
 13/7/87 (119) ~~119~~ ~~119~~

# Crossroads arson razes 24 shacks

By CHRIS BATEMAN

AT LEAST 24 Old Crossroads shacks, many belonging to members of a faction opposed to the recently elected conservative mayor, Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana, were burnt down at the weekend, police said.

Police said they had arrested three men, aged 55, 65 and 79. The suspects would appear in Athlone Magistrate's Court today to face charges of arson, a spokesman said.

The torchings came the day after the leader of the opposition faction, Mr Prince Gobingca, expressed fears for his life to Archbishop Desmond Tutu and to the Divisional Commissioner of the Western Cape, Brigadier Ronnie van der Westhuizen.

One of the homes burnt down belonged to Mrs Florence Khaso, a close friend with whom Mr Gobingca was living, and another to her daughter, Mrs Lindisiwe Khaso.

Two fire engines, escorted by police, quelled the blazes between 9am and 11am on Saturday.

Police estimate the damage at R50 000. Nobody had been injured, the police spokesman said.

Mr Gobingca could not be traced for comment yesterday.

However, Mr Ngxobongwana strongly denied that his followers had had anything to do with the burnings and said only four shacks had been burnt down. He described the police figure as "completely wrong".

"I only returned from the Ciskei at 12pm on Saturday. None of my committee knows anything about who is responsible," he said.

Brigadier Van der Westhuizen said on Friday that he had "no information or any reason to believe Prince Gobingca's life is in danger" and advised the squatter leader to move out of the area if he felt threatened.

The brigadier said Mr Gobingca was not a public figure who qualified for "24-hour police protection".

The police spokesman said yesterday that the shack burnings were the result of "individuals walking around and setting fire to houses, but not of widespread violence".

...able as spending money on

## Pledge on future contacts

# We'll talk to ANC again — delegation

*B/day 13/7/87*  
*2/11A*

DAKAR — The Afrikaner delegation having talks with the ANC has rejected claims that it has betrayed its community — and has pledged to meet the organisation again.

In an indication of what Frederik van Zyl Slabbert called "an extraordinary meeting of minds on a number of important issues", 59 delegates and 17 ANC members issued a joint communique at the end of their four-day talks.

The ANC position was that this committed those attending the talks to common action, although they would pursue different strategies.

Two delegates did not support the communique because they were attending in their official capacities. They were Wooltru CE Tony Williamson and Standard Bank consultative economist Andre Hamersma.

On the question of the armed struggle, which has dominated the talks, the communique said: "The main area of concern arose over the ANC's resolve to maintain and intensify the armed struggle.

"The group accepted the historical reality of the armed struggle and, although not all could support it, everyone was deeply concerned over the prolifera-

MIKE ROBERTSON

tion of uncontrolled violence.

"However, all participants recognised that the source of violence in South Africa derives from the fact that the use of force is fundamental to the existence and practice of racial domination."

It said all present had expressed a preference for a negotiated settlement to the SA question.

The unconditional release of political prisoners and detainees, and the unbanning of political organisations were fundamental prerequisites for such negotiations.

The communique said not only was there a need for more contacts, but also a need to involve a wider section of the population in them.

The participants had accepted the urgency of realising the goal of a non-racial democracy. Different strategies had to be used in accordance with possibilities available to those opposed to apartheid.

Delegates have been stunned by the reaction to the talks in SA. Some have had to take their children out of schools, while the threat from the AWB to them

● To Page 2 →

## 'We'll talk to ANC again'

personally is being taken seriously.

The communique said: "Participants could not but be aware that some of the adherents of apartheid regarded the participation of the group as an act of betrayal, not only to the apartheid state, but also to the community of Afrikanerdom. This was totally rejected by the group."

The ANC said the fact that people were pledging to meet again despite the threats from the AWB was important.

Slabbert said there was nothing new about the propaganda which had been directed against the meeting.

He said: "Part of the reason I was keen on bringing about this discussion was to show South Africans not to blindly accept propaganda but to go and find out for themselves

← ● From Page 1

*B/day 13/7/87*  
"The people here did not come to unconditionally surrender. They came to find out, to discuss, to see if there could be a meeting of minds.

"A great deal of misunderstanding has been resolved. There has been a good, tough intellectual debate on many issues and differences were clearly articulated. I think we will all go back with much more accurate information about the situation.

*B/day*  
"In a country which is riddled with disinformation, this is absolutely necessary."

The delegates fly out today to Burkino Faso and Ghana.

11A (circled) B/Day 13/7/87

Exchange of views important — Motsuenyane

# Nafcoc plans regular talks with the ANC

THE National African Federated Chamber of Commerce (Nafcoc) will maintain regular contact with the ANC after its meeting with the banned organisation in Lusaka last year, president Sam Motsuenyane, says.

"We need to keep constant contact with the ANC so as to know what they think and keep them informed about how we think," he said after Nafcoc's 23rd national congress in Johannesburg last week.

"Government did not react unfavourably to our meeting the ANC, because we did not keep anything secret," he said.

Asked for Nafcoc's stand on sanctions and investment and rumours of a split in the organisation over the question, Motsuenyane said: "There was a misinterpretation of Nafcoc's resolutions at its summit last October. In Natal, some people interpreted Nafcoc's new policy as outrightly support-

THEO RAWANA

ive of disinvestment.

"As a result, relations between the Inyanda Chamber of Commerce and Nafcoc became strained. The situation returned to normal after a thorough exposition of the new policy was given to the Inyanda chamber.

"Effectively, Nafcoc still supports the policy of conditional investment; encouraging investment where blacks have a direct benefit or involvement. The only additional element introduced was that Nafcoc would not campaign to oppose sanctions or disinvestment, directed at SA and government in particular.

"This would be the case if the following demands are not met:

- That all political prisoners are released and all political parties are unbanned;
- That government drops the state of emergency;
- That government enters into dialogue with credible leaders; and

That government commits itself to dismantling apartheid."

Motsuenyane said the summit had resolved Nafcoc should establish a research structure to look into the possibilities of mobilising financial, technical and other resources to facilitate the "indigenisation" of investments that became available as a result of sanctions.

"We feel that the economy should be de-racialised so that black people get involved in takeovers of investments of companies that pull out."

Asked for comment on the warning by one speaker at the conference, black American businessman Malcolm Beech, that integration in the US almost killed black business because white business had made inroads into the black market, Motsuenyane said the situation was different in SA because blacks were in the majority.

He was happy with the strides the organisation had taken from its founding in the early 1960s.



**SISTERS TALK . . .** Melanie Kriel, 19, (left) and Michelle Kriel, 24, the sisters of dead ANC member Mr Ashley Kriel talk of their dead brother at their home. Picture: ANNE LAING

*Cape Times 14/7/87*

# Police to probe Ashley Kriel death allegations

By CHRIS STEYN and RONNIE MORRIS  
POLICE are investigating allegations about the death of ANC member Mr Ashley Kriel, who was shot dead by police last week.

The Cape Times has withheld details of allegations made by Mr Kriel's family pending the police inquiry. These allegations will be disclosed on completion of the official investigation.

A police spokesman said yesterday: "I feel very sorry that people can make such allegations against the police when it is normal police procedure that when we are looking for a suspect to talk to, we visit his known address."

The central executive committee of the Cape Youth Congress (Cayco) yesterday called for a full inquiry into the circumstances surrounding the killing of Mr Kriel.

Miss Michelle Kriel said she was very proud that her brother died for his people "because he cared about his fellow human beings".

## Father murdered

"I should have been shocked when I heard that Ashley had been shot dead, but I somehow expected it," said the 24-year-old Ms Kriel.

"He was a very peace-loving person. I was very close to him, but knew very little about his political activities. I knew he was active in the school's SRC but I only heard this afternoon that he was a founder member of Bisco (the Bonteheuwel Interschools Congress)."

Ms Kriel said her mother was the sole supporter of the victim and his younger sister Melanie and left the house when it was dark in the morning and returned when it was dark at night. She did not know what her son did.

"My father was murdered when Ash-

ley was five years old. I always think about the man who killed my father when the police came in here with their guns.

"I pass him in the street often. He is free now after serving a few years. The police never hunted him — he gave himself up — the way they hunted Ashley.

"We, especially my mother and sister, received a lot of community support. I never knew he was so well-known because today people continuously streamed into our house. Everybody showed their support and that keeps us going.

"People have the wrong idea if there is talk of a 'terrorist'. If they (the police) called Ashley a 'terrorist', then we would all like to be called terrorists."

The victim's younger sister, Melanie, aged 19, said her brother had a lot of love for people and whenever he spoke to people he told them to love their neighbours.

"The word terrorist is so cold. What is a terrorist? Jesus died on the cross for our sins and Ashley died for his people," she said.

Michelle said the family had the right to know what had happened during the skirmish. They did not get much information from the police.

Police, she said, could at least have wounded her brother if he had tried to escape and given him a fair trial.

"I'm very proud; he died a hero," she said.

A Cayco spokesman said the "consistent economic and social injustices expressed by our people, led Mr Kriel to believe that merely being involved in a democratic and progressive organization was not enough".

Police said that Mr Kriel died last Thursday during a "skirmish" with police in Hazendal. Police confiscated a Russian-made grenade, a weapon and ammunition.

# Umsa to meet Heunis over black poll

By BARRY STREEK  
Political Staff

AS CRITICISM mounts over the government move for elections among urban black people for the proposed National Statutory Council, crucial discussions are to be held in Pretoria today about the controversial new body.

The United Municipalities of South Africa (Umsa), which has previously opposed participation in the council, is to meet the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, for discussions about the proposed body.

Yesterday the United Democratic Front, the Progressive Federal Party and Archbishop Desmond Tutu all rejected the call for elections among black people for the council.

At the weekend Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, said it was a "total mystery" how the government intended defining which urban black people would be entitled to vote for the council and that South Africa was being ruled under a state of emergency because the government had not addressed crucial issues.

The Department of Constitutional Development and Planning officials have said that discussions had been held with 170 to 190 black officials who had accepted the NSC in principle.

Umsa president Mr Tom Boya, the mayor of Daveyton, said yesterday in a statement that one of the main items on the agenda would be the government's proposed National Statutory Council and Umsa's stand on participation.

The organization has said previously it was opposed to participation in the NSC unless the government demonstrated its bona fides by releasing political prisoners, including jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela, unbanning political organizations and abandoning legislation which discriminates on grounds of race.

## Political egg-dancing

Mr Boya also said Umsa would ask Mr Heunis to "conduct a nation-wide investigation into the backlogs of infrastructure and housing in all black townships and to indicate government's plans for the elimination of these backlogs".

The UDF said in a statement signed by its acting publicity secretary, Mr Murphy Morobe, that opting for elections rather than participation by appointment would not make the national council any more democratic or popular than the present regional services councils or the tricameral Parliament.

"No amount of political 'egg dancing' without facing the real issues will get the UDF and the black people in this country to support these Nationalist-sponsored structures," the statement said.

The government must "give up this unpopular NSC and create conditions for the democratic participation of all South Africans in one parliament and not half-baked and white constructed 'solutions'."

The PFP, in a statement issued by one of its constitutional planning spokesmen, Mr Jan van Eck, MP, said elections for black people under existing conditions, particularly the state of emergency, would be a farce and not "make the slightest contribution to reducing the present conflict in South Africa".

"With most democratic movements in the townships having been crippled by massive and continuous detentions, and harassment, of virtually all leaders, it would be a totally fruitless and senseless act to hold elections," Mr Van Eck said.

Archbishop Tutu dismissed the government's latest scheme of elections among urban blacks as a "sugar-coated pill".

"How can you have elections when black organizations are still banned and when many who might have been elected are still in jail?"

"I'm not interested in this personally. This is just trying to sugar-coat the pill — but the basic thing is that the pill is still rotten," Archbishop Tutu said.

## UDF: stance confirmed

JOHANNESBURG — The Dakar meeting between the African National Congress (ANC) and a mostly Afrikaner delegation vindicated the United Democratic Front's (UDF) position that the ANC must be part of any genuine attempt to resolve the South African crisis, the UDF said yesterday.

The UDF said in a statement that the talks "exploded the nationalist propaganda of the ANC as bloodthirsty and not prepared to seek solutions.

"That such a group of influential Afrikaners now has an understanding of the ANC must be welcomed," said the statement signed by the UDF's acting publicity secretary, Mr Murphy Morobe.

The challenge the delegation faced was to "unambiguously tell their white compatriots how government propaganda is painting them into a corner of ignorance and falsehoods ... and that beyond the laager of fear, lies a South Africa which all can cherish without prejudice." — Sapa

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## UDF's no to elections

JOHANNESBURG — The United Democratic Front yesterday rejected government plans for black elections for the National Statutory Council.

Elections to the proposed advisory body were mooted last week.

Opting for elections rather than participation by appointment would not make the NSC anymore democratic or popular than the present Regional Services Councils or the tricameral parliament, a UDF statement said.

"No amount of political 'egg dancing' without facing the real issues will get the UDF and the black people in this country to support these Nationalist-sponsored structures."

It added the government must "give up this unpopular NSC and create conditions for the democratic participation of all South Africans in one parliament and not half-baked and white constructed 'solutions'." — Sapa



## WORLD BRIEFS

### Wanted ANC man shot

MBABANE — One of the three suspected African National Congress members shot dead by gunmen here on Thursday was on the South African security forces' "most wanted" list, Swazi police sources said yesterday.

The main victim was Paul Dikeledi, a South African who was using a Lesotho passport under the alias of Moja Lema Motaung.

The second victim, Charles Maponda, 44, an economist, was understood to be a Tanzanian who had allegedly been working as an ANC courier for some time.

Police said the woman victim, Augusto Tsinini, was believed to be a Mozambican, but held a Swaziland travel document.

The documents of all three showed they had travelled regularly to Swaziland, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

The source said it was becoming increasingly clear that the ANC was now also recruiting nationals of other countries to assist the operations of the organisation's military wing. — Sapa

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# Burkina Faso hails SA group

OUAGADOUGOU. — Dr Van Zyl Slabbert's group of South Africans who met the ANC in Dakar at the weekend, received a big welcome when they arrived in Burkina Faso yesterday.

Thousands of local people chanting anti-apartheid slogans lined the streets of Ouagadougou as the 50-strong group was taken to the city centre soon after it arrived from Dakar.

Representatives of the ANC arrived on the same Air Afrique flight.

They were greeted on the tarmac of Ouagadougou airport by banner-carrying members of the Burkinabe Anti-Apartheid Movement. Two children — one black, one white — offered them wooden bowls of zoom koom, a traditional drink of tamarind, as a sign of hospitality.

The travel-weary South Africans and ANC members are due to hold talks with Burkina Faso leader Mr Thomas Sankara, the youthful army officer who projects a militant stance against apartheid.

Dr Alex Boraine, spokesman for the South African group, told Reuters Mr Sankara wanted to show the South African delegation his people and his country.

PARIS. — Mrs Danielle Mitterrand, wife of President Francois Mitterrand, yesterday defended her participation in the Dakar meeting between white liberal South Africans and ANC members.

Mrs Mitterrand, who has been attacked by the right-wing National Front party for participating, said: "What we tried to do in Dakar will remain in the annals of history as an advance towards peace and democracy." — Sapa-AP

"Sankara invited us to see a different style of government. He was very keen that we should not just meet government officials... He wants us to meet the people," he said.

Dr Boraine said he would resist any exhortations by the Burkinabe president for the white liberals to adopt violent tactics in the fight against the apartheid system of racial segregation.

"To embrace the armed struggle is to say that there is no other way. But for us in South Africa, there is another way."

The inhabitants of this dusty capital city stopped work early yesterday to greet the two groups.

Mr Sankara, 37, will host a major anti-apartheid conference later this year.

The South Africans looked dazed by the rousing welcome they received and one of them expressed surprise that there was no local opposition to their visit.

Both delegations were scheduled to meet later yesterday with members of the ruling National Revolutionary Council and attend a session of a People's Revolutionary Court currently trying more than 100 military personnel on charges of corruption.

Mr Sankara last night hosted a reception for the two sides. Today they will take part in a public debate on South Africa's racial segregation.

The Dakar group was originally expected to travel to Accra tomorrow at the invitation of the Ghanaian leader, Flight Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings, but a senior official of the Ghana Foreign Affairs Ministry said yesterday that "technical and financial" problems might prevent the visit.

The official, who asked not to be identified, said: "We have heard about these problems, but we still have our doors open if they still want to come."

— Sapa-Reuter

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MY MAIN impression of the talks between members of the African National Congress and the predominantly Afrikaans-speaking group is of the chasm that still divides the two main political forces in SA — Afrikaner and African nationalism. Nevertheless, there has been surprising willingness on both sides to throw up bridges which will prevent a civil war.

Many Afrikaans members of the group advised the ANC not to underestimate the resolve of the Botha government to impose a system of new apartheid with the help of much more sophisticated methods of co-option than divide-and-rule tactics.

The members of the ANC delegation on the other hand gave a clear demonstration of the ANC's will to intensify the struggle on all fronts — militarily, politically, economically and diplomatically.

My main impression is that the ANC is developing a steadily-increasing sophistication, with articulate spokesmen and a flexibility in adapting goals, methods and rhetoric to changing circumstances. Whether this was superficial was difficult to gauge.

For those inclined to historical pessimism there was all the evidence for the making of a major confrontation. Nevertheless, there were also hopeful signs. Seventy blacks and whites were prepared to discuss ways in which the divisions in South African society could be overcome, and to understand the motives and objectives behind political actions.

Understandably, the main topic of discussion was the use of violence, both by the State and by the ANC. It was heartwarming that this discussion never threatened to break up the conference, as might well have happened if the participants had been from Lebanon or Northern Ireland. Instead, black and white South Africans explored all avenues which could prevent the fate of civil

# How the ANC stood on violence at Dakar talks

**HERMANN GILIOMEE, a professor of politics at UCT, was one of the Afrikaner delegates at the Dakar conference with the ANC. He gives an insider's view of what the meeting achieved**

war and the deadly spiral of violence.

Most of the whites have come away with a much clearer understanding of the reasons why the ANC leadership has decided to embark on a strategy of armed struggle and why it is prepared to resist any unilateral political dispensation in SA.

First, the ANC sees itself as the major nationalist organisation. ANC leaders have always been accepted by blacks as their leaders. So the ANC considers it has a historic duty to resist political schemes unilaterally devised by whites or elections called by the Botha government.

It seems to me that Botha's call for elections among black leaders may trigger a new round of turmoil, since the ANC is utterly committed to veto any scheme which excludes them. It is also quite clear that the ANC still strongly rejects violence as a means in itself. The sole objective of violence is to force any minority regime, even if nominally headed by blacks, to the negotiating table.

Furthermore, the ANC still rejects indiscriminate violence which aims at civilians. There was nevertheless, in my opinion, an unresolved contradiction in their attitude in

this regard. Several Afrikaner delegates pointed out that if the ANC was opposed to indiscriminate violence or to necklacing, it had a duty to condemn unauthorised attacks. It never became quite clear why the ANC was reluctant to agree to this.

There was also a full discussion on the suspension of violence by the ANC to create the climate for negotiations. Here the ANC clearly stated that any moratorium on violence could only come about if there was sufficient evidence of willingness to negotiate.

Apart from the armed struggle, discussion was held on ways in which more people could get involved in a struggle for a non-racial democracy in opposition to the apartheid system. Here the ANC delegates made three propositions.

First, the "people" had to accept the ANC as the leading force in the opposition. Second, the ANC is prepared to grant a large degree of autonomy to other organisations committed to a non-racial democracy. Third, the ANC was willing to explore new ways of co-ordinating with other organisations — even those not accepting ANC leadership — means by which people could op-

pose apartheid and replace it with a non-racial democracy.

The main discussion revolved around the ANC's demand to lead the forces of opposition to apartheid. Some Afrikaner delegates pointed out that an escalation of the armed struggle and increasing numbers of bombs going off would make it all but impossible to get a significant number of whites to accept ANC leadership. Indeed, there was a likelihood of the spiral of violence even forcing liberal whites into trenches along with supporters of the apartheid order.

In the end the possibility of a compromise solution was discussed. I suggested bi-communalism as a formula which could join the forces of Afrikaner and African nationalism in the new synthesis.

I pointed out that the history of ethnic conflicts in recent years gave little assurance to ethnic minorities of their rights being protected after the transfer of power. Here some of the ANC delegates protested strongly that the ANC had a long record of including whites and opposing black exclusivity.

The opposition this evoked from some ANC delegates gave an indication of how difficult it would be to reach a compromise formula, but there was at least some common ground that it was not in the interest of any genuine democrat, whether white or black, to see a fight to the bitter end, only to have the state inherited by a new fascist regime nominally headed by blacks. Nevertheless, I felt a degree of pessimism, given our past of bitter and growing conflict.

Generally, however, the delegates have left with a clear resolve to do their best to avoid a situation where the final negotiating table in SA will assume the shape of two trenches. It remains to be seen whether this represents a measure of common ground by which black and white democrats can work together for a democratic resolution.

14/7/87  
71A

## Thousands welcome ANC talks group

OUAGADOUGOU — White SA liberals touring Africa were welcomed by thousands to Burkina Faso yesterday.

People chanting anti-apartheid slogans lined the streets of Ouagadougou as the 50-strong group was taken to the city centre after arriving from talks with the ANC in Dakar.

ANC representatives arrived on the same Air Afrique flight.

They were greeted on the tarmac of Ouagadougou airport by banner-carrying members of the Burkinabe Anti-Apartheid Movement.

Two children — one black, one white — offered them wooden bowls of zoom koom, a traditional drink of tamarind, as a sign of hospitality.

The travel-weary South Africans and ANC members are due to hold talks with Burkina Faso leader Thomas Sankara, 37, the youthful army officer who projects a militant stance against apartheid.

Alex Borraine, spokesman for the Institute for a Democratic Alternative in SA (Idasa), said Sankara wanted to show the SA delegation his people and his country.

"Sankara invited us to see a different style of government. He was keen that we should not just meet government officials. He wants us to meet the people," he said.

On the flight from Dakar, Borraine said he would resist any urging from Sankara to adopt violent tactics in the fight against apartheid.

"To embrace the armed struggle is to say there is no other way. But there is another way for us in South Africa."

The inhabitants of the dusty capital city stopped work early yesterday to greet the two groups.

The white group and ANC delegates will today take part in a public debate on SA's racial segregation.

They are expected to go to Accra in Ghana later this week.

Sankara is to host an anti-apartheid conference this year. — Sapa-Reuter.

# SA meeting with the ANC is defended

PARIS — Mrs Danielle Mitterrand, wife of President Francois Mitterrand, has defended her participation in the weekend meeting between a delegation of South Africans and members of the banned African National Congress in Dakar.

Mrs Mitterrand, who has been attacked by the right-wing National Front political party for participating, said the meeting was conducted in the spirit of "peace and democracy".

"When we defend a cause and that cause is just, we help steer all conscience to the cause," she said in a television interview.

"What we tried to do in Dakar will remain in the annals of history as an advance toward peace and democracy," said Mrs Mitterrand, president of

the France-Liberte Foundation, who assisted in arranging the gathering.

At the end of the three-day meeting a statement was issued unanimously supporting a negotiated settlement of South Africa's problems and calling for the release of all political prisoners.

Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, former leader of the Progressive Federal Party, who read the joint communique to reporters, said he and other whites planned to have further contacts with the ANC.

The South African group received a near-royal welcome when they arrived in Burkina Faso from Senegal yesterday.

The South Africans and ANC members are due to hold talks with Burkina Faso leader Thomas Sankara.

Dr Alex Boraine,

spokesman for the Institute for a Democratic Alternative in South Africa, said in an interview Mr Sankara wanted to show the South African delegation his people and his country.

Speaking on the flight from Dakar, Dr Boraine said he would resist any exhortations by the Burkinabe President for the white liberals to adopt violent tactics in the fight against apartheid.

"To embrace the armed struggle is to say that there is no other way. But for us in South Africa, there is another way," he said.

Mr Sankara, 37, will host a major anti-apartheid conference later this year.

The South African and ANC delegates yesterday met members of the ruling National Revolutionary Council and attended a session of a People's Revolutionary Court currently trying more than 100 military personnel on charges of corruption.

Last night Mr Sankara hosted a reception for the two sides.

Today the delegates will take part in a public debate on apartheid. — Sapa-Reuter

Cape Times  
14/7/87

KTC  
11/4

## squatters fear 'men with long guns'

By ANDREW DONALDSON  
and ANDRE KOOPMAN

RESIDENTS of Cape Town's KTC squatter community feared a vigilante attack last night after several men, armed with "long guns" — believed to be shotguns, were seen patrolling the area.

Their fears were compounded by the vigilante attacks at the weekend in which 24 shacks in Old Crossroads were torched.

According to a Legal Resources Centre spokesman, with whom community leaders had been in contact, residents were threatened by some of the men and told they would be attacked during the night.

Community leaders requested the spokesman to contact the riot squad about their fears. This he did.

A police liaison officer for the Western Cape, Lieutenant Attie Laubscher, confirmed it.

### Burned

"The police are permanently in that area and will continue to patrol it to maintain law and order," he said.

On Saturday, at least 24 Old Crossroads homes, police said, many belonging to people opposed to the recently-elected Crossroads mayor, Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana, were burned down.

The burnings came the day after the opposition leader, Mr Prince Gobingca, expressed fears for his life to Archbishop Desmond Tutu and to the Divisional Commissioner of the Western Cape, Brigadier Ronnie van der Westhuizen.

Brigadier Van der Westhuizen said on Friday that he had "no information or any reason to believe that Prince Gobingca's life was in danger" and advised him to move out of the area if he felt threatened.

Mr Gobingca was "not a public figure who qualified for 24-hour police protection", the brigadier said.

The next day, a shack in which Mr Gobingca had been living was razed as were shacks of his supporters.

The "middle ground" — an ill-defined area of extra-parliamentary politics in South Africa — received yet another new recruit when the Federal Independent Democratic Alliance (Fida) last week moved on stage in a blaze of publicity, but the organisation may find the area is still too narrow to . . .

# Balance on its very edge

GARY VAN STADEN  
 Line: JOHANNESBURG

HERE exists an ill-defined area of extra-parliamentary politics in South Africa commonly referred to as the "middle ground" — an area of political observers once viewed as being rapidly eroding but which now faces the problem of overcrowding. The area is ill-defined partly because many of the organisations which would fit its criteria often do and partly because rival economic systems have different political lines.

In broad terms this "middle ground" would seem to be a perpetual area between organisations and political parties who accept or demand apartheid or some form of apartheid rule which would give most of the power in the hands and those who demand a totally unqualified universal franchise in a unitary state — one man, one

"middle ground" recruit yet another new recruit last week when an organisation calling itself the Federal Independent Democratic Alliance (Fida) moved on stage in a blaze of publici-

ty, courtesy of the SABC.

Mr John Gogotya, 49, the man at the helm of Fida, said he was prepared for and expecting the usual barrage of "sell-out" and "stoolie" which normally accompanied the formation of political groupings but added that it was untrue and of no concern to him.

Mr Gogotya, a Soweto businessman, theologian and "self made" politician described himself as a "realist" when he occupied TV screens in millions of South African homes last week and said that no one could expect everything to happen at once in a changing South Africa.

## Denied links to Govt

Virtually unknown before last week, Mr Gogotya and his organisation have moved into an area in South African politics that they must share with several other organisations, most of which have only recently moved in themselves.

Perhaps the only true middle ground organisation and by far the strongest, oldest and most established is Inkatha, led by Chief Monguthu Buthelezi of KwaZulu in Natal.

Inkatha see themselves as totally opposed to apartheid but the organisation nevertheless operates within the homeland system and is made up of a membership which is almost exclusively Zulu.

Several other organisations are also crowded into this space, the most important of which are the United Christian Conciliation Party under Bishop Isaac Mokoena; the United Municipalities of South Africa under town councillor and long-time Daveyton "mayor" Mr Tom Boya; the Urban Councils of South Africa, a similar organisation under the leadership of Mr Steve Kgame and organisations such as the Lekoa Council which seems to have an influence far beyond the borders of the Vaal Triangle townships.

All condemn apartheid and "radical" organisations.

The space also has to carry dozens of township council officials and various black religious/political organisations.

Like many of the leaders of the above organisations Mr Gogotya has travelled overseas where he has campaigned against disinvestment, sanctions and argued against the African National

Congress and other similar "radical" organisations.

Also in common with some of his companion organisations Mr Gogotya has denied any link to the South African Government and says that Fida's funding does not come from Pretoria.

Fida is not Mr Gogotya's first entry into public life but is a lot less secret than the last one in 1983 which involved distributing anti-boycott pamphlets under the name OAU (Operation Advance and Upgrade) in Soweto and other black townships.

## Pace too slow

Mr Gogotya believes that there is no point comparing his new party to organisations such as the ANC, United Democratic Front or Azapo as they were too busy fighting among themselves to do any work on a solution for the country's problems.

He is of the opinion that even sympathetic Western governments are pushing Pretoria harder and faster than the white electorate will allow it to go.

Fida's suggested pace, however, looks to be too slow to

allow it to keep up with its companion organisations.

Mr Gogotya said in an interview last week that no matter how unpopular the move proved to be, Fida would participate in State President Botha's National Statutory Council (NSC).

He has little support for this decision among other middle ground organisations with Inkatha and Umsa having rejected unqualified participation and Usaca and the others yet to take a final decision on the matter. While Mr Kgame's Usaca grouping has indicated that it would participate in the NSC there is some evidence to suggest that the decision has not met with unanimous approval.

Fida's views on President Botha's "city-state" concept are also at odds with his companion organisations.

Chief Buthelezi said that Inkatha would "never accept it" and added that South Africa was one country, with one destiny and one history. Mr Boya called the idea "unthinkable" and Mr Kgame slated the idea stating that it was impossible "to divide democracy".

Mr Gogotya, however, said he was prepared to accept both the homeland and city state concepts provided they were part of confederation.

In addition no other middle ground organisation has openly supported the state of emergency or the mass detentions which accompanied it.

## Release of detainees

While Mr Boya and Umsa have called for the release of political detainees as a condition to even talking about the NSC, Mr Gogotya said he believed that the emergency had brought peace to many black South Africans and that children in detention were better off in prison away from "intimidation".

It is a position that few extra-parliamentary organisations would dare to take but judging by his comments and remarks Mr Gogotya's Fida is a good few steps to the political right of its companion organisations.

And while the "middle ground" may be getting a little wider Fida may find the area is still too narrow to balance on its very edge.

ARGAS 14/7/87 (11)

MAGS 14/787

119

2577

# Reagan praises meeting with ANC

WASHINGTON. — The United States has applauded the meeting between 61 white South Africans and the African National Congress, and President Reagan has written to President Abdou Diouf of Senegal expressing appreciation of his leadership in arranging "this historic meeting".

Discussions between Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert and his delegation and the ANC team led by Mr Thabo Mbeki were front-page news in the New York Times and the Washington Post yesterday, and were reported extensively by other media.

"We are very pleased with this meeting and by the apparent progress it made in improving mutual understanding among the black and white participants," a State Department official said, echoing Mr Reagan's commendation of Mr Diouf's role as convener and host in Dakar of "an unprecedented conference".

"This is a very notable example of an African leader helping other Africans, black and white, to advance towards peace and justice in South Africa," the official said.

## Cheering crowd

Yesterday Dr van Zyl Slabbert's group arrived in Ouagadougou, capital of Burkina Faso, to a warm welcome. They will have talks with President Thomas Sankara and senior officials.

The group, accompanied by 10 ANC members and Senegalese officials, was welcomed by officials and a cheering crowd.

Official sources said the two-day visit was the first by white South Africans to this West African country, which is to be host to an international anti-apartheid forum in October.

The group is also hoping to visit Ghana before returning home.

In Paris Mrs Danielle Mitterrand, wife of the French President, appeared on national television yesterday to defend her anti-apartheid stand.

It was the latest dramatic result of the pro-Pretoria statements made on Sunday by the nine-man parliamentary delegation on its return from a two-week visit to South Africa.

Mrs Mitterrand returned to Paris yesterday after attending the meeting in Dakar, which her France Liberté Foundation helped to organise.

Within hours she found it necessary to go to her office to be interviewed by the major TF1 network to answer criticisms of her role by members of the delegation.

The most cutting was by Dr Jean Kiffer. He asked: "How can Mrs Mitterrand oppose terrorism in France and yet support it in South Africa?"

She explained her foundation was intended to promote equality, fraternity and liberty.

## "Their business"

She repeated several times that "nobody is better qualified to seek a solution in South Africa than the blacks and whites living there. It is their business and not that of anybody else."

So far neither Socialist President Francois Mitterrand nor his Gaullist Prime Minister, Jacques Chirac, have joined in the row.

In Copenhagen, European Community foreign ministers, who wish to organise a conference of different South African groups, have failed to agree on principles for ending apartheid, diplomats said.

Danish Foreign Minister Uffe Ellemann-Jensen told a news conference that his country was prepared to be host to a conference to promote dialogue, but he acknowledged that the ministers had been unable to agree on publishing a statement of principles.

— The Argus Foreign Service and Sapa-Reuter.

# Police appeal 'to people with influence in KTC'

By STEPHEN WROTTESELEY, Crime Reporter

AN APPEAL to people with influence in the KTC squatter camp — including priests — to use it to restore law and order was made today by Brigadier Ronnie van der Westhuizen, Divisional Commissioner of Police for the Western Cape.

Brigadier van der Westhuizen made the appeal in the wake of renewed claims that the "witdoeke" vigilantes of Crossroads were preparing to launch an attack on other squatter communities.

"I have been given the assurance by the people of Crossroads that if the people living there are not attacked, they will not attack KTC," he said.

"I've got influence in Crossroads and I can keep them under control, but I haven't any access to the leaders of the KTC camp."

He said that after seeing squatter leaders from KTC and Nyanga last month at a meeting which Mr Jan van Eck, PFP MP for Claremont, was instrumental in arranging, attacks had continued from KTC.

## Went to camp

He said he had personally gone to the camp to discuss the situation with the leaders in an attempt to bring an end to the violence but had been unable to find anybody to speak to.

"Other people have access to the leaders, like the Legal Resources Centre and various priests. I would like them to use their influence and do what I'm doing in Crossroads and Khayelitsha to bring an end to the violence."

"I can assure them that there will be no attack if the people from Crossroads are not provoked or intimidated."

"Every morning there is another attack from KTC. The lorry that was burnt out yesterday — that was an attack from KTC."

He said he had taken a personal interest in the squatter communities since he was divisional criminal investigations officer and he hoped that if peace was restored, "maybe some or other time in the future we can come together to discuss the wider problems".

● Brigadier van der Westhuizen announced that an in-service training programme for charge office staff is to start next week. He said the programme had come about as a result of various complaints from the public.



# PASTOR WAS GUN CARRIER

11A  
Sometun  
15/7/87

By MONK NKOMO

ONE of the accused in the Pan Africanist Congress terrorism trial, the Rev Daniel Nkopodi, transported a trunk containing AK47 assault rifles and bullets from Lobatse in Botswana to Bophuthatswana, a Pretoria Regional Court was told yesterday.

Mr Z, a former senior official of the PAC, who may not be identified, said he saw 10 AK47 assault rifles inside mealie meal bags and a box full of bullets under a bed in Mr Sello Mogale's room in Botswana in 1985.

Only six of the rifles were put inside a trunk which was loaded into Mr Nkopodi's car when he drove to Bophuthatswana, the court heard.

Mr Z said he came to Bophuthatswana with a faked passport in October, 1985. He jumped a fence at the Botswana border helped by Mr Dan Mofokeng, a leader of the PAC. After leaving Lobatse he met Mr Nkopodi who took him to his parent's home where he stayed.

The witness said he knew four of the accused — Mr Mabatu Enoch Zulu, Mr Ndoda Ganga, Mr Vincent Mathunjwa, and Mr Setsiba Mohohlo — whom he described as "my friend".

Mr Z said he was "terrified" and could not sleep on arrival in the homeland. "I had that fear that anything can happen because I had left

## MR Z TELLS PAC TRIAL

the country several years ago.

"The witness said he saw the trunk containing weapons inside a tin shack at Mr Nkopodi's home. Mr Z said he was also "terrified" when Mr Mathunjwa and Mr Mohohlo who were accompanied by Mr Nkopodi arrived in Bophuthatswana. The three had a bag containing handgrenades.

He was testifying in the trial of seven alleged members of the PAC including two suspected members of Qibla who have pleaded not guilty before Mr J H Bekker to 24 counts of terrorism and defeating the ends of justice. The accused are Mr Zulu, Mr Ganga, Mr Mathunjwa, Mr Mohohlo, Reverend Nkopodi, Mr Achmad Cassiem and Mr Yusuf Patel.

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# 'Activist abducted'

THE African National Congress yesterday claimed that an activist abducted by foreign agents in Swaziland was to be a state witness in a treason trial against a member of the organisation.

The Congress alleged that Mrs Sheila Moipone Nyanda was forcefully removed from her home in Swaziland and taken to a detention place in Johannesburg on the night of May 25 and 26.

The SAP public relations division in Pretoria yesterday said no person by the name of Mrs Sheila Moipone Nyanda was being detained by the South African Police, according to their records.

The police spokesman said they did not have knowledge of any treason trial Mrs Nyanda could have been a State witness because her name did not appear in their records.

Cape Times 15/7/87 11A

Letters

# UDF seeking a fair society

From D WILSON, B FIGAJI, H JOSHUA, R E LUYT, L N MOSALA, J SANDELL, G SETILOANE, L C WILSON, Exec. members of Merge (Athlone):

WE respond to your leader of June 23, 1987, entitled "UDF bashing", and wish to support strongly your argument against harassment of the UDF and the resultant erosion of what you call "the middle ground in South Africa".

We agree with your sentiment that if the present, severe pressure on the UDF continues the danger will be that "when the time comes for negotiations there will be no one of substance for white South Africa to negotiate with".

It is probably true to say that we in Merge numbering a few hundred black and white members (roughly 50% of each category), are drawn largely from the white collar professional constituency on both sides of the colour line and that most of us supposedly would be labelled by many as "bourgeois" and certainly moderate in our general outlook.

When the UDF was launched in August, 1983, Merge applied for and obtained an affiliateship because we shared unequivocally the UDF's stand against apartheid and its rejection of the tricameral constitution.

Since then we have been accorded insight at regional level into UDF policies and decision-making and have been impressed by a dedicated striving for a fair and open society which will remove the political, social and economic shackles presently oppressing the majority of the people of South Africa.

At all times in this region we have been accorded a courteous and friendly inclusion in the ranks of a large body of people from all walks in life but seeking a united, democratic commitment in solving problems.

In the process we have had confirmed and deepened the following conclusions:

(1) In encompassing the oppressed and the disenfranchised the UDF reflects an irrepressible volume of feeling deeply seated in the majority in this country and has been at pains to use every conceivable, peaceful means to voice this feeling. It has consistently maintained a policy of non-violence.

(2) Continuing blockage of its legitimate right to opposition and protest can only drive it underground and once again, as in the case of the ANC in the nineteen fifties, lose an opportunity to negotiate a future shared justly and equally by all sections of the South African nation.

(3) That given the historical evidence of the deliberate creation of a supply of cheap labour and of inferior education among the majority in this country it is not surprising that the swing in the people's opposition is against capitalism as well as against racial discrimination.

It is important to observe, however, that the UDF is not on the extreme left and that although clearly disillusioned with our existing capitalist society and although manifesting obvious socialist leanings, we believe that it does not close its ranks against members in affiliates who still might argue the case of some measure of private enterprise.

Indeed its economic thinking seems to veer largely towards a mixed economy but with a redistribution of wealth to rectify the present extreme imbalance of the very affluent and the very poor.

The UDF alternative is obviously not to the taste of those who want to hold on tightly to white privilege but given the fact that such elitism is doomed anyway, how much wiser it would be now to negotiate seriously with this non-racial, reasonable voice of South Africa's embattled majority before further polarization removes all such chances of fruitful negotiation.

We call upon the government to end its vendetta against the UDF.

# Police warn off KTC squatters

11A  
CANT TIPS 15/7/87

By CHRIS STEYN  
THE DIVISIONAL  
Commissioner of  
Police, Brigadier Ron-  
nie Van der Westhui-  
zen, yesterday  
warned KTC squatters  
that "there will be one  
hell of a war" if they  
attacked rival squat-  
ter groups in Cross-  
roads and Khayelitsha.

He also appealed to extra-  
parliamentary organizations  
to use their influence with  
KTC squatter leaders to pre-

vent renewed conflict with  
squatters in Old Crossroads  
and Khayelitsha.

Brigadier Van der Westhui-  
zen said he was "in control" in  
Crossroads and Khayelitsha  
and could give an assurance  
that the squatters in these  
areas would not start another  
war.

But he warned KTC squat-  
ters not to provoke those in  
Crossroads with continuing  
petrol-bomb attacks.

"The people of Crossroads  
have given me an undertaking  
that if KTC does not attack  
first, Crossroads will never at-  
tack them. But if KTC provokes  
them, they will defend them-  
selves", he said.

"If KTC attacks Crossroads,  
there will be one hell of a

war," Brigadier Van der  
Westhuizen said.

Mr Jan van Eck, the Progres-  
sive Federal Party MP for  
Claremont, warned Brigadier  
Van der Westhuizen "not to  
generalize and to be careful  
not to appear to take sides" in  
the squatter conflict.

"Though Crossroads is rela-  
tively peaceful, I cannot ac-  
cept that Brigadier Van der  
Westhuizen could approve the  
methods that have been used  
and are still being used to  
bring about this 'peace'," he  
said.

"I refer to the mass burning  
of the homes of thousands of  
people last year and again  
over the past two weeks. These  
methods are nothing less than  
the law of the jungle and can  
bring no lasting peace."

But Brigadier Van der  
Westhuizen said that leaders  
of the opposing factions could  
only be brought together when  
peace had been restored.

"I therefore call on church  
and community leaders to re-  
strain KTC squatters from  
fighting.

"If they can do that and if  
KTC does not provoke an at-  
tack, then we may all be able to  
get together," he said. "First  
we have to restore peace be-  
fore we can bring the leaders  
together. My ultimate aim is to  
bring everybody together in  
peace and harmony."

Commenting on Brigadier  
Van der Westhuizen's re-  
marks, Mr Van Eck said yester-  
day that the KTC community  
was "quite happy" to co-oper-  
ate with the commissioner to  
bring the violence to an end.

"But I call on him to ensure  
that he is not seen as taking  
sides in the struggle between

the different squatter commu-  
nities.

"A major contributing factor  
to all the fighting in the past 18  
months has been the alleged  
bias of the police and the se-  
curity forces.

"Brigadier Van der Westhui-  
zen seemed determined not to  
take sides. And his appoint-  
ment created the hope that the  
violence could come to an  
end."

According to statistics com-  
piled by police last night, inci-  
dents of unrest in recent weeks  
in the area included:

□ On July 4, a vehicle was  
petrol-bombed near KTC Ba-  
zaar. The driver was assaulted;

□ On the same day, a police  
Casspir was stoned in Jak-  
kalsvlei Avenue;

□ On July 5, a man was  
killed by a panga and knife-  
wielding gang who first petrol-  
bombed his KTC home and  
then fired six shots at the man  
and his daughter as they fled  
from the house. She too was  
hacked and stabbed, but sur-  
vived;

□ On July 13, an R80 000  
truck belonging to the Region-  
al Services Council was gutted  
in Terminus Road at 12.40pm.  
The driver heard a "bang", and  
fled from the vehicle. His pas-  
senger was treated for shock.

□ Last month, on June 8, two  
police officers and five special  
constables were admitted to  
Wynberg Military Hospital  
with shrapnel wounds after a  
grenade was thrown at them  
while they were investigating a  
stone-throwing incident in  
KTC. Police said the security  
force members were stoned by  
a mob while on a foot patrol in  
the area. An eighth member of  
the patrol escaped injury.

# Messages of support

MESSAGES of support and praise from the African National Congress, the South African Communist Party, the South African Congress of Trade Unions (all banned and exiled), and non trade union movements in the Soviet Union were read out at the second

By **THEMBA MOLEFE**

national congress of the Congress of South African Trade Unions yesterday.

The four-day congress, held at the University of the Witwatersrand, is being attended by 1403

delegates from 13 unions affiliated to the 700 000-strong Cosatu.

In its message the ANC congratulated Cosatu for being a "solid pillar" in the struggle for democracy and non-racialism in South Africa and called on all workers to join and defend the federa-

tion.

The ANC said it was aware of forces trying to crush Cosatu and praised it for resisting the pressure.

The Organisation for African Trade Unity said in its message that it supported Cosatu in

● To Page 14

~~SECRET~~

Sometu  
16/7/87

11A

**WOODSTOCK CULTURAL RALLY**

# Liberate the jol from tired poems and faces



The UWCO choir in action at the Woodstock Town Hall



Peto's new sax player



A Cayco speaker addresses the rally

LIKE a skorokoro the cultural rally at the Woodstock Town Hall on Saturday got off to a jerky start

Some important community people were there, SARHWU ( SA Railway and Harbour Workers Union) had a stand, so did Molo Songolo, the ECC had a banner, the UWCO choir and drama group sang, Giemie and Mavis Smallberg read poetry, Pitch Black, the Raakwys band and Peto were all there, but all in all they battled to entertain the rowdy crowd at the UWCO (United Women's Congress) and Cayco (Cape Youth Congress) cultural evening.

What made a difference to the whole evening was a dynamic speech workshopped by the Woodstock UWCO group on the state of emergency and building of people's power.

Their speaker reminded everyone of the lack of women in leadership positions in the national democratic movement, even though most abide by the clause: "The people shall govern."

She added that it was not divisive to say that men and women face different kinds of oppression.

"At work women are hired last

and fired first. The majority of black women are workers and single parents, who have to come home to house work."

She emphasized the need to challenge this status quo by building up working class women's leadership as these women are the backbone of society and in the forefront of community struggles.

"An example of this is the Bongelethu women who said to their men who were joining the kitskonstabels 'If you stay in the system we will throw you out.' All except two men went back to their wives."

With a strong chorus of "Manibongwe" (We praise the women) the UWCO choir drove home the point that if we were building a true people's culture, the liberation of women was a fundamental part of it.

A Sayco (SA Youth Congress) speaker spoke about culture for liberation and the need to organise cultural workers nationally, But surely it is also about time more young lions start practising what they preach and get actively involved in liberation culture.

I'm sure that the Mavis Smallberg's and Giemie's of the world

are tired of reciting the same old poems to the same old people over and over.

I'm also sure that the Raakwys Band could do with a few more supporting acts to back up their blend of progressive lyrics and music. And are they the only ones who can sing and write about the struggle? Or do we leave culture in the hands of the "professionals" who don't care a stuff about cultural boycotts or performing in state theatres.

Maybe it's time to liberate the jol ... soon.

— HEATHER ROBERTSON

118 16/7/87 Jonathan

Mr LEON LOUW, the executive director of the Free Market Foundation, delivered a paper at the Dakar conference between the African National Congress and some prominent South Africans last week. To give readers an idea of what was said behind the closed doors in Dakar, the *Sowetan* publishes an edited version of the paper in three instalments.

# DAKAR

## Sowetan takes you behind the scenes

### LIKELY SOUTH AFRICAN SCENARIOS

**W**HILE there is an infinite number of imaginable scenarios for South Africa, most analysts agree that there are surprisingly few — maybe only two — that are reasonably likely. One of these is that there will be a “negotiated solution.”

This paper examines only this scenario and makes recommendations for increasing its likelihood significantly. This is not to say that other responsibilities are unimportant. They are simply not the subject of this paper. The major alternatives are:

**1 Survival of the Status Quo:** The survival of the status quo for the short to medium term seems to me to be the most likely scenario. This scenario, described by Clem Sunter in *The World and South Africa in the 1990s* as the “Low Road”, entails intensified resistance, conflict and international isolation; a long term deterioration of the economy; the government of the day going into a fortress or laager and “holding out” for many years.



HEAD of the African National Congress delegation Thabo Mbeki chats with the leader of the South African delegation, Dr Frederick van Zyl Slabbert during the conference at Dakar.

## FOCUS

At the end, a decision has to be made about who will govern over the wasteland. The negotiated solution — the **High Road** — is regarded by Sunter and his team as the only serious contender for the **Low Road** or wasteland.

**2 Revolution:** Most

experts seem to regard a successful revolution — a popular uprising against the Government — as extremely unlikely in the short to medium term.

**3 Military Victory:** A successful military invasion is seldom regarded as a serious possibility.

**4 Military Coup:** There is periodic speculation that the South African Defence Force may, with or without the support of the Government, stage a military coup in an attempt to restore order. The unknown factor here is whether, in the unlikely event of a coup in the short term, military power would be used to end or reverse “reform”, or to introduce a “solution” without needing to fear a reaction from the electorate.

**5 Capitulation/Abdication:** There is no reason to believe that the Government would simply hand over power unconditionally.

**6 Co-option:** Many observers consider it

likely that there will be a process of “co-option” or “co-optation” whereby the Government involves blacks who are willing to participate in the “system” in government.

But there are few who believe that the co-option route has much prospect of achieving a solution in the short to medium term. Most would describe co-option as one of the forms of survival of the status quo. It is frequently compared with the Muzorewa era in Zimbabwe (then Rhodesia).

**7 Partition:** Partition in some form is the policy of groups to the right of the Government. Partisan policies range from the proposal that relatively small white or Afrikaner separatist republics or homelands be established and that the bulk of South Africa be left to its own devices, to the dominant “conservative” position that the country be split roughly in two, with the Transvaal, Free State and Northern Natal becoming a white state, and the Cape and the bulk of Natal become a black state.

It seems as if the Government could, by co-option and other constitutional means, relatively easily ward off

any threat from parties to its right. Furthermore, partition seems unlikely to bring an end to the conflict so that it could not realistically be described as a solution, at least not in the foreseeable future.

**8 Classical Apartheid:** Interestingly, there no longer seems to be a single significant group that advocates classical or Verwoerdian apartheid in the sense of establishing eight or nine ethnic homelands comprising little more than 13% of the country with the remaining 87% being “white”, and with rigid social and economic segregation.

**9 Isolation (Sanctions and Disinvestment):** Surprisingly, many people still have lavish expectations regarding the potential of isolation. It is hard for me to imagine by what means sanctions and disinvestment, even if achieved on a global scale, are likely to end the status quo.

Sanctions are essentially trade barriers (protectionism) imposed by a foreign government instead of a domestic government.

Disinvestment is a form of exchange control imposed by a foreign government. Whether trade barriers and exchange controls are good or bad for a country is a matter of considerable debate, but few experts would predict that they could “overthrow the system.”

What sanctions (protectionism) and disinvestment (exchange controls) do, is to raise the costs of foreign trade and foreign exchange dealings.

Since only a domestic government is likely to impose such measures effectively, the transaction cost and thus the impact seems likely to be less than both advocates and opponents of sanctions and disinvestment expect.

(To be continued)

# 'PAC plan for SA'

(11A)  
Soweto  
16/7/87

THE banned Pan Africanist Congress planned to use firearms and education to achieve freedom for all Africans regardless of their colour or creed, a former high-ranking PAC official told a Pretoria Regional Court yesterday.

Mr Z, who may not be identified and whose evidence is being heard in camera, said one of the aims of the organisation was to change the present South African Government and replace it with "a government of the people".

He told the court that the PAC had difficulty in obtaining weapons. "The weapons are very scarce because the PAC do not want to be followers of any of the super powers", Mr Z said during cross-examination by the prosecutor, Mr J P Pretorius.

Asked by the magistrate Mr JH Bekker what was to be done with the AK47 assault rifles and handgrenades that were allegedly found in their possession at the time of their arrest in Bophuthatswana last year, Mr Z replied: "It is known that the PAC is fighting the government of this country".

He said he came to Bophuthatswana from Lobatse in Botswana in 1985. The purpose of his visit was to see the place and to establish routes "for my brothers" into South Africa.

Seven alleged members of the PAC who include two suspected members of Qibla have pleaded not guilty to 24 counts of terrorism and defeating the ends of justice.

They are Mr Mabatù Enoch Zulu, Mr Siyabulela Ndoda Gcanga, Mr Vincent Mathunjwa, Mr Setsiba Paul Mohohlò, Reverend Daniel Nkòpodi, Mr Achmad Cassiem and Mr Yūsuf Patel.

(Proceeding) 17



# Backing for ANC

BRUSSELS — British Labour members of the European Parliament said today they had raised £17 000 (about R57 000) to support the banned African National Congress (ANC) campaign against white-led rule in South Africa.

Mr David Martin, leader of the 32-strong British Labour group in the Parliament, announced that the money was to go towards health and information projects run by the ANC.

The money would be presented in London next week to the ANC's representative there, he added.  
— Sapa-Reuter.

'Politics is a bread-and-butter issue for the working class'

# No solution without ANC, Cosatu delegates are told

By Mike Siluma

No peaceful and lasting solution to South Africa's political problems is possible without the participation of the African National Congress (ANC), delegates to second annual congress of the Congress of SA Trade Unions (Cosatu) heard yesterday.

About 1500 delegates from Cosatu's 13 industrial unions are taking part in the Johannesburg congress, which is expected, after two days of deliberations, to give political, social and economic policy direction to the federation's 712 000 members.

Delivering his presidential speech, Mr Elijah Barayi said the federation made no apologies for "connecting issues on the shop floor and issues facing workers in society as a whole".

"Politics, and especially the lack of even the most basic



Mr Elijah Barayi . . . politics is a bread and butter issue for the workers.

democratic rights for the majority of our people, is a bread-and-butter issue for the working class.

"Our history and experience has shown us that the working class cannot be independent from sectors of the democratic movement which have occupied and transformed schools, universities and the streets of our

townships into trenches of struggle," he added.

The State could not speak of negotiations before releasing political prisoners, allowing the safe return of political exiles and unbanning the ANC.

Mr Barayi's position on negotiations with the Government was supported by the acting publicity secretary of the United Democratic Front, Mr Murphy Morobe, and the president of the SA Youth Congress (Sayco), Mr Peter Mokaba.

Mr Morobe said the oppressed "refuse to be hoodwinked by Chris Heunis and Stoffel van der Merwe with their semi-sweet talk about reforms".

"On the one hand they talk of 'new dispensations' and 'reforms' while on the other they tacitly support vigilante death squads; (and) are poised to kill by hanging 32 of our compatri-

ots," said Mr Morobe, referring to the 32 people at present in death row for politically linked murders.

Mr Morobe praised Cosatu for demonstrating that it was "not prepared to be beaten into submission by the racist regime", despite attacks by the State.

Other speakers were the Rev Frank Chikane, general secretary of the SA Council of Churches and Mr Ben Ulenga, of the Namibian Mineworkers' Union. Guests included the general secretary of the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference, Father S'Mangaliso Mkhatswa.

● Messages of support included those from the ANC and the SA Congress of Trade Unions. In a Press statement, the National Council of Trade Unions wished the congress "fruitful deliberations".



Delegates singing union songs during a break in deliberations at the Cosatu congress.

# 'Outstanding leader'

By CHRIS GUTUZA

ASHLEY KRIEL, gunned down when security policemen swooped on a house in an Athlone suburb, was known, at the youthful age of 20, as an outstanding community leader.

Mystery surrounds his shooting at no.8 Albermarle Road, Hazendal, last Thursday. Neighbours heard a shot after the police surrounded the house at which Ashley had been staying since the end of April this year.

He was apparently alone at the house at the time. Four other people were briefly held for questioning after the police raid.

### Trained as a guerilla

Community organisations confirmed that Ashley had "disappeared" at the end of 1985 and had apparently joined the African National Congress (ANC) to be trained as a guerilla.

He became involved in student and youth organisations from his early teens. He joined the Bonteheuwel Youth Movement, now part of Cayco, at the age of 14 when a student at Bonteheuwel High School.

He was later a founder member of the Bonteheuwel Inter-Schools Congress (Bisco) which became one of the foremost youth organisations on the Cape Flats.

Ashley was also a co-ordinator for Cayco.

"The last time I saw him was the Christmas eve of 1985 when he told me everything was going to be fine," his mother, Mrs Ivy Kriel, said this week.

"I have become a new person since the death of my only son," she told a packed hall at the AME Church in Bonteheuwel at the weekend.

"Ashley was a good person who cared for those around him and was popular among his friends since an early age. His father was killed when he was five and I had to support the children by

myself.

"Those were hard times which probably shaped his character in later years. As he grew older he would sometimes ask, 'Mammie hoekom moet ons so swaar kry,' and many times I could not answer him," said Mrs Kriel.

"Since an early age he became involved with community organisations and I could not understand why he was so committed. When the police started to search for him I asked him why he did not stop what he was doing.

"His answer was that many parents were experiencing the same thing and that many more would in the future. He said he could not stand by while people around him were suffering," she added.

BISCO said in a statement that Ashley had been a "tireless organiser in the field of the student struggle".

His consistent concern for the daily problems of students at schools and the quality of his commitment to the students had set the standards to which BISCO aspired.

### The real terrorists

"BISCO bore the brunt of repressive state action and it is in this context that Ashley developed from a concerned student to a cadre.

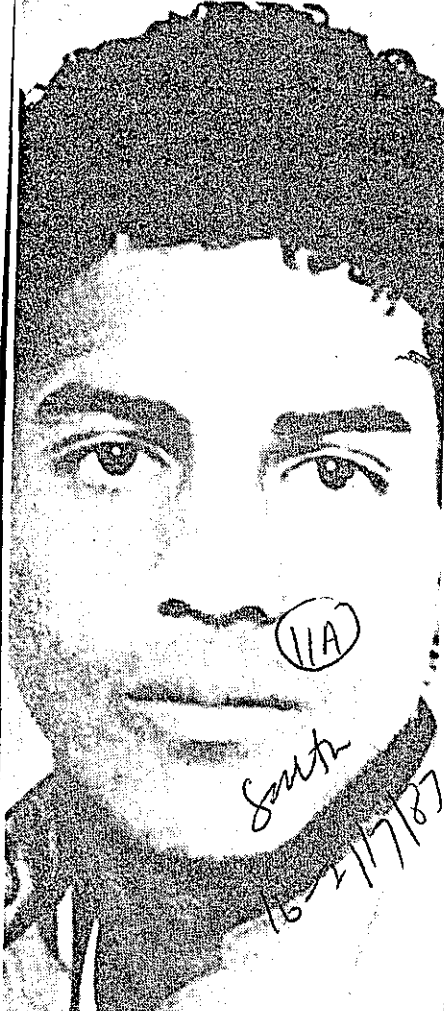
"We also know the government is portraying him as a terrorist, but we know who the real terrorists are," BISCO said in the statement.

Ashley Kriel's funeral will be held from the New Apostolic Church in Bonteheuwel on Saturday.

Arrangements were also being made to hold a service at a sportsfield in the area.

Police confirmed the death of Ashley, but said they could not comment on the circumstances of his death as judicial proceedings were to follow.

They said a handgrenade, a small calibre firearm and ammunition were found at the house.



Ashley Kriel

## Family quizzed on priest's funeral

THE REV Booi Jantjies, 40, shot dead by special constables in Aberdeen last week, will be buried on Saturday from the Zion Holy Church of Africa.

The Jantjies family claimed they were questioned this week about funeral arrangements.

Miss Annie Jantjies said she and three other family members were questioned by a magistrate on whether the funeral could be held during the week, who would lead the service, how

many people would attend, whether any political activities would take place and so on.

The family is still waiting on the death certificate.

Another Beaufort West man was seriously wounded after allegedly being shot by a "kitskonstabel" last week.

Jan Elliot Molowitz is in intensive care at Tygerberg

Hospital.

Molowitz's wife was apparently arrested on Saturday while he was not at home. He went to inquire at the police station.

According to a resident, a quarrel took place and a shot was fired.

11A

From MOIRA LEVY  
in London

JAILLED ANC leader Nelson Mandela's 69th birthday on Saturday is expected to draw thousands to celebrations in London.

The festivities begin on Thursday with a birthday party for Mandela at Oxford House, a community centre in East End, organised by a local solidarity committee.

At least three major music extravaganzas are planned for Saturday, and the highlight is expected to be a "cycle for Mandela" — a bike ride around Hampstead Heath.

# Big AAM bash for Mandela's birthday

The sponsored 12km event is to raise money for the Anti Apartheid Movement (AAM) and the ANC.

Some money will go to Southern Africa - The Imprisoned Society (SATIS), a London-based organisation that campaigns for the release of political prisoners in South Africa and Namib-

ia. About 350 cyclists are expected to take part. Simultaneous bike rides will be held in Glasgow, Tyne-side, Birmingham, Bath, Oxford, Sheffield and Brighton — the first time the annual bike ride is held outside London, according to an AAM spokesperson.

All entrants get a Free

Mandela Badge and if they raise more than R80, a Free Mandela Mug.

The London Anti-Apartheid Committee has organised a music bash to mark Mandela's birthday that will be compered by London musician and poet, Linton Kwesi Johnson.

On top of it, the central London jazz festival has

billed its regular Saturday night event as a tribute to Mandela's birthday, and the Nicaraguan Support Committee is to mark Mandela's birthday with an African night.

The exiled South African musician Hugh Masekela and a Zimbabwean band will play at the special gig which coincides with the Nicaraguan independence celebrations.

"After 24 years in jail Nelson Mandela's stature as a symbol of resistance and as a leader of the people of South Africa is still growing," a birthday brochure says.

*South 16-21/7/89*

**UDF and tricameralism**

**Expose  
the system,  
don't use it**

11A

IT is a dangerous illusion to think that a democratic society can be ushered in via the Tricameral System.

To think that you can use the Tricameral System in this fashion is like trying to cross the river on the back of a crocodile.

It must be remembered today that we are living in a State of Emergency and one of its important functions is to create the environment in which (or an umbrella under which) the political structures such as the tricameral parliament can operate.

The State needs the State of Emergency precisely because its political institutions have not been working. The Emergency is designed to make the political institutions work.

The political structures are there to maintain the status quo. To perform this function they must be accepted by the people or there must be acquiescence.

The fact of the matter is that the tricameral parliament has not been able to get off the ground. It was almost still-born. This is so because of the mass resistance of the oppressed and exploited in this country. To consider participation in the tricameral system elections now, is to do precisely what the State of Emergency seeks to achieve. It is one of the objects of the State of Emergency.

Absolutely nothing has happened to make us alter our attitude towards the tricameral parliament. One of two reasons can make us think in terms of participation in future tricameral elections: Either a total misunderstanding of the role of the tricameral system or a paving of the way for a deal or sell-out.

I agree that there is always a need to revise one's strategies and tactics. Where and how a boycott weapon is applied is a matter of tactic. Nothing, however, has happened which would make us change our mind about the tricameral system.

Whatever the motive or reason, to think in terms of participation in the tricameral elections is a betrayal of the toiling masses of this land. Those who have, since the first elections to the tricameral parliament participated in those elections, have correctly been branded by all organisations and indeed the people as collaborators. Absolutely nothing has happened to change this.

The struggles of the working people, the student and youth struggles and the workers' struggles of the past few years have totally destroyed the legitimacy of the system and the credibility of collaborators at every level — whether in the tricameral parliament, in the homeland government structures, in black local authorities or management committees.

The struggle against collaborators and collaboration is part of the total struggle in which the exploited and oppressed people are involved. Our firm aim is the establishment of a society which is free from exploitation and oppression. The implementation of a democratic programme — enshrined in the Freedom Charter — is the minimum basis for the transformation of South Africa into a society fit for human beings to live in.

The struggle against collaboration and collaborators is part of an ongoing struggle to turn the attention of the oppressed away from division, racism,



Dullah Omar

**ARCHIE GUMEDE, co-president of the United Democratic Front, last week speculated on the UDF entering parliament — a suggestion rejected out of hand by the UDF's national spokesperson Mr Murphy Morobe. This week Mr Dullah Omar, the newly elected chairperson of the UDF's Western Cape region explains why participation in the tricameral parliament by the democratic movement is out of the question.**

the Public Security Act were amended recently. Nothing is more farcical than the provision in the Republic of South Africa Constitution Act which provides that when Parliament refuses to approve any of the President's measures, he may refer the measure to the President's Council. Approval thereafter of the measure by the President's Council shall be deemed to be approval by the recalcitrant Houses.

In other words the tricameral parliament provides the dictatorship with the trappings of parliament. It is there to deceive particularly the masses of this land, and the world as a whole.

Thirdly, participation in the tricameral elections provides the Botha dictatorship with an excuse — it will be able to claim that the regime represents the oppressed, that it speaks in the name of the oppressed, that its actions bear the approval of the oppressed and that it enjoys legitimacy and credibility based on acceptance. The regime will be able to deceive the world by claiming that it governs with the consent of the people. The regime does not care whether you enter the tricameral parliament to support the regime or to criticize the regime. So long as you make use of the parliament and enter it.

Fourthly, there is the total exclusion of the vast majority of the population, namely those classified "blacks". Not that the inclusion of "blacks" would alter the role of the present tricameral parliament. But this aspect adds another dimension to the sinister divisions useless and treacherous diversions, away from the false roads and toy telephones. The object of collaborationist politics — such as working from within — is to involve

the oppressed masses in the working of the machinery of their own oppression.

To say that the tricameral parliament is useless is true, but only partly correct. It is more than useless. It is racist and perpetuates racist and group thinking, practices and organisations.

It helps to encourage "group" and ethnic thinking. It perpetuates the myth of many "races" or groups. The outlook of one human race, one people, one country in which all are citizens and sons and daughters of Africa — which rejects all forms of racial and group division (as epitomised by tricameralism) — such an outlook demands an irreconcilable struggle against the tricameral system — not making it work. Participation in the system is to help perpetuate racist division, balkanisation of South Africa's people into "races", "groups", "tribes" and homelands.

But that is only one aspect of the matter. There is another. The whole tricameral system is really but a mask. It masks the reality of a presidential military dictatorship. It is totally false and naive to think that the tricameral parliament exercises any kind of power at all or that it can be the road to power. The real power in making of laws, in appointment of the "Cabinet" and "Ministers' Council" is the State President. It is he who effectively makes all the laws and changes all the laws. It is he who appoints Ministers and sacks Ministers.

If the tricameral parliament refuses to do his bidding, his President's Council (with its in-built safeguards for the regime) is there to rubber stamp his measures. Witness the disgraceful way in which the Internal Security Act and

which the tricameral system seeks to create and perpetuate.

The tricameral system is part and parcel of the system of homelands, homeland citizenship and tribal division.

The ultimate aim of the Tricameral — cum — Homeland system is to balkanise South Africa to reverse the tide of liberation in South Africa and to ensure that a united working class never materialises — thus ensuring the maintenance of capitalist exploitation.

For those who think that participation could be useful, let them only look at the experience which we have had of the tricameral parliament since its inception. Everything it has done or failed to do has revealed it as nothing but a rubber stamp for the regime. There are countless examples of this. Where was Parliament when the State of Emergency was declared? What did Parliament do when children were detained? What is Parliament doing when people are being killed in their hundreds? What has this Parliament done when the South African Defence Force occupy townships? What does it do when South Africa arrogantly invades the territories of neighbouring states? The House of Representatives and Delegates have acted only as rubber stamps. It has provided the regime with some opportunity or excuse for saying that it represents so-called "coloureds" and "Indians". It has helped to perpetuate division. It has helped to perpetuate group thinking.

The fundamental lesson of the role of the tricameral system has not been lost. The period following the implementation of South Africa's present constitution — from 1983 onwards — ushered in the biggest and most sustained revolt in the history of our country. This revolt — involving hundreds of thousands of youth and students, workers and other layers of our society, has transformed the face of South Africa. It has totally discredited tricameralism at birth and has laid the basis for a qualitatively different kind of struggle in South Africa. Today the African National Congress is widely regarded as the dominant force among the oppressed. It is these struggles which have lent urgency to the call for the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners, the return from exile of the people's leaders, the dismantling of the apartheid system, the SADF and police and the achievement of people's powers. It is these struggles which are helping to convert the dreams of the down-trodden into the reality of tomorrow.

It is these struggles, too, which with the rising progressive trade union movement — have transformed the ideas of working class leadership, the ideas that the interests of the working class are paramount, the ideas of promoting the concept of working class struggle — from theory into reality.

The situation in South Africa can also not be compared with situations in other parts of the world. There has been no similar situation insofar as tricameralism is concerned. For a successful prosecution of the struggle, the tricameral system must be exposed — not used or accommodated.

What are your views on the matter? Letters from readers for use on this page are welcome.

~~11A~~ 11A B/pas 16/7/87

# Boesak in Maputo

MAPUTO — Mozambique's President Joaquim Chissano yesterday received World Alliance of Reformed Churches president Allan Boesak in the presidential offices in Maputo.

Mozambican news agency Aim reports that Boesak told the President that "although things are very tough at the moment, we hope to make a breakthrough very soon".

He pledged that the South African "democratic movement" would do more work in solidarity with the Frontline states.

Earlier in the day, Boesak was a guest of honour at ceremonies marking the centenary of the Mozambican Presbyterian Church.

Speaking at a Press conference immediately before his return to SA, he said he had not seen "any sign of religious persecution in Mozambique".

"There is far more tension between the church and the government in SA than in Mozambique".

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recomendations on a local level

# Top MK man gunned down

From HOWARD BARRELL

HARARE. — The African National Congress has vowed to avenge the hitsquad-style death last Thursday in Swaziland of one of its top military commanders, Cassius Make.

Make died with two others in a hail of bullets when their taxi was forced off a road by three heavily armed men in a South African-registered BMW.

He was about number four

in the command of Umkhonto weSizwe and a member of the ANC'S national executive.

Initial press reports from Swaziland gave Make's name as Charles Maponda, but ANC headquarters in Lusaka confirmed that it was Cassius Make who died.

An ANC statement identified the other two who died as Paul Dikeledi, a young activist who joined the movement after the 1976 Soweto uprising, and Eliza Augusta Tsinini, a

Mozambican woman.

Make, the youngest member of the ANC executive, is survived by a wife and two children.

The ANC has blamed South African agents for Make's assassination and pledged to retaliate.

Make is the second member of the ANC's national executive committee to have been assassinated in the past seven years.

He is also the 11th member of the ANC to have been

killed in Swaziland in the past eight months.

The death of Make, one of the ANC's most experienced guerilla commanders, is a serious blow to the movement.

In the ANC army's structure he is believed to have been junior only to Umkhonto weSizwe commander Joe Modise, political commissar Chris Hani, and possibly a third person whose identity is not known.

(11A)

South 16-21/7/87

11A B/pas 16/7/87

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"There is far more tension between the church and the government in SA than in Mozambique".



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*HA*

### Swazi police arrest four

MBABANE — Swazi police yesterday confirmed the arrests of four people — three women and a man — in a suburb here for illegal possession of arms and ammunition. The four, alleged to be trained members of the African National Congress, were found in possession of an AK47 automatic rifle, five AK47 magazines, 150 rounds of AK ammunition and a pistol magazine. Police also took possession of a locally registered vehicle found at the house.

SAP: *Cape Times*  
*16/7/87*  
Kriel *(114)* *(S)*  
trained in *(S)*  
Angola

By CHRIS STEYN

POLICE yesterday disclosed details about the training and death of ANC member Mr Ashley Kriel, who they say was shot dead with his own firearm during a scuffle with police at an Athlone home last week.

Police said Mr Kriel underwent training as an ANC guerilla in Angola during the past three years.

In a statement last week, they said he died during a "skirmish" with police at a home in Hazendal, Athlone. Police confiscated a Russian-made grenade, a weapon and ammunition.

A spokesman said yesterday that Mr Kriel left the country in December, 1985 and illegally crossed the border into Lesotho.

From there, he travelled to Angola where he underwent guerilla training by the banned ANC, returning to South Africa in April.

Last Thursday, the day Mr Kriel died, police received "certain information" and went to the home in Albermarle Road, Hazendal.

On arriving there, they were confronted by Mr Kriel at the backdoor of the house where he pointed a firearm at the policemen.

Police said a scuffle ensued and when they tried to disarm Mr Kriel, a shot went off and he was fatally wounded with his own firearm.

The spokesman said that "everything that happened after that" was sub judice.

An inquest docket had been opened and police yesterday appealed to people with information about Mr Kriel's death to make sworn affidavits.

☐ Kriel killing protest

CAPB TWIN'S  
16/7/86

MA

# Cosatu poised to become key apartheid foe'

JOHANNESBURG. — The Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) yesterday launched its annual congress with a warning that the country's biggest labour federation was poised to become a key force in the fight against apartheid.

In his opening address, Cosatu's president, Mr Elijah Barayi, told 1 500 delegates gathered at the University of the Witwatersrand that Cosatu made no apologies for connecting factory-based issues with political demands.

The Cosatu president also dispelled speculation that the federation would review support for disinvestment and economic sanctions announced at the federation's launch in November 1984.

Mr Barayi emphasized that Cosatu's resolution on sanctions and disinvestment was a non-violent means to fight apartheid.

## Jobs lost

"In the light of growing attacks against us, workers are calling for more decisive and mandatory measures against the regime," he said. "Thousands are losing jobs through rationalization and mechanization, not disinvestment."

Cosatu had consolidated its organization by forming 12 national industrial unions out of the 33 unions that participated in its launch.

Membership had grown from

JOHANNESBURG. — The South African Catholic Bishops' Conference (SACBC) yesterday said it appreciated the "constructive" role of Cosatu in improving the lot of workers.

In a message of support to the national congress of Cosatu, the SACBC said Cosatu's launch in November 1985 had been a historic moment for South Africa's workers.

"It signalled the beginning of a new drive towards greater unity, and greater unity means greater strength.

"Despite recent well-orchestrated harassment and intimidation, you have become an important rallying point in the struggle for social justice.

"Many of your leaders have suffered detention ... suffering need not dampen one's determination but can be an impetus to increase one's resolve." — Sapa

450 000 to 712 000 paid-up members. The total signed-up membership was nearly one million, Mr Barayi said.

Resolutions calling for a 40-hour work week, a living wage of R4.50 an hour, six months' paid maternity leave and public holidays on May 1, March 21 and June 16 have also been tabled.

□ A top United Democratic Front official emerged from hiding yesterday to tell the Cosatu congress that workers in South

Africa had become the most powerful force in the fight to end apartheid.

Mr Murphy Morobe, acting publicity secretary for the UDF, told delegates that "Cosatu has grown into a giant that no exploiter can ignore".

Mr Morobe condemned the banning of rallies designed to launch Cosatu's Living Wage Campaign earlier this year as well as attempts to brand the campaign a "government plot".

"Why has the government not branded the unbridled profiteering of the huge monopolies which have recorded huge profits of 30 to 50 percent over the last year ... We grow the food and harvest the crops to feed our fat masters yet we and our children go hungry every day," he said.

Mr Morobe, who has been in hiding since a sloop on anti-apartheid activists at the time of the declaration of the state of emergency in June last year, also took the opportunity to air publicly the UDF's opposition to any form of talks with the Nationalist government.

Reacting to a recent statement by the Deputy Minister of Constitutional Affairs, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, that he would be prepared to hold talks with the UDF, Mr Morobe said: "If the government of this country seriously wants to talk ... we must tell them they must know what they did to the ANC in 1960 and they must realize that organization represents the majority of South Africans." — Sapa

CAPE TOWN 16/7/83 (11A)

# Police killed top officials, says ANC

LUSAKA. — The African National Congress yesterday accused "racist police murder squads" from Pretoria of assassinating top officials of the movement in Swaziland.

An ANC spokesman said South African police machine-gunned two men and a woman on Thursday last week on the road from Swaziland's Matsapha Airport to the capital, Mbabane.

In Cape Town, Brigadier Leon Mellet, spokesman for the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, said the ANC was trying to make propaganda out of the killing.

"The allegation is completely untrue," he said. And in Pretoria, police headquarters said the men killed were two of Umkhonto we Sizwe's highest ranking officials.

They were Cassius Make, real name Job Thabane, and Charles Dikiledi, 32, alias Peter Motau.

In Harare the ANC national executive committee said it regretted to announce the deaths of Cassius Make and Paul Dikeledi.

Mr Make was the youngest member of the national executive of the ANC, and was elected in June 1985. He leaves his wife and two children.

The statement also said Mr Dikeledi was a dedicated young activist who joined the movement after the 1976 Soweto uprisings. He also leaves his wife and two children.

A third victim was Eliza Augusta Rsinini, "a Mozambican citizen, who was in the same taxi. She was killed as she tried to escape".

"This incident and numerous others before are a clear indication that the South African racist regime is bent on terror and cold-blooded murder against its opponents who are committed to ending apartheid," said the statement.

Eleven alleged ANC leaders have been killed in four separate attacks in Swaziland since December last year. In one assault, four ANC members were abducted and taken to South Africa.

Authorities in Pretoria have alleged that ANC rebels infiltrate the country from Swaziland.

Swazi police chief Mr Sandile Mdziniso said no one had been arrested for the machine-gun killing by three gunmen travelling in a luxury German car.

The ANC spokesman said the car used by the attackers carried South African registration plates.

— UPI-Sapa

# New talks on squatter conflict

By CHRIS STEYN  
and CLARE HARPER

THE Divisional Commissioner of Police, Brigadier Ronnie van der Westhuizen, will hold talks today with Mr Jan van Eck, the Progressive Federal Party MP for Claremont, about the Crossroads-KTC squatter conflict.

The meeting was confirmed last night by Mr Van Eck, who said he had also asked the divisional commissioner to meet all squatter leaders in the area to avert renewed fighting.

Yesterday, at a press conference, the Masincedane Committee of KTC said they had never attacked the Crossroads community and "had no intention of doing so".

At the conference, convened after a warning by Brigadier van der Westhuizen that "there will be one hell of a war" if KTC attacked rival squatter groups, the KTC committee said they found the brigadier's warning "gravely disturbing".

The nine-member committee, representing some 25 000 squatters, said it was "ironic in the light of the events of June, 1986, and in the light of repeated calls by us over the last three months for protection against further at-

tacks, that we should be called upon to maintain the peace".

The committee said two-thirds of KTC was destroyed by Witdoeke from Crossroads, allegedly helped by police, according to a Supreme Court application in June last year.

They said they were "most upset by the impression given by the brigadier that KTC residents were troublemakers".

The chairman of the committee, Mr Milton Mbewana, said there was no truth in the rumour that KTC intended to attack any other squatter camp.

"The residents of KTC want to live peacefully and are willing to negotiate peace with anyone," he said.

The committee said in a statement that they were alarmed that the brigadier said "he can only give an assurance that there will be no trouble from Crossroads if its residents are not provoked".

"We strongly believe that it is the duty of the police to protect each and every community unconditionally and we call on the brigadier to confirm this is his policy and assure the public and us that KTC will receive effective protection from any attack on it," the committee said.

The committee secretary, Mr Gladstone Ntame, said that after the Archbishop of Cape Town, the Most Rev Desmond Tutu,

urged the squatters to make peace after the May/June battles, they had held talks and made peace with their former opponent, Mr Prince Gobingca.

They said they would be pleased to make a similar peace agreement with Mr Johnson Ngxonbongwana, leader of the Old Crossroads community.

The committee compared the brigadier's position in the Crossroads-KTC situation with that of a referee at a soccer match who had taken sides, and was about to blow the whistle.

The Western Cape vice-president of the United Democratic Front, Mr Joe Marks, said the UDF viewed the brigadier's statements in "a very serious light".

Mr Marks said it was clear that "the brigadier is trying to prepare the public for yet another onslaught on KTC by Witdoeke from Old Crossroads and Khayelitsha.

"It now seems clear that they will have a tacit, if not open, support of the SAP and the SADF."

He said that in spite of smears and insinuations, the UDF was confident that its affiliates in KTC would continue to behave in a disciplined manner and ignore any attempts to introduce a confrontation atmosphere into the squatter areas.

BRITISH DEGREES

Mr. Botha ... with ... mother

ARGUS 16/7/82

11A  
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CITY/COURTS

# 'MI6 agent' tells how he held Watson at gunpoint

GABORONE. — Mr Steve Burnett, facing two charges of attempting to murder anti-apartheid activist Mr Ronnie Watson, has told of the events leading to a shooting in the President Hotel.

Mr Burnett told the High Court in Lobatse that before he arrived in Botswana on May 23 he was approached by a Mr Bruce Lavine who wanted him to trail Mr Watson, due to arrive in Botswana the following day.

He said Mr Lavine asked him to see who Mr Watson would meet while in Botswana, especially members of the ANC.

### PHOTOGRAPH

Mr Burnett said Mr Lavine gave him a photograph of Mr Watson.

He met Mr Watson's aircraft and trailed him to the President Hotel.

The next morning he entered Mr Watson's room by pretending to be the hotel's duty manager.

Inside he pulled a pistol from his belt and ordered Mr Watson to lie on his bed.

"I introduced myself as a member of the British MI6. When I asked him if he was an ANC member, he said 'Yes'."

Mr Watson gave him the names and telephone numbers of all ANC personnel in Botswana.

Although he held Mr Watson at gunpoint, he did not intend to kill him. The two bullets that were fired were fired accidentally.

### REMOVED FINGERPRINTS

Under cross-examination by the Assistant Attorney-General, Mr Samuel Aful, Mr Burnett said he destroyed the list of ANC names.

He wiped the glass which he used to drink water in the bathroom to "remove fingerprints in line with professionalism as an MI6" agent and wiped the toilet seat for hygienic reasons.

The hearing continues. — Sapa.

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CAP T. 16/7/87

# Kriel killing — protest

By CHRIS BATEMAN  
AND CLARE HARPER

SEVERAL thousand pupils of at least four schools in Bonteheuwel and Heideveld yesterday held rallies and placard demonstrations in protest at the police killing of a prominent former schools activist, Mr Ashley Kriel, 22.

And the United Democratic Front, Western Cape, yesterday demanded an "immediate investigation" into the circumstances surrounding the death of Mr Kriel to allay the "deep suspicion in our community about the events surrounding the shooting".

Mr Kriel, whom progressive organizations identified as an ANC guerilla, was a founder member of the Bonteheuwel Inter-Schools Congress (Bisco) and left the country during widespread schools upheaval in 1985.

He was mysteriously killed by police in a "skirmish" at a house in Hazendal, Athlone, last Thursday. Police said they found a Russian-made handgrenade, a weapon and ammunition at the home.

The regional vice-president of the UDF, Mr Joe Marks, said in a statement that the UDF demanded answers to the following questions:

- Was Ashley Kriel assaulted or beaten up before he was shot?
- Did he attempt to use a firearm or any weapon to re-



**PUPILS PROTEST:** ... Some of the thousands of pupils of three Bonteheuwel secondary schools who protested yesterday about the death of former schools activist Mr Ashley Kriel.

sist arrest, if so what weapon?

● Had he already been subdued or handcuffed at any time before the shooting?

Yesterday's main rally was at Bonteheuwel Senior Secondary School where more than a thousand pupils of the three main Bonteheuwel secondary schools gathered, festooning fences with placards reading "Our school belongs to the ANC".

After several speeches and the singing of "Nkosi Sikelele" in the school courtyard, hundreds of placard-waving pupils streamed out to march around

the school grounds and along several streets before dispersing.

A similar rally was held at Cathkin Senior Secondary School in Heideveld. No incidents were reported at either school.

Meanwhile at Portlands Senior Secondary School in Mitchells Plain, pupils held a lunch-time rally in the grounds in support of teachers and pupils at Langa High School.

● Langa High teachers yesterday entered their second day of talks with officials of the Department of Education and

Training (DET) over their refusal to compile registers of all pupils at the school and their unofficial reopening of the school. The meeting with DET will continue today.

Police maintained a low profile at all rallies and no armoured vehicles were seen.

Residents spoken to in Bonteheuwel and Heideveld expressed fear over the rising tensions in the area.

The Western Province Council on Sport has postponed its sports day on Saturday because of the Kriel funeral.

(11A) Sowetan 17/7/87

# LEAVE THE ANC ALONE - BOESAK

MAPUTO — "No-one in South Africa, least of all white South Africans who support the Government, has the right to tell the ANC to stop its violence," Rev Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, said at a news conference in Maputo yesterday.

Dr Boesak said he would be the first to tell the African National Congress to lay down its arms when the South African Government was willing to lift the state of emergency, release Nelson Mandela and all political prisoners and detainees, unban the ANC and commit itself to bringing an end to apartheid.

The South African cleric had been asked about the talks in Senegal between the ANC and a group of white South Africans led by Dr Frederick van Zyl Slabbert.

He said the exercise would have been useful if the whites returned and said the ANC was not what South African Government propaganda made it out to be.

He feared, however, that some of the whites were talking to the ANC to boost their own credibility and were trying to lecture to the ANC on the use of violence.

"Before talking to the ANC about violence their first duty is to talk to the South African Government, whose policies are the root cause of

violence," he said. Dr Boesak's news conference was held at the end of a visit to Mozambique, his first, to attend the centenary celebrations of the Presbyterian Church in that country.

He described as "absolutely scurrilous" reports that there was no religious freedom in Mozambique and said there was more tension between church and government in South Africa than in Mozambique.

Referring to the recent police raid on the offices of the South African Council of Churches, Dr Boesak said: "That sort of thing has not happened in Mozambique but it happens in a so-called Christian country where the State President goes to church every Sunday".



DR ALLAN Boesak.



# Students in anti-SA resolution

By Sue Leeman,  
The Star Bureau

LONDON — The Internal Student Conference, at its three-day meeting, has reaffirmed its support for universal sanctions against South Africa and compiled a plan of action to oppose apartheid.

The movement again pledged support for the African National Congress and Swapo and threw its weight behind the new South African Youth Congress.

In a document issued at the end of the conference, the ISC said it would:

- Ensure all students were "educated about the realities of apartheid and the liberation struggles in South Africa and Namibia".
- Organise events to publicise the struggle, and push for the release of Nelson Mandela.
- Campaign for the unbanning of the Congress of South African Students and promote the academic boycott.
- Expose the role of western collaboration with South Africa.
- Organise international campaigns against key companies involved in South Africa, including Shell, Standard Chartered and IBM.

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# What makes a solution?

• From Page 6

rio, the alternative to a negotiated solution, is an indefinite perpetuation of the struggle and of black exclusion. If the Government is relatively successful, on the Low Road, with co-option and reform, those engaged in the struggle run the risk of losing support and legitimacy.

For whites, first prize might appear to be a perpetuation of white rule and privilege, in a stable, secure and internationally acceptable South Africa. That too, is probably unachievable, but even if it were, it would be by virtue of one of the scenarios not being considered in this paper.

The win-win alternative offers both black and white South Africans a very attractive second prize. More importantly, it is an achievable second prize. It is one with relative normality, freedom, prosperity and dignity. It is one in which South Africa could easily become one of the world's great countries.

To be saleable to white South Africans, who

presently hold the power, a solution would need to provide what we might loosely call "security". Security that whites will continue to enjoy, the most important freedoms from which blacks have been excluded in the past.

Security that there will be reasonably "good government". Security against the "revenge factor" — the fear that if blacks get into power, they will abuse that power against whites, as whites have done against blacks. In short, whites want protection from what they have been doing to others.

One could put it cynically: whites know all too well how to abuse the power of government and will resist to the bitter end the prospect that they will become victims of that abuse.

For a negotiated solution to be saleable to the majority of blacks, it would have to constitute an unambiguous abolition of overt and covert apartheid in all its forms. It means full equality at law, politically, socially and economically.

(To be continued)

# ANC is biggest political group, says Slabbert

(11A)

SMA  
17/7/87

The Star's Africa News Service

ACCRA — Dr Van Zyl Slabbert has described the African National Congress as the biggest political group in South Africa today.

Asked at a news conference in the Ghanaian capital of Accra whether he thought the ANC was a terrorist organisation, Dr Slabbert said: "The ANC is the biggest political group in South Africa today.

"I think it is part of the Government's propaganda to depict the ANC as a terrorist organisation and a small group of Moscow-dominated communists. I don't accept that."

It was not clear whether Dr Slabbert meant he did not accept that the ANC was a terrorist organisation or Moscow-dominated communists or both.

A report of the news conference quotes Dr Slabbert as saying: "We and members of the ANC have a sense of common commitment because the ANC has no interest in preserving the privilege of any group."

Dr Slabbert was questioned as the group of white South Africans he is leading arrived in Ghana from Burkina Faso on the final leg of their tour of West Africa organised by his Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa). They are accompanied by a group of ANC members, led by Mr Thabo Mbeki, whom they first met in Dakar, Senegal, for talks.

## Armed struggle doubt

There was also doubt about Dr Slabbert's meaning when he referred to armed struggle.

One report quoted him as saying armed struggle was not the only way to end apartheid and that, in the Dakar talks with the ANC, the two groups had agreed that there was a need for a multiple strategy to bring down apartheid.

The report said Dr Slabbert stated that the fight against apartheid could not be waged through armed struggle alone but through the

consolidation of many strategies.

At another point he said the violence was a challenge to those who did not believe it was the way to effect change.

Dr Slabbert also told the news conference that the West African tour had made it apparent that Africa had a more important role to play in ending apartheid than South Africans had previously thought.

South Africans had sought European models for ending apartheid but those taking part in the tour had been shown that it was wrong for them to set themselves apart from their own people and continent.

## Not afraid of confrontation

Dr Slabbert said the members of his group were not afraid of confrontation with the South African authorities when they returned home.

"That confrontation has been there all along and some of us have been in jail several times for our stand against apartheid," he said.

He added that members of his group sometimes felt offended when they were referred to as "liberals" because "there are some serious radicals among us and if we are afraid of confrontation we will not take any initiative at all".

The Idasa and ANC groups were to return to Burkina Faso today en route home.

Ghanaian authorities arranged a royal reception for them at the airport when they arrived on Wednesday night.

Groups of young girls sang songs as a seven-man delegation, led by acting Information Secretary Ms Joyce Aryee, welcomed them.

The whites split into smaller groups yesterday according to their respective vocations for talks with Ghanaian counterparts.

The academics talked to Ghanaian university officials and the writers with the Ghana Association of Writers. The businessmen visited the industrial town of Tema and the politicians held talks with top government officials.

# Balaclava gang attack— with cigarette burns

By CARMEL RICKARD, Durban  
FIVE men wearing balaclavas and long coats abducted a Durban advice office worker from outside his home earlier this month and burnt him extensively with cigarettes.

The man — who asked not to be named — said he went out to lock his car one night and suddenly felt a gun pressed to his head. His five assailants took him to a deserted spot where he was bound and gagged and then assaulted.

He said he was hit with a firearm, punched, kicked and burnt repeatedly with cigarette ends.

His right arm is disfigured with burn marks in concentric circles. A doctor who examined him has stated in a medical certificate that he noted 50 burns on his right arm and 38 on his left. He also found similar marks on his forehead and the back of his neck.

The victim of the attack said it was the second in two months; he had been similarly abducted and assaulted, again with cigarette burns, in early May.

During the assault his attackers asked him why his advice office, the Croftdene Advice Centre, should exist "when there was the House of Delegates and the Department of Manpower" to serve the people's needs.

They also told him the office was "putting pressure on the House of Delegates".

They threatened that if he reported the attack to the press, the police or any other authority, they would kill him.

They also threatened him and his co-workers with death and said the premises would be petrol bombed if the office was not shut down.

Another member of the committee said although they had "strong suspicions" about who was responsible for the two attacks and the repeated death threats phoned to the office, they had taken legal advice on the matter, and all they were prepared to say at this stage was that a vigilante group was responsible, which wanted to see the office closed down.

The vicious cigarette attack has, however, not achieved this aim and the Croftdene Advice Office, which has helped many people in the area obtain pension and other benefits, is continuing to function despite the threats and assaults.

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ATES THE NEW VOORTREKKERS. OTHERS CALL THEM TRAITORS ...

# The new Trekkers

THE African National Congress has conferred the appellation "New Voortrekker" on Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, leader of the Institute for Democratic Alternatives for South Africa, in the hope he will lead Afrikaners on a new trek to a negotiated non-racial future.

It believes the wheel of history has turned and that, consequently, the government is about to "lose its control over the white population" and "the day of the New Voortrekkers has come".

For the immediate future, however, the hope seems forlorn. Slabbert and the Afrikaner notables who accompanied him on his political odyssey to West Africa do not command the allegiance of sufficient Afrikaners to make its realisation imminent.

The point was underscored dramatically last week. On the same day Slabbert and his delegation of nearly

60 South Africans arrived in Dakar for talks with the ANC, two ANC men and a woman were assassinated in Swaziland.

The ANC labelled the assassins "South African agents". Eyewitnesses described them as white men driving a luxury car.

The killings were a reminder that the undeclared war is far from over. Hardly three days later the ANC reaffirmed its resolve to continue and intensify the "armed struggle".

Slabbert and his party are scheduled to return to South Africa on Monday, deeply conscious that — in the words of the joint statement they issued with the ANC last weekend — some adherents of apartheid regard the Dakar talks "as an act of betrayal, not only

to the apartheid state but also to the community of Afrikanerdom".

What reception they will receive is unclear. But they are unlikely to be welcomed as intrepid explorers by the majority of whites. Ultra-rightists have made nasty threats, with the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging demanding withdrawal of their passports and the Conservative Party asserting there is *prima facie* evidence that the participants contravened the Internal Security Act.

The government has maintained a stony silence, described by *Rapport* as "calculated". The *Citizen* speculated that legislation is pending to prohibit further talks with the ANC. *Weekly Mail*, however, understands reliably that no law of that nature is in

# march amid stony

The Dakar delegation returns on Monday. What reception they will get is unclear. But there's no doubt of the political shake-up they've provoked

**PATRICK LAURENCE reports**

search for a credible internal settlement. While Slabbert was continuing discussions with the ANC in Burkina Faso, Constitutional Development Minister Chris Heunis was talking in Pretoria to Tom Boya of the United Municipalities of South Africa, or Umsa.

Boya is less representative of blacks than Slabbert is of whites. Umsa is one of two movements claiming to represent controversial black town councillors who, judging from the low polls in the 1983 elections, cannot legitimately claim to be representative.

But Heunis did not even succeed in persuading Boya to participate in his proposed National Statutory Council.

the offering. A more likely move is one to deprive Idasa of foreign funds. President PW Botha threatened to do so during the campaign for the May 6 election.

But if Slabbert's initiative is likely to run into a wall of white hostility in the short run, there is little sign of movement in the government's

IN Dakar, we marshalled every conceivable argument to convince our Afrikaner interlocutors of:

- The abiding commitment of the ANC to the ideals of non-racialism, despite the pain of the Africanist secession of 1958.
- The refusal of the ANC to succumb to the tempting siren songs of Black consciousness.

• The steadfast stand of the ANC against the illusion of power in the bantustan structures and its opposition to the ethnic chauvinism of a Buthelesque.

The real success of the Dakar meeting will be measured by the extent to which we managed to get that message across.

Misconceptions, however, still remain. Not the old ones, to be sure, but new ones that crystallised in the course of the discussions as the Afrikaner intellectuals tried to reconcile the ANC's view with their own previous mindset.

"You guys are far too smart to nationalise everything in the post-apartheid era," one was heard to remark.

And another: "I'm most impressed by the ANC's pragmatism, its lack of ideology."

When we arrived in Dakar a South African journalist warned me not to expect too much from this meeting. In the coming months, both the optimistic and pessimistic view will be tested in practice by the degree of involvement of Afrikaner intellectuals in the democratic struggle inside South Africa.

We could have been any group of conferees. We occupied the bars until late every evening. We dominated the swimming pool for the three days we were there. Our mealtime conversations drowned out the other restaurant occupants.

For a heady three days, 77 South Africans were ensconced in an expensive Senegalese hotel for a meeting that was subjected to media overkill. Two leading American television networks, Britain's ITN, plus a cluster of journalists representing French, German, British, South African and other print and electronic media were in attendance.

Three prominent social scientists from the Federal Republic of Germany attended as invited observers.

The Francophone states of Africa also appeared anxious to be included:

# A VIEW FROM THE OTHER SIDE OF THE TABLE

*The Dakar conference has not been out of the headlines all week. But what's hardly been touched upon is what one group of delegates made of it all: the delegates from the ANC. We asked a senior member of the ANC national executive committee, and one of the rare senior ANC leaders who can be quoted, for a personal view*

**By PALLO JORDAN**  
HEAD OF THE ANC RESEARCH DEPARTMENT

President Abdou Diouf of Senegal and Colonel Sankara of Burkina Faso staked their reputations on the success of the meeting.

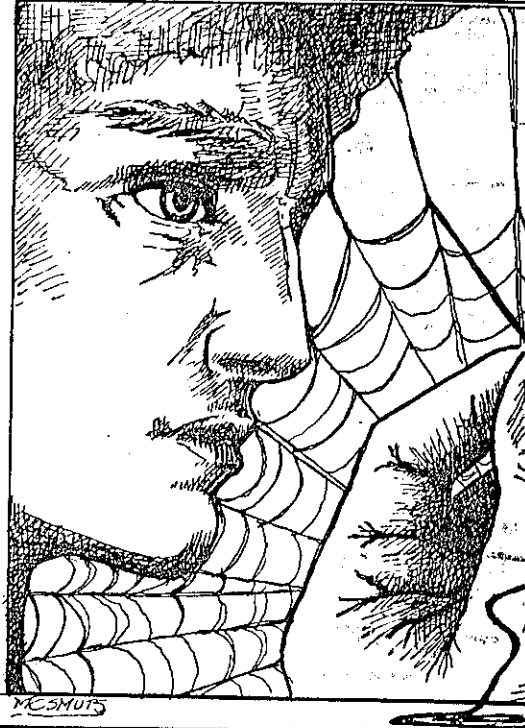
Madame Danielle Mitterrand, the first lady of France, bankrolled the project and was present at both the opening and the closing.

Seventy-seven South Africans meeting in a foreign capital is un-

markable. What invested this meeting with such great expectations was the identity of the participants.

For the first time since the 1920s, an attempt was being made to bring the leadership of the ANC together with liberal Afrikaner intellectuals.

From the ANC point of view, the meetings themselves were an operation in sweeping away layer after



layer of cobwebs of misconceptions and mystification about both the character of the ANC and the struggle for liberation.

We had correctly anticipated that the principal area of concern would be the armed component of the ANC's strategy. We had expected also that discussions of the structure of government and a post-apartheid economy might be time-consuming.

Constraints of time forced us to limit discussion on both of these, but informal discussions outside the sessions took up many other issues.

Events back in South Africa served to underscore some of the major areas of difference. Shortly after the delegation from South Africa arrived, we received news of the threats made against their persons by ultra-rightwingers.

A bomb explosion in central Johannesburg confirmed the worst fears of our Afrikaner interlocutors.

On that same day, we received news that a member of our national executive committee, Cassius Make, and two of his travelling companions had been gunned down by a Pretoria hit-squad.

Whispered conversations about the need for precautionary measures when they returned home ensued. We were warned about the need to exercise vigilance against the hired gunmen the regime employs in the subcontinent.

The sense of shared danger enhanced the solidarity of the two groups.

A measure of general agreement emerged in the course of the formal discussions. All agreed that all our people, irrespective of racial or ethnic origin, had an equal claim on our common homeland; that apartheid and the systems of racial oppression that had preceded it bore the primary re-

sponsibility for violence; that even if the various anti-apartheid political formations adopt different strategies, these must be complementary; that the main locus of change in our situation is the extra-parliamentary mass democratic movement; that a commitment to part company with racism must translate into action if it is to be meaningful.

The meetings themselves were an operation in sweeping away layer after layer of cobwebs of misconceptions and mystification

At the same time, one could not but note the sharp divergences.

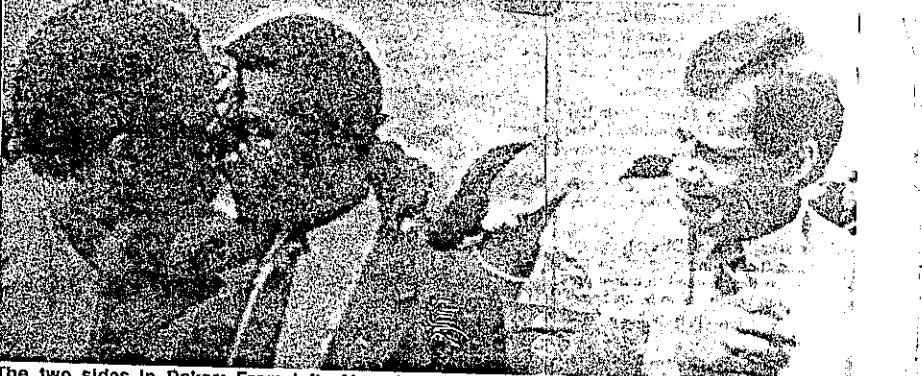
The two groups were very different. The ANC group was comprised of the leading cadres of a tight-knit revolutionary movement. Two of its representatives had served lengthy prison terms on Robben Island, one had survived a bomb attack, one had a father in prison. The ANC spoke with one voice on all issues, though differences in emphasis were evident. On the other side, there was a collection of individuals who could not claim to represent any organised constituency.

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The two sides in Dakar: From left, Ahmed Gono and Thabo Mbeki, both of the ANC, and Frederik van Zyl Slabbert of Idasa

# march amid stony Pretoria silence

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**PATRICK LAURENCE reports**

the offering. A more likely move is one to deprive Idasa of foreign funds. President PW Botha threatened to do so during the campaign for the May 6 election.

But if Slabbert's initiative is likely to run into a wall of white hostility in the short run, there is little sign of movement in the government's

search for a credible internal settlement. While Slabbert was continuing discussions with the ANC in Burkina Faso, Constitutional Development Minister Chris Heunis was talking in Pretoria to Tom Boya of the United Municipalities of South Africa, or Umsa.

Boya is less representative of blacks than Slabbert is of whites. Umsa is one of two movements claiming to represent controversial black town councillors who, judging from the low polls in the 1983 elections, cannot legitimately claim to be representative.

But Heunis did not even succeed in persuading Boya to participate in his proposed National Statutory Council.

The two men merely agreed that there should be a forum for negotiations between blacks and whites and to hold further talks in the future.

It was in that context that Anglo American chairman Gavin Relly made his pitch for a negotiated settlement. Relly originally helped give credibility to the notion of discussions with the ANC when, in September 1985, he led a team of businessmen and community leaders to Zambia for talks with the ANC.

But his contribution to the debate in the wake of the Dakar talks was not to commend Slabbert for his initiative but to recommend to Botha the Indaba proposals for non-racial government, devised in Natal, as a means of resolving the conflict.

Noting "recent signs of government flexibility" — he did not specify what he meant — Relly focused on the Indaba proposals in his annual chairman's statement.

"... the Indaba proposals would not only have relevance to other provinces in opening up a more democratic form of government at the second tier, but might offer a process, as well as a pattern, for the resolution of constitutional differences at the centre," he said.

The Indaba proposals were unanimously accepted in principle by delegates to Inkatha's recent annual conference, pending reaction to them by Inkatha branches and traditional leaders in KwaZulu.

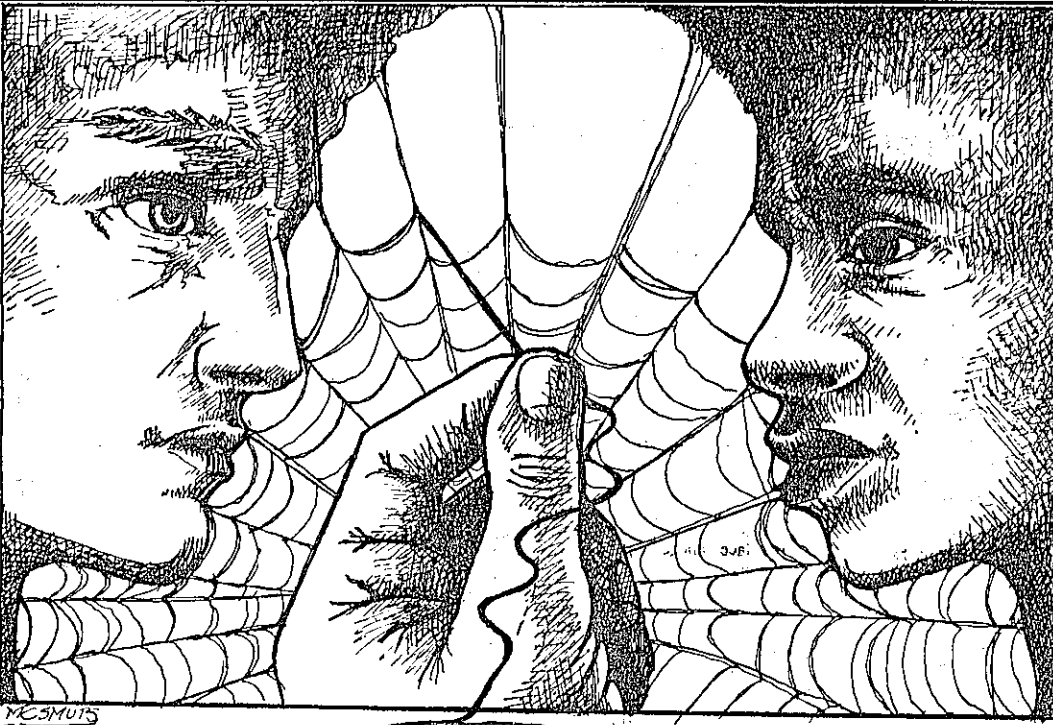
But so far neither Relly's statement

nor the Inkatha conference have evoked a response from the government.

Extrapolating from their public statements, Botha and his lieutenants believe if they hold the line firmly enough, credible black leaders will see the established order is not about to collapse and, consequently, come to the negotiating table.

As Defence Minister Magnus Malan has put it: "The State of Emergency is no state of gloom ... The State of Emergency is a situation of challenges and opportunities."

It is going to be a long and, unhappily, bloody wait: with the ANC waiting for the day of the New Voortrekkers but stepping up its armed struggle in the interim and the government defending the status quo by force while waiting for credible leaders to come forward.



Drawing: CHANTAL SMUTS

layer of cobwebs of misconceptions and mystification about both the character of the ANC and the struggle for liberation.

We had correctly anticipated that the principal area of concern would be the armed component of the ANC's strategy. We had expected also that discussions of the structure of government and a post-apartheid economy might be time-consuming.

Constraints of time forced us to limit discussion on both of these, but informal discussions outside the sessions took up many other issues.

Events back in South Africa served to underscore some of the major areas of difference. Shortly after the delegation from South Africa arrived, we received news of the threats made against their persons by ultrarightwingers.

And a bomb explosion in central Johannesburg confirmed the worst fears of our Afrikaner interlocutors.

On that same day, we received news that a member of our national executive committee, Cassius Make, and two of his travelling companions had been gunned down by a Pretoria hit-squad.

Whispered conversations about the need for precautionary measures when they returned home ensued. We were warned about the need to exercise vigilance against the hired gunmen the regime employs in the sub-continent.

The sense of shared danger enhanced the solidarity of the two groups.

A measure of general agreement emerged in the course of the formal discussions. All agreed that all our people, irrespective of racial or ethnic origin, had an equal claim on our common homeland; that apartheid and the systems of racial oppression that had preceded it bore the primary re-

sponsibility for violence; that even if the various anti-apartheid political formations adopt different strategies, these must be complementary; that the main locus of change in our situation is the extra-parliamentary mass democratic movement; that a commitment to part company with racism must translate into action if it is to be meaningful.

**The meetings themselves were an operation in sweeping away layer after layer of cobwebs of misconceptions and mystification**

At the same time, one could not but note the sharp divergences.

The two groups were very different. The ANC group was comprised of the leading cadres of a tight-knit revolutionary movement. Two of its representatives had served lengthy prison terms on Robben Island, one had survived a bomb attack, one had a father in prison. The ANC spoke with one voice on all issues, though differences in emphasis were evident. On the other side, there was a collection of individuals who could not claim to represent any organised constituency.

The ANC delegation was representative of the diversity of the South African population, containing Africans, Asians, coloureds and whites. Our partners in discussion were almost a solidly white Afrikaans group spiced with five blacks.

Of the 16 ANC delegates, two were women, who took an active part in deliberations. The four white women remained silent throughout the formal sessions, though they mixed and chatted freely outside these sessions.

Besides the formal encounters, other factors also contributed to the perceptible shift in some of the positions of our white counterparts.

A divinity student from Potchefstroom University was overheard excitedly recounting his night walk from the prime ministerial residence back to the hotel. He was not molested and no one seemed even to take the slightest interest in a white man walking through an African city at night.

Such a walk would have been foolhardy in many black neighbourhoods — in South Africa and the United States. In the one, he would have been an object of hatred and fear; in the second, he would have become the target of criminals.

We also picked up on some of the

impressions being formed through our discussions. A white academic told us in strict confidence that some of the Afrikaners had formed the view that while the African comrades were very flexible, our Indian comrades were hardliners.

Another white South African who was engaged in conversation by a Soviet diplomat was amazed to discover how little this representative of

**A white South African engaged in conversation by a Soviet diplomat was amazed to discover how little this representative of Moscow knew of the ANC**

Moscow knew of the ANC.

Our interlocutors were an extremely heterogeneous delegation, but within it was a core group of intellectuals, like-minded academics who seemed to have adopted a few fixed positions on a number of issues.

We were familiar with their pet theories and scenarios and tried to engage them on this terrain, but they seemed impervious to reasoned argument. They probably left Dakar unconvinced by anything we'd said.

There was yet a second, smaller group of free marketeers. With the

best will in the world, we found it difficult to take seriously their hodgepodge of classical bourgeois economic theory and latter-day Japanese managerial practice.

Most amusing was that such ideas, associated with the Thatcherite-Reaganite rightwing in English-speaking Western countries, in South Africa find their way into radical discourse and are considered the pillars of liberalism.

One or two of the intellectuals stuck out as people who would under normal circumstances identify with the ANC. The overwhelming majority left behind much of the baggage of Afrikaner orthodoxy; some shed their remaining illusions that change could be effected through the white parliament.

Some parted with us a little bit more optimistic about the future.

We had been struck by a profound pessimism afflicting many of our counterparts from the very first day.

One comrade explained it in terms of the interminable crisis of white power. How would you feel if it seemed the only prospect for you was a fall from grace?

The academic observers from Germany reinforced this pessimism with their own. Social defeatism is what another comrade called it.

My opinion is that its roots go much deeper. The Afrikaner intelligentsia, like its African counterpart, was impressed into the modern world by British imperialism at the turn of the century. In its efforts to resist what it perceived as foreign domination, the Afrikaner intelligentsia elaborated Afrikaner nationalism. It chose as its symbols the Voortreker, the racially-stratified society of the Boer Republics and the dubious virtues of *wolk, kerk* and family.

Turning their backs on modernity, the Afrikaans intelligentsia ideologised the anachronistic ideas and concepts that constitute the ideological matrix of apartheid. On this the political elite built the solidarity of the *wolk* as a battering ram to gain entry into the ranks of the financial and industrial bourgeoisie.

It is this very achievement that has now generated the tensions that are causing such deep fissures in the unity of the *wolk* and the *kerk*, to say nothing of the family.

In contrast, the African intelligentsia sought to embrace modernity. Consequently, it strongly identified with the force that was perceived as its agent — British imperialism and the imperial connection.

Harsh experience taught that such allegiances were misplaced, but even that has not misguided the majority to adopt anti-modernist ideologies or postures.

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CAPG Times 17/7/87 (114)

# Violence 'not an option for UDF'

By BARRY STREEK  
Political Staff

THE United Democratic Front has rejected neck-lacing, the bombing of community councillors' homes and attacks on special constables.

The UDF's acting publicity secretary, Mr Murphy Morobe, said in an interview, which has been published in Leadership magazine, that this violence "simply does not tally with the fact that we are dedicated to prosecuting the struggle legally and non-violently".

Mr Morobe said the UDF actively discouraged its supporters from violent attacks on what it deemed to be collaborators or vigilantes.

"There are other forces with aims similar to our own, who use violence, but these do not fall under our discipline," he said.

The UDF had resolved at its conference to expose death squads "but... we must not fall into the trap of opting for similar tactics."

Violence was not an option for the UDF.

"There is already sufficient violence, there are enough forces involved in that type of struggle for the Front to be able to take that decision.

"For the UDF, violence would not be correct; it is our historical mission to wage the struggle by legal, democratic means, and that precludes violence by our forces."

He also said the power base in South Africa had shifted to extra-parliamentary structures.

"These structures — the State Security Council, the joint management centres, the increasing involvement of the army and police in the politics of the country — effect more control over the daily lives of South Africans than does Parliament," Mr Morobe said.

# Gumede hits back at vote critics

By BARRY STREEK  
Political Staff

ONE of three presidents of the United Democratic Front (UDF), Mr Archie Gumede, has dismissed the stand taken by the UDF's Western Cape region against his suggestion that the front consider participation in elections.

Mr Gumede said in an interview, which was released yesterday, that the Western Cape's political antecedents were the Non-European Unity Movement "which boycotts everything on principle — they are not prepared to look at the opportunities which could arise from such a tactic".

In the interview, which has been published in Leadership, he said members of the UDF were entitled to their points of view "but that does not mean that it closes the subject for all time".

However, Mr Gumede said there was "no basis for saying the UDF is thinking of participating in elections".

"I have merely said the question of participation is worth considering and that I will put it to the UDF for serious discussion.

"Any such decision would be a change in tactics in the light of changing circumstances.

"I take my dictation, not from the state, but from objective conditions.

"To say Parliament is irrelevant is to describe it thus when it acts in irrelevant manner.

"But does the person who takes a complaint to the police or to a magistrate, or who pays his taxes or his dog licence... does he consider Parliament is illegitimate? No.

"We must ask ourselves whether the tactic of total boycott has worked; it would seem so far that it has not, so we must explore other options.

"One might participate in elections then refuse to take seats, or take one's seats and make one's demands — release Mandela, the political prisoners and the detainees, let the exiles return, lift the emergency — in parliament.

"If it fails, it fails and we go back to the people.

"In other words, there may be options for rejection other than total boycott.

"But this exchange of views is one which should be placed inside the UDF. All I ask is that it be seriously discussed."

Mr Gumede also said he asked for serious, not heated, debate.

(118) 17/7/87

# Men accused of plotting to kidnap ANC officials

LONDON — Three men appeared in a top security court yesterday accused of plotting with others to kidnap high-ranking members of the African National Congress' (ANC) mission here.

The Anti-Terrorist Squad, in charge of the case, alleged that the conspiracy was planned between October 1, 1986 and July 10 this year and was to have been sprung in central London.

In a statement, the ANC mission expressed "grave concern" for the "wellfare and safety of our members" and sought police protection.

The mission's members also claimed that there had been a recent "alarming incident" involving the wife of a senior member which had raised suspicions that "something serious was underway."

Armed officers guarded Lambeth court as the three men, who had been held for five days under Britain's Prevention of Terrorism Act, made a surprise seven minute appearance.

Mr Frank Lynge Larsen, 53, described as a psychologist, his son, Mr John Terence Larsen, 27, a computer technician, both believed to be Zimbabweans who travelled frequently to South Africa, and Mr John Richard Wheatley, 28, who is British, had nothing to say as they were remanded in custody for a week.

The men wore prison uniforms.

They stood silently as the prosecutor, Mr Michael Bippy said Mr Frank Larsen had been in possession of forged police warrants when arrested.

Searches of an abode he and his son used in Aldershot, Hampshire, and Mr Wheatley's abode in Guildford, Surrey, uncovered a list of ANC members' bogus passports and other forged identity documents.

Mr Bippy said when interviewed by detectives, Mr John Larsen said he was unaware of the documents, but he was "going along with the kidnap plan."

Because of the forged documents, it was not established for certain if the

Larsens were Zimbabweans.

Mr Bippy said it had not yet been established if the ANC names on the found list were the kidnap targets.

He objected to bail on the grounds of police fears that the men might interfere with the witnesses.

He said the case would take some time to prepare because there was "2 000 pages of documentation to be read, extensive further inquiries and scientific investigations to be made."

One of the men, understood to be Mr Frank Larsen, was arrested in central London recently in what Anti-Terrorist Squad sources describe as an "unrelated incident" although it is understood a surveillance operation had been underway.

Anti-Terrorist Squad senior officers then took charge of the case and raided the addresses in Guildford and Aldershot, arresting Mr John Larsen and Mr Wheatley, who is understood to have had associations with private detectives.

Scotland Yard is regarding the case as extremely grave and not as a crank, the police sources said.

According to sources, the kidnap was to have been aimed at the head of the ANC mission, Mr Solly Smith, and others including the ANC's executive member, Mr Francis Melley.

An ANC official said: "We have reason to believe the main target was Mr Solly Smith. Just days before these arrests there was an incident which terrified his wife and set off the alarm.

"We obviously suspect a South African plot, it was Mr P. W. Botha who said he would strike at us wherever we were, even in London."

The mission's premises were partially destroyed by a bomb blast in the mid-1970's and the bomber was never found.

Five years ago a former Zimbabwean pilot and a London petty thief were jailed for robbing the ANC and Swapo offices at the instigation of a South African Embassy official, who was ordered to leave Britain.



# City squatter leaders urged to settle dispute

By JOHN VAN DER LINDEN and CLARE HARPER

A MEETING of all of Cape Town's squatter leaders on "neutral" territory will take place as soon "as soon as is physically possible — probably next week", Mr Jan Van Eck, PFP M P for Claremont and chairman of the PFP's unrest monitoring committee, said yesterday.

He was speaking shortly after a one-and-a-half-hour meeting with the Divisional Commissioner of Police for the Western Cape, Brigadier Ronnie van der Westhuizen.

The two jointly announced plans for the squatter leaders to meet with the police to resolve the looming Crossroads/KTC crisis.

Mr Van Eck said the meeting was viewed as "a matter of urgency".

The Brigadier said he would arrange for the squatter groups supporting Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana of Crossroads and Mr Mali Hosa of Site C Khayeltisha to attend the meeting and Mr Van Eck said he would arrange for other groups including Mr Milton Mbewana and Mr Gladstone

Ntamo of the KTC Masincedane Committee, Mr Christopher Toise of the Portland Cementworks group, Mr Melford Yamile of the Nyanga Bush community and others, to attend.

The Brigadier and Mr Van Eck described the move as "a major breakthrough" in defusing tensions between Crossroads and KTC residents.

## Police leadership

Mr Van Eck said he called for a meeting with the Brigadier "because of my concern that last year we saw police openly siding with certain groupings and if that happens again unprecedented violence could be unleashed".

He said that the police were now under new leadership and he was optimistic that they would not take sides, but neutrally maintain law and order.

It was reported yesterday that during Mr Van Eck's meeting with Brigadier Van der Westhuizen, he (Mr Van Eck) had discussed with the brigadier the need for police not to be seen to be taking sides.

Mr Van Eck was reported to have said that "it is quite clear that no such thing (taking sides) is taking place."

Meanwhile the Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town, the Most Reverend Desmond Tutu and Roman Catholic Archbishop Stephen Naidoo and the vice chairman of the Peninsula regional council of the Congregational Church, Rev Mongmeli Bukashe will meet today to decide on a number of initiatives they would like to pursue to help resolve the crisis.

Mr Van Eck said the turmoil in the Crossroads/KTC area had not only been the result of political differences but could be ascribed to a large extent to a power struggle between the major leaders who for the first time have shown their willingness to talk to each other.

Brigadier Van der Westhuizen said he was sure that once all grievances were discussed in the open at the proposed meeting, both sides would realise they were striving for the same goals.

□ Another KTC delegation (representing KTC residents other than those represented by the KTC Masincedane group) said yesterday that they were "worried" about rumours of an attack from Crossroads. They urged other squatter groups not to fight and to "remember the suffering of the last war".

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500 dead in wake of killings

# SA launches a worldwide blitz on ANC

(11A) B/Day 17/7/82

Business Day Reporters

A SUSTAINED blitz against ANC operatives inside and outside SA has left as many as 500 dead and dealt a severe blow to the movement's military capacity.

In separate incidents in places as far apart as the Ciskei and the UK, men suspected of being SA agents have launched a concerted attack on ANC targets.

Shootings of suspected ANC members are taking place almost daily countrywide.

In London yesterday, three men appeared in a special top security court accused of plotting with others unknown to kidnap high-ranking ANC members since last October.

Frank Lynge Larsen, 53, described as a psychologist, his son, John Terence Larsen, 27, a computer technician, believed to be Zimbabweans who travelled frequently to SA, and John Richard Wheatley, 28, who is British, had nothing to say as they were remanded in custody for a week.

The court heard that searches of an address Larsen and his son used in Alder-

shot, Hampshire, and Wheatley's address in Guildford, Surrey, uncovered a list of ANC members, bogus passports and other forged identity documents.

High-level sources said there was a possibility of a conspiracy to kidnap Solly Smith, head of the ANC's London mission, and others, including ANC executive member Francis Melli.

An ANC spokesman said: "We obviously suspect a SA plot involving South Africans. After all, it was P W Botha who said he would strike at us wherever we were, even in London."

ANC members were quoted as saying "something alarming is going on".

The movement appears to have been severely crippled in Swaziland, where up to 11 top members of the ANC's armed wing - Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) - have been killed since the start of the year.

The ANC said it believed the unusual pattern of two key members in Swaziland on July 9 was part of a new SA

● To Page 2 →

# SA launches blitz on ANC

campaign to strike at the ANC all over the world.

In the Swazi incident, three white men in an SA-registered car gunned down in daylight Cassius Make, the youngest ANC executive member who fled SA after the Soweto uprising in 1976, and Paul Dikeledi, described as being in control of MK's Transvaal machinery. They were shot soon after alighting from a plane at Matsapha Airport.

In the Ciskei yesterday, two policemen died in a shootout with an alleged ANC member, identified as Npumplelo Mabanjwa. Police said he was killed and found in possession of two limpet mines, two AK47 automatic assault rifles, ammunition and explosives.

Events in Swaziland appear to point to a new pattern of action against the ANC. Instead of the customary - and often indiscriminate - SA commando blitz, unidentified hitmen, widely believed to be from SA, have picked off ANC targets at will. Swazi police appear to be either unable or unwilling to contain the carnage.

In spite of a 1982 agreement between SA and the then reigning monarch King Sobhuza II, Swaziland has played an important role for ANC guerrillas and for arms and ammunition en route from Mozambique.

(11A) ← ● From Page 1 B/Day 17/7/82

TIA  
B/Day  
17/7/87

**T**HE WARNING from the locals at the hotel where the past week's ANC-Afrikaner talks were held was: "Leave these premises carrying anything of value at your peril."

Internal delegates who ignored the warning paid the price. The skilled tactile street operatives were capable of removing a watch or wallet while warmly grasping your hand and welcoming you to Senegal.

Maybe someone should have warned the Afrikaners to beware of pipe-smoking ANC members bearing gifts of charm and charisma. Many of them were the victims, in the nicest possible way, of an emotional mugging.

There can be no denying that the meeting produced a certain chemistry and the simple fact that it took place — and that there was a strong commitment to further meetings — cannot be underestimated.

Both Frederik van Zyl Slabbert and Thabo Mbeki, the nominal leaders of the two delegations, stressed the talks had produced a "meeting of minds" on important issues.

**I**n the sense that there was broad agreement on a pluralist, non-racial, democratic government for a future SA, this was true. But not all that suprising unless you accepted government's portrayal of the ANC.

It was also true that the ANC did not make a single concession. What is more, they were quite happy to point this out.

A section of the joint communique issued at the end of the talks read: "The group accepted the historical reality of the armed struggle and although not all could support it, everyone was concerned over the proliferation of uncontrolled violence."

As this was a joint communique, journalists and internal delegates were hailing this as a concession by the ANC — earlier, the ANC had been prepared to say uncontrolled violence was counter-productive but would not condemn it.

Not so, explained the ANC. The first part of the sentence clearly indicated the group being referred



□ MINDS MEET . . . the ANC's Thabo Mbeki and Frederik van Zyl Slabbert in Dakar

# Dakar: a meeting of minds or emotional mugging?

**MIKE ROBERTSON in London**

to was the internal party and therefore the "everyone" in the important second half of the sentence could not include the ANC.

In essence, then, while the ANC is prepared to class the bombing of supermarkets and shopping malls as mistakes, or to say that "necklacing" is counter-productive, it will not condemn either.

Where there were areas of agreement on armed struggle, such as accepting it as a historical given, this involved a concession from several of the internal delegates.

Others were prepared to concede further that it was impossible for the ANC to renounce armed struggle at this stage, given government's opposition to negotiation.

**A**nother area where the ANC was quite happy to dispel any notion of compromise or concession was on the question of nationalisation.

Economic consultant Christo Nel said after the debate on the economy that he had been impressed by the ANC's specifically

non-dogmatic stance. He added that when the ANC spoke of redistribution of wealth "at no stage did we have the feeling that it was a case of sheer confiscation".

But moments later, ANC spokesman Manala Manzini said the state would have to have at its command enormous resources to ensure that people share equitably in the wealth of the country.

**H**ow a clear commitment to an outmoded, and increasingly scorned (even by socialists), concept of State control and nationalisation can be perceived as being "non-dogmatic" is difficult to grasp.

But such is the level of misinformation on the ANC in SA that it merely has to rebut some of the more outlandish charges against it and people start talking about a lack of dogma.

One of the most interesting developments as the talks progressed was the emergence of Professor Hermann Giliomee as the "Boer in the woodpile".

In probably the only public dis-

play of friction between the two groups, Giliomee and ANC executive member Pallo Jordan argued heatedly in the hotel foyer.

Giliomee contended the ANC had simply not come to terms with Afrikaner nationalism or the overwhelming military superiority of the State, and that several compromises, even sad compromises, would be necessary if any progress was going to be made.

It's a position that many in the internal delegation had arrived at, but that the row should have blown up with Jordan was not suprising.

For of the senior ANC members present he was the least likely to carry off the "charm offensive".

**B**y all accounts his contribution to the debates were tough and intelligent, but he is also an abrasive, arrogant and sometimes downright rude individual.

While in public the ANC were cordial and prepared to stay up late discussing particular points, in private they were quite scathing about some of the delegates.

They scoffed at the fact that all the women in the internal delega-

tion were either wives or lovers, made snide jibes at Professor Lawrence Schlemmer and ridiculed Leon Louw's ideas on cantons.

However, they were more than impressed with Slabbert and impressed by what they called the thoughtful, yet tough, interventions by Ds Theuns Elloff.

**S**labbert said at the outset that the Afrikaners had come not to capitulate, but to understand. The ANC said it wanted to convince the Afrikaners that if they were to influence the "struggle" they had to get involved.

Given these goals, the meeting was in many ways successful.

But perhaps when they meet again the internal delegation will do the ANC the honour of bringing along a few women delegates.

Perhaps, too, they will have learned to deal with the charm and be less likely to confuse their longing for consensus and pragmatism with consensus and pragmatism.

Perhaps . . .

17/7/63  
HIX

## BLACK PARTIES

### Where's the party?

Anyone who forms a political party out of the blue and then claims support of 300 000 paid-up members should expect to meet a certain degree of scepticism — especially if the membership list is not open for inspection.

This applies to John Gogotya (49), who launched his Federal Independent Democratic Alliance (Fida) at a low-key gathering (of a reported 4 000 delegates) on July 5. Although the idea of Fida was conceived 18 months earlier, he explains, it was kept secret because "as moderates we have to look at the intimidation factor." Gogotya says canvassing for the party was done by using the facilities and contacts of his Operation Advance and Upgrade, an organisation of moderate blacks set up to train people in basic skills.

Gogotya's ideas certainly contradict mainstream black anti-government thinking and inevitably expose him to criticism. For a start, he does not believe in talking to the African National Congress because "the ANC is inconsistent and only wants to negotiate with people of its own choice and on its own grounds."

Further, he unconditionally supports President P W Botha's controversial statutory National Council, through which he

The *FM* brings its readers the most news, comment and interpretation possible under the new regulations restricting publication of certain matters.

It does not believe that the restrictions are necessary or in the public interest, but will obey the law.

believes he can remove apartheid "in one big swoop" rather than "piece by piece." He does not believe in a "black SA" because the role of whites will be crucial, and supports a federal system based on the Swiss cantons, with an annually rotating president with symbolic status. However, he would or could not elaborate on how he would achieve this ideal.

Fida, which claims to have 59 branches throughout SA, seems to stand alone. Gogotya has not negotiated with any black organisation prior to the launching of the party. He "did not want to colour the party," is his comment. Surprisingly, he says he has no contact with a similar party, the United Christian Conciliation Party (UCCP) of Bishop Isaac Mokoena, launched earlier this year. He also does not contemplate negotiating with other black groups such as the Urban Councils Association (Ucasa), which backs the National Council, in the near future.

Speaking from his bare offices in central Johannesburg (not a poster or campaign leaflet in sight — which hardly gives the impression of being the nerve centre of anything about to capture the people's imagination) Gogotya says he has travelled extensively. He tells you, apropos of nothing, that he met George Shultz the day Shultz met Oliver Tambo some months ago; that he's met George Bush; and that he has attended a "number of White House briefings."

In SA he has close ties with Jan Marais, founder of Trust Bank and former National Party MP of Pinetown, Natal. Fida's funding is a sensitive issue. Marais declines to say whether or not he has assisted Gogotya.

Gogotya fervently denies charges of government assistance, stating that the party runs on annual membership fees of R5 a person and R1 for students. He says Fida's coffers contain between R20 000 and R30 000. Most members, he says, chose to pay only R1.

Gogotya's ideals of "peaceful change, equal opportunity for all, harmonious social relationships among the country's several races and quality leadership" are commendable. But how he intends achieving these goals is not particularly clear. If Fida is what it claims to be, it will have to come out of the closet and prove it. Otherwise it runs the danger of following in the footsteps of the UCCP, which after nine months has been almost totally forgotten. ■

## THE DAKAR TALKS

**On the inside track**

Before flying out of Dakar to Burkina Faso, delegates to the talks between the African National Congress (ANC) and a group made up mainly of Afrikaners were given a Senegalese memento. The gifts — brightly coloured pictures reputedly made from butterfly wings — will serve as an exotic reminder to them of an extraordinary meeting in an unlikely venue.

Dakar, or rather the nearby Goree Island, was once the centre of the world slave trade. It is now the 10th most expensive city in the world and boasts some of the most aggressive gangs of pickpockets and would-be muggers. But the latter were well hidden when the Dakar conference opened in a carnival-like atmosphere more in keeping with the arrival of a circus, rather than a group of earnest South Africans intent on grappling with their nation's complex problems.

The Senegalese feted the South Africans, but occasionally their hospitality bordered on the ridiculous and cut deep into the time available for talks — a visit to a yoghurt factory in the middle of the main debate on violence was particularly irksome to the delegates.

Four days after the talks opened, the two groups issued a joint communique, which Frederik van Zyl Slabbert described as an indication of "the extraordinary meeting of minds on a number of important issues" that was achieved. In the sense that the groups committed themselves to a future SA based on a pluralist nonracial democracy, this was true. But hardly surprising considering that the internal group were hardly a bunch of rightwingers.

Neither could the 17-member ANC group, led by charismatic Thabo Mbeki, in any way resemble the bloodthirsty communists the government would like people to believe they are.

But once the furore created by the talks has calmed down, and the internal delegates begin to recover from the ANC's charm offensive, they might begin to realise that apart from the butterfly paintings they returned from Dakar with very little else. While all except two of the Afrikaners entered into the rather grey area of accepting the historical reality of violence without actually supporting it, the ANC did not budge an inch. Some internal delegates accepted that the ANC could not at this stage renounce violence, given the Pretoria government's lack of commitment to negotiations, but the ANC would not add its support to a section of the joint communique which expressed deep concern over the proliferation of uncontrolled violence.

To be fair, ANC delegates did say this

state of affairs was counter-productive. They would not, however, condemn it. On other issues like attempts to make townships ungovernable, and sanctions, there were also no concessions.

By the time the conference got down to discussing the economy, most of the delegates had already exhausted themselves in the debate on violence. This might explain the vaguely worded public statements about the almost unanimous acceptance of some form of mixed economy which would allow people to operate freely in pursuit of economic growth.

The ANC did appear to make one concession when it said that, although still committed to nationalising "the commanding heights of the economy," this could be delayed by an ANC government and only implemented after consultation with groups of experts — including businessmen. There was also an appreciation of the vital importance of increasing the overall size of the economic cake. But this is all in the future and delaying nationalisation still puts the ANC several years behind even socialist parties in Europe, who have finally come to realise it simply does not work.

Hermann Giliomee, who stressed in the talks that the ANC had to come to terms with Afrikaner nationalism as well as the military strength of the present regime, was labelled a conservative for his efforts. Giliomee argued that a vast majority of Afrikaners were simply not ready to accept a black majority government. His arguments for the need to compromise and to accept that a nonracial democracy might not be immediately available got short shrift from the ANC. They insisted that the concept of a nonracial democracy was not negotiable — even in an interim arrangement.

Their game plan appears to be that in seven to 10 years' time, P W Botha will have gone and been replaced by someone less committed to not negotiating. The growth of the rightwing and deterioration in the economy, as well as the activities of liberal Afrikaners like those present in Dakar, would have weakened white resolve to maintain a racist state. At that point the ANC would be called in and a democratic SA would begin to emerge.

However, Giliomee was not the only person present in Dakar to believe the ANC members are not as confident as they sounded. They are not yet prepared to break ranks and forgo purist statements like "SA must be the only country in the world where the victims have to give guarantees before the system of oppression can be displaced."

But the Dakar declaration does commit

the delegates to future talks. Perhaps next time those from within SA will be less likely to succumb to the charm offensive and more inclined to play hard-bail. The more this happens, the more likely it will be that they can extract a few concessions from the ANC, rather than just making them. ■

## INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

**Metal strike deferred**

As the *FM* went to press, the National Union of Metalworkers of SA (Numsa) called off its strike against the metal industry pending a ruling on the legality of the strike.

Having followed the procedures entitling it to stage a legal strike after its deadlocked wage talks with Seifsa, Numsa was bowled a googly on Tuesday, the day its strike commenced.

It came in the form of a renewal notice published by Manpower Minister Piet du Plessis, extending the life of the old agreement covering the metal industry. In terms of the Labour Relations Act, this immediately rendered illegal any strike on any matter covered by the agreement.

While the timing of the renewal notice appeared suspicious to some — the old agreement expired on July 1 — Manpower Director-General Piet van der Merwe tells the *FM* that renewal notices are nothing



**Manpower's Van der Merwe ...  
renewal notices are not new**

new; 86 were published last year. And, since the amended agreement was due three days later the old one had to be in force.

By lunchtime on Tuesday, Numsa said that according to an incomplete survey about 50 000 of its members had downed tools around the country. A Seifsa spokesman said employer members had been advised not to sack strikers.

The union was awaiting advice from its lawyers, who had been instructed to seek Supreme Court action to counter the Minis-

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# Parents of Swazi 2 prepare for funerals

By THAMI MKHWANAZI  
in Johannesburg and  
HOWARD BARRELL in Harare

THE parents of the two ANC guerrillas gunned down last week in Swaziland were preparing yesterday for the funerals of their children.

Velhemina Sedialape Tabane, 64-year-old mother of Job Shimangana Tabane, alias Cassius Make, was preparing to leave South Africa today for Lusaka, where her son's funeral is scheduled for Sunday.

And Salome Motau, mother of Peter Sello Motau, alias Paul Dikeledi, was in Swaziland with relatives arranging for the delivery of the body of the slain guerrilla while her husband, David Motau, remained in Dube, Soweto, trying to get a passport to travel to Maputo for the funeral.

The two were killed on Thursday afternoon last week when their taxi was forced off the Matsapa-Mbabane road by a South-African-registered BMW sedan. Slain with them was a Mozambican woman, Eliza Tsinini.

Tabane was one of the ANC's most promising and able up-and-coming military commanders. He was also a member of the ANC's national executive committee — in fact, its youngest member and is believed to have ranked number three or four in the command structure of Umkhonto we Sizwe, although the ANC executive made no mention of his military associations in their statements.

As far as can be established, he was subordinate in the guerrilla army only

to Commander Joe Modise and political commissar Chris Hani and possibly to a third man, who may have replaced Communist Party general secretary Joe Slovo as chief of staff but whose identity is not known.

The ANC has described Motau as a "dedicated young activist" who since joining the ANC in 1976 had risen to an undisclosed "prominent position".

Both Motau and Tabane had lived in exile for some time.

Motau, 32, left home on Christmas Eve, 1975, telling parents he was going to visit friends in Bloemfontein. When he died, he had been living in Maputo with his Mozambican wife, Karla, their son, Sello, seven, and daughter, Lebogang, four.

Tabane, 45, fled the country on January 24, 1964. He had been living in Lusaka with his Soweto-born wife, their 10-year-old daughter, Phakiso, and five-year-old son, Karabo.

His mother did not see him after he left until May this year when she and an Orlando West cousin, Zacharia Tolo Pooe, accepted an invitation to visit Tabane in Lusaka.

Born 45 years ago in Diepkuil, Rustenburg, he was an only child. By the time he reached secondary school his family had moved first to Alexandra township, then to Diepkloof. He went to Butterworth for Std 9 but before he could complete matric the school experienced a class boycott. He returned home and told his parents he was going to visit his cousin's parents in Orlando West.

"This was the beginning of months of sleepless nights, in Diepkloof and in Rustenburg," she said. She had moved home after the death of Job's father, Philemon Butana.

"Security police woke us up at night, brandishing torches and questioned us about 'Shimane's' whereabouts. I was haunted by my boy's continuous absence.

"I prayed and one day God listened to my prayers. In May this year we

received an invitation from my son to visit him in Lusaka where he lived with his family."

Although Job insisted she stay for three weeks, she returned home after five days.

"I couldn't believe my eyes when I met him — bearded and well-built and happy with his family."

Motau, only son of his Soweto parents, received his primary education at Soweto's Sholomane Primary School. According his father, he became "naughty" and after completing Std 5, he was sent to Cancela Secondary School in Mt Frere in the Transkei. After passing his Std 6 there he returned home to find his father detained — together with activist Winnie Mandela and more than 20 other people held for allegedly participating in the activities of the ANC. They were charged under the Terrorism Act; all were acquitted.

Peter proceeded to Soweto's Morris Isaacson High School, where he was involved in student politics, according to his father. He left the country before he could complete his matric.

"I've never heard of him ever since — until last week, when I received a telegram from the ANC's secretary general, Alfred Nzo, informing me of his death. I received another one from his uncle, Elias Motsoaledi, on Robben Island, in which he conveyed his condolences," said his father.

# Ashley Kriel's last hours

MORE questions than answers surround the death of a 20-year-old Cape Town activist who left the country in 1985 to train as an ANC guerrilla and returned this year — to be shot dead this week.

The family of Ashley Kriel and local community organisations were this week planning what is expected to be the biggest funeral Cape Town has seen in a long time.

Meanwhile, police said in a written statement that he had died from a bullet fired by his own weapon during a scuffle with two policemen who tried to disarm and arrest him at the Athlone house they had been informed he was staying at.

The statement does not explain why Kriel was wearing handcuffs, as claimed by Imtiaz Ismail, who lived in the house with Kriel.

Ismail said he returned from an errand at about 1.30pm last Thursday to find the housemate he had known as "James" lying on his side at the kitchen steps.

"As I pulled into the driveway three or four plain-clothes policemen told me to stop. I switched off the car. They told me and the friend with me to stand with our hands against the car and they searched us, asking me who lived in the house.

"I walked round to the back of the house as I usually do with the policemen following. I saw James lying on his side. There was blood on his forehead. His arms were stretched out in front of him and he was wearing handcuffs. I asked the one policeman what was wrong with James and he told me 'Hy is doodgeskiet omdat hy 'n terrorist is' (He has been shot dead because he is a terrorist)."

He said Kriel had been boarding with himself and his sister since early May.

Kriel's married sister, Michél Assure, 24, was the only family member at home at 54B Vlamboom Street, Bonteheuwel, when two policemen arrived last Friday morning. The family was unaware that Ashley, who had "disappeared" in August 1985, was dead.

The woman said information they gathered at the scene prompted led them to believe that there many unanswered questions about how and why their brother died.

By GAYE DAVIS in Cape Town

They believe police watched the house until they were certain Kriel was alone so there would be no witnesses to their actions. They believe he had been handcuffed when he was shot. A private pathologist conducted another post mortem this week.

A member of the SAP public relations division in the Western Cape, Lieutenant Attie Laubscher, said police had taken note of the family's allegations but was not prepared to comment as the matter was *sub judice*, pending a police investigation ordered by the divisional commissioner.

Later, in a prepared statement, he said: "Kriel left the country in December 1985 and crossed the border into Lesotho illegally before going to Angola where he received training from the banned ANC.

"During April 1987 he returned to South Africa and on Thursday July 9 the SAP, following information received, went to the house in Athlone.

"At the backdoor of the house Kriel threatened them with a firearm. A scuffle broke out between the police and Kriel in order to take the weapon and arrest him. A shot went off and Kriel was fatally wounded, by his own weapon."

Police confiscated a weapon, ammunition and a hand grenade. An inquest docket had been opened and was being investigated, Laubscher said.

As his family and community organisations prepared for a huge funeral tomorrow, the Western Cape region of the United Democratic Front questioned whether Kriel had been assaulted, handcuffed or "subdued" before he was shot, saying answers to these queries were "crucial" if "deep suspicion" within the community about the circumstances in which he died was to be allayed.

At a memorial service last Sunday, representatives of youth and community organisations paid tribute to "a warm, friendly young who cared deeply for those suffering under apartheid".

**Freedom Charter — What Mandela said:**

With the Freedom Charter and the question of socialism/communism hot on the agenda of both Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert's conference with the ANC and this week's Cosatu congress, it may be instructive to recall Nelson Mandela's general position on these issues.

Mandela's remarks are taken from his statement during the Rivonia trial, on April 20 1964, when he was 46.

The ideological creed of the ANC is, and always has been, the creed of African Nationalism. It is not the concept of African Nationalism expressed in the cry, "drive the white man into the sea." The

African Nationalism for which the ANC stands is the concept of freedom and fulfilment for the African people in their own land.

The most important political document ever adopted by the ANC is the Freedom Charter. It is by no means a blueprint for a socialist state. It calls for redistribution, but not nationalisation, of land. It provides for nationalisation of mines, banks and monopoly industry, because big monopolies are owned by one race only, and without such nationalisation racial domination would be perpetuated despite the spread of political power. It would be a hollow gesture to repeal the Gold Law prohibitions against Africans when all gold mines are owned by European com-

panies. In this respect *the ANC's policy corresponds with the old policy of the present Nationalist Party* which, for many years, had as part of its programme the nationalisation of the gold mines which, at that time, were controlled by foreign capital.

Under the Freedom Charter, nationalisation would take place in an economy *based on private enterprise*. The realisation of the Freedom Charter would open up fresh fields for a prosperous African population of all classes, including the middle class. The ANC has never at any period of its history advocated a revolutionary change in the economic structure of the country, nor has it ... ever condemned capitalist society.



# Fourth held in ANC 'kidnap' plot

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LONDON — A fourth man has been arrested and is being questioned in connection with an alleged conspiracy to kidnap members of the African National Congress (ANC), Scotland Yard said today.

A Yard spokesman said the man was arrested by police in North Wales yesterday and had been brought to London for questioning.

"The man is being detained under the Prevention of Terrorism Act," said the spokesman.

"At this stage no charges have been made against him."

The spokesman said he could give no further details about the man.

Three men appeared before a London magistrates court yesterday to be charged with conspiracy to kidnap ANC members.

They were named as Mr Frank Lynge Larsen, 53, Mr John Terence Larsen,

27, and Mr Jonathan Richard Wheatley, 28.

The nationalities of the trio were not disclosed in court, but BBC Television said one of them was understood to be British.

Police said today they were still checking the men's personal documentation.

The charges laid against the men related to alleged conspiracy to carry out kidnappings in London between October last year and last Friday.

Meanwhile, in Pretoria, a spokesman for South Africa's National Intelligence Service (NIS) has denied allegations that South African security services personnel were involved in the alleged plot to kidnap ANC members.

The allegation was made in today's issue of the London Daily News following the men's appearance in court yesterday.

"As a rule we don't comment on Press reports, but should we be accused of such a plot then it is totally untrue because we are not involved at all," an NIS spokesman said.

The London Daily News said agents planned to use Britain as a base for a series of attacks against the ANC.

It also said the alleged kidnap campaign was uncovered by accident when one of the suspected agents was arrested for a drinking and driving offence earlier this year.

"Police searching him found names and details of a number of members of the ANC.

"The man was handed over to Special Branch who now believe he had been sent to London from Johannesburg with orders to kidnap key ANC members."

● Opposition Labour Party MP Mr Bob Hughes, who is also chairman of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, has requested an urgent meeting with the Home Secretary, Mr Douglas Hurd.

"If it transpires that there is any official South African connection in this case, I believe any diplomats involved should be slung out," he said. — Sapa

## '300 ANC fighters in SA'

Post Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — There are between 300 and 500 ANC fighters as well as numerous non-militants in South Africa at any one time, according to Dr Tom Lodge, senior lecturer in the University of Witwatersrand Department of Political Studies.

Mr Lodge said in a talk at Wits last night that there were some 13 000 personnel in camps in Angola as well as administrative, diplomatic and financial offices in Lusaka and educational facilities in Tanzania.

"The ANC in exile resembles a mini-state and the organisation could not abandon its arms struggle until the start of real negotiations without losing its political self-respect. Negotiations will not happen until the present balance of power changed."

Cape Times 17/7/87

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# ANC fear SA 'plot' as shootings increase

## Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — A sustained blitz against African National Congress (ANC) members both inside and outside South Africa has left hundreds dead and dealt a severe blow to the movement's military capacity.

In separate incidents in places as far apart as Swaziland and Britain, men suspected of being South African agents have launched attacks on ANC members.

Shootings of suspected ANC members are taking place almost daily country-wide.

In London yesterday three white men appeared in court accused of plotting with others unknown to kidnap high-ranking ANC members.

"We obviously suspect a South African plot involving South Africans. After all, it was P W Botha who said he would strike at us

wherever we were, even in London," an ANC spokesman said.

ANC members were quoted as saying "something alarming is going on".

The movement appears to have been severely crippled in Swaziland, where up to 11 top members of the ANC's armed wing — Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) — have been killed this year.

The ANC said it believed the assassinations of two of their key members in Swaziland on July 9 was part of a new South African campaign to strike at the ANC all over the world.

In the Swazi incident, in broad daylight three men in an South African-registered car shot Mr Cassius Make, the youngest executive member who fled after Soweto 1976, and Mr Paul Dikledi, described as being in control of MK's Transvaal machinery. They were shot soon after getting off an aircraft at Matsapha airport.

In the Ciskei yesterday two

policemen died in a shootout with an alleged ANC member, identified as Npumplelo Mabanjwa. He was killed and found in possession of two limpet mines, two AK47 automatic assault rifles, and some ammunition and explosives, police said.

Events in Swaziland appear to point to a new pattern of action against the ANC. Instead of the customary — and often indiscriminate — South African commando raids, unidentified hitmen, widely believed to be from South Africa, have picked off ANC targets at will. Swazi police appear to be either unable or unwilling to stop the shootings.

In spite of a 1982 agreement between South Africa and the then reigning monarch King Sobhuza II, Swaziland has played an important role both for ANC guerillas and arms and ammunition from Mozambique.

Wits University expert on the ANC Dr Tom Lodge said last night the Swazi killings had un-

doubtedly dealt a severe blow to the movement's operational capability.

"There appears to be a concerted campaign of late against ANC figures. Swaziland was one of the main areas for military liaison and co-ordination," Dr Lodge said.

According to figures released earlier this year by Pretoria University's Professor Mike Hough, up to 300 ANC operatives had been killed.

Since then killings of ANC members had proceeded apace in all parts of the country, including the homelands.

In Durban yesterday police said a 21-year-old man shot dead in Moberi Heights, Durban, on July 9 was a "trained terrorist". Mr Bongani Cele had tried to lure police to a grenade ambush.

# 3 charged in 'ANC <sup>Cape Town</sup> kidnap' plot

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from IAN HOBBS

LONDON. — Three men appeared in a special top security court yesterday accused of plotting to kidnap high-ranking members of the banned African National Congress' London mission.

The London Anti-Terrorist Squad alleges that the kidnap conspiracy was planned between October 1, 1986 and July 10 this year and was to have been sprung in central London.

In a statement, the ANC mission said it had "grave concern" for the "welfare and safety of our members" and sought police protection.

Armed officers guarded Lambeth Court yesterday as the three arrested men, who had been held for five days under Britain's Prevention of Terrorism Act, made a surprise seven-minute appearance.

Mr Frank Lyng Larsen, 53, described as a psychologist, his son Mr John Terence Larsen, 27, a computer technician, both believed to be Zimbabweans who travelled frequently to South Africa, and Briton Mr John Richard Wheatley, 28, were remanded in custody for a week.

Mr Frank Larsen was arrested in central London after a surveillance operation.

Anti-Terrorist Squad senior officers then took charge of the case and arrested Mr John Larsen and Mr Wheatley, who is understood to have had associations with private detectives.

Prosecutor Mr Michael Bippy said Mr Frank Larsen had been in possession of forged police warrants when arrested.

Searches of an address he and his son used in Aldershot, Hampshire, and Mr Wheatley's address in Guildford, Surrey, uncovered a list of ANC members, bogus passports and other forged identity documents.

Mr Bippy said that, when interviewed by detectives, Mr John Larsen said he was unaware of the forged documents but he was "going along with the kidnap plan".

Because of the forged documents, it has not yet been established for certain that the Larsens are Zimbabwean.

Top police sources said Scotland Yard is said to be considering the possibility of a conspiracy to kidnap Mr Solly Smith, head of the ANC mission, and ANC executive member Mr Francis Melley.

An ANC official said: "We obviously suspect a South African plot involving South Africans. After all, it was P W Botha who said he would strike at us wherever we were, even in London."

# TIC claim special votes abuse

By AMEEN AKHALWAYA

THE Transvaal Indian Congress, which is campaigning against participation in a House of Delegates by-election, claim that special votes are being abused in the Lenasia constituency.

The TIC secretary, Ismail Momoniat, yesterday said his organisation had collected affidavits from people "who have been duped into casting special votes."

"We have instructed our lawyers to launch action against the candidates to prevent the widespread abuse of special votes."

Earlier this week TIC's lawyer, Krish Naidoo, was threatened with assault by House of Delegates supporters when he went to monitor the special votes.

So far, over 300 special votes have been cast, representing just over three percent of the electorate registered in the constituency. Some people are known to have refused to register on a racially separate roll.

The National People's Party leader, Amichand Rajbansi, said: "I request the TIC to give the people their right to vote or not, and voters should not be subjected to coercive tactics."

# A first as street committees meet officials

REPRESENTATIVES of the Soweto street committees have had formal contact with the country's most senior white government official for the first time.

The two groups met face-to-face for three hours yesterday to discuss the year-long rent boycott.

Afterwards, Soweto Town Clerk Nico Malan told a small group of journalists including two television crews that the discussion was "frank and to the point" and they took place in a very "calm" atmosphere.

Nico Malan administers the country's largest urban black township with more than two million people falling under his administration.

However, despite the meeting, the first between an affiliate of the Soweto Civic Association (SCA) and the township authority, the rent crisis is

By MONO BADELA

still unresolved.

Wycliffe Tobo, 58, who led the delegation of four men and two mothers said: "We have agreed to meet again. It's a little breakthrough — but the rent boycott continues."

He promised that during the next round of talks the delegation would be augmented by the big guns of the mother body, the SCA.

There were pre-conditions set for the talks: "We told him that we would not be speaking to the black councillors. We do not recognise the councillors."

Malan in turn was blunt in telling the delegation that the council would continue with the eviction of rent defaulters. However he made quite clear that the council was evicting

first those people who have not been paying rent before June last year.

Malan was joined by the newly appointed director of Soweto housing, Estelle Bester, who took over from Del Kevan. Kevan resigned last year after a limpet mine exploded at her northern suburbs home.

Yesterday's Soweto delegation came from street and zone structures in White City Jabavu where 27 people were shot dead by the Soweto municipal police in what became known as the "Rent War" in August last year.

Malan said, to date 128 families have been evicted and of this 126 "are back and only two have been physically been evicted". The furniture and other properties of house holders had been impounded by the messenger of the court, he added.

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# Gumede denies UDF split over election

By DALE LAUTENBACH  
Political Staff

MR Archie Gumede, a president of the United Democratic Front, today reaffirmed his commitment to the "current non-participation policy" of the UDF and rejected rumours of a split in its ranks.

On July 3 Mr Gumede, one of two presidents of the organisation, was reported as saying the UDF ought to give serious consideration to participating in the 1989 parliamentary elections. This led to a flurry of speculation and rumours of rifts in the UDF.

"What I said was not policy but clearly my own opinion. Reading it as policy though was in the interests of the enemies of the UDF who would like to see a split," said Mr Gumede. "There is no split happening within the UDF."

UDF national treasurer Mr Azar Cachalia said the "hysteria" about a split within the UDF was "totally misplaced".

He was sure that the participation issue would be discussed at some stage but it seemed unlikely there would be a major departure from policy.

Mr Gumede said a reassertion of current UDF non-participation policy was timely.

"What I said originally was 'Let's have a look at this thing'. I did not say it had been discussed by the UDF either formally or informally."

An article in the latest edition of Leadership says: "His (Mr Gumede's) comment on the immediate rejection of participation by the UDF's Western Cape executive was that the region's political antecedents were the Non-European Unity Movement 'which boycotts everything on principle. They are not prepared to look at the opportunities which arise from such a tactic.'"

Mr Gumede said today this was a criticism of the Non-European Unity Movement and not of the Western Cape UDF.

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**3 men appear  
in London court  
over conspiracy**

# PLOT

# TO KIDNAP

# ANC

# MEN

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**OLIVER Tambo . . .  
ANC president.**

**LONDON — Three white men accused of conspiring to kidnap members of the African National Congress living in London were remanded in custody for a week at Lambeth Magistrate's Court yesterday amid tight security.**

They were Frank Lyngge Larsen (53), described as a psychologist born in Zimbabwe, John Terence Larsen (27), a computer technician, and Jonathan Wheatley (28), unemployed.

Frank and John Larsen are believed to be father and son but police are still investigating their identity. Detectives believe they come from Zimbabwe. Their

address in Britain was given as Alder Close, Ash Vale, Aldershot, Hampshire. Wheatley is British and gave his address as Summersby Drive, Shelford, Guildford, Surrey. They were alleged to have conspired together and with others to kidnap members of the ANC over a nine-month period between October 1, 1986 and July 10, this year.

## Forged

The prosecutor, Mr Michael Bippy, said Frank Larsen was in possession of forged police warrant cards when arrested.

A list of people's names from the ANC was also found. "But it has not been established if these people were the ones who were going to be kidnapped," said Mr Bippy.

Police also found other forged documents including bogus passports.

John Larsen told police he was unaware of the documents but was going along with the kidnaping plan when arrested, said Mr Bippy. Wheatley was also in possession of a forged police warrant card, he added.

Mr Bippy objected to . . . To page 2

P.T.O.

A potentially explosive situation at Crossroads and KTC this week revived memories of the lead-up to May and June 1986 and the orgy of violence which left tens of thousands homeless. What are the issues behind the crisis? Staff Reporters ANTHONY DOMAN and STEPHEN WROTTESELEY report.

# Issues behind Crossroads crisis

## The police view

**POLICE** see the trouble in Crossroads as a conflict between tribal customs and western values and say all the present troubles stem from this conflict.

In the late 1970s when the Crossroads squatters clashed with the authorities, Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana became leader of the ever-growing community.

And in tribal custom they owed their allegiance to him.

As the community expanded with the relaxation of influx control, new leaders began to emerge — men who would no longer give Mr Ngxobongwana their allegiance.

In the meantime Mr Ngxobongwana had relaxed his staunchly anti-authority attitude with the promise by the government to upgrade the area — a relaxation which was not welcomed by the new arrivals who felt a tough line had to be taken against the authorities to ensure improved conditions.

Mr Ngxobongwana felt he had already gained much in the form of promises from the government and that these would not, or could not be carried out because of the ever increasing population.



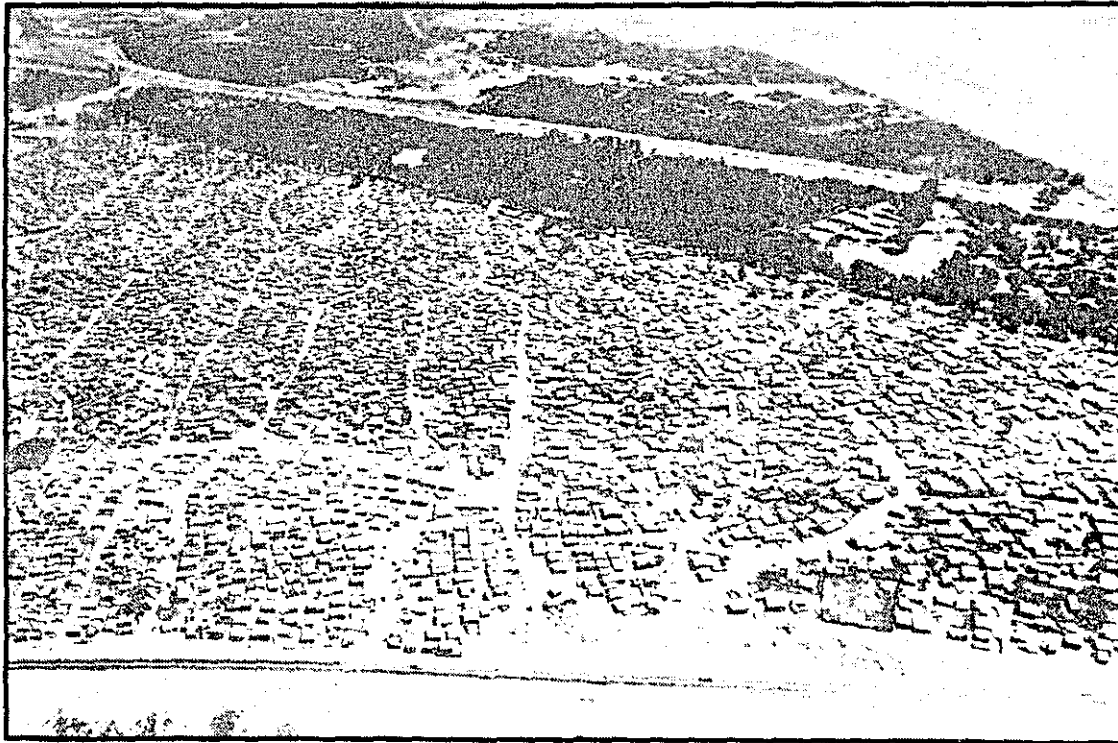
Mr Ngxobongwana

These simmering differences came to a head last year when the "witdoeke", owing allegiance to Mr Ngxobongwana, drove the newcomers out of Crossroads and later attacked KTC.

It was during the first battle of Crossroads that Mr Prince Ngobingca sought refuge among the "witdoeke".

Police intelligence said everything went smoothly until Mr Ngobingca broke with tribal tradition and started making statements without consulting the ruling council.

For this he was fined a sheen



An aerial view of Crossroads shanty town situated at the boundaries of Philippi and Nyanga off Old Klipfontein Road near D F Malan Airport.

## KTC squatter view

**KTC** squatter leaders say they are prepared to talk to anyone, anywhere, at any time to achieve peace.

The Masincedane Committee, which runs the 25 000-resident camp, said it was "gravely disturbed" by police warnings to KTC to stop violence.

"KTC has never attacked Crossroads and does not intend doing so," members said in a

tacks that we should be called upon to maintain the peace," they said.

Two-thirds of KTC was destroyed by witdoeke from Crossroads in June last year.

The committee was "most upset" by the impression which Brigadier van der Westhuizen was trying to give of KTC as troublemakers and who may be destroyed in acts of retaliation

Committee secretary Mr Gladstone Ntamo said it was essential for people to have talks with all squatter camp leaders to find out the cause of the fighting.

KTC squatters had responded to Archbishop Tutu's plea for peace by "forgiving" former witdoek leader Prince Gobingca, he said.

## Independent view

**T**he most outstanding characteristic of the situation at the Crossroads squatter areas is confusion, says Progressive Federal Party MP Jan van Eck.

Most confusingly, people who were fighting each other last year suddenly find themselves on the same side now.

Mr van Eck's experience in KTC goes back to 1985, and includes on-the-spot observations even during extended periods of unrest as chairman of the PFP's unrest monitoring and action group.

Power politics was at the root of the present struggle, he said.

"Squatter communities by their very nature are very brittle and susceptible to people who can offer them security."

"They would naturally gravitate towards powerful figures, such as Johnson Ngxobongwana, who offered some kind of security — even at a price."

Such leaders surrounded themselves with their own followers to form the nucleus of a power group with no particular ideological line. But politics in the form of the "liberation struggle", added a new wrinkle and a new opposition.

"Last year the division was far clearer," Mr van Eck said. "On one side you had the comrades, radicals, UDF and civic associations."

Opposing them was the "conservative grouping" made up of organisations and institutions created by the state — councils, mayors and kitskonstabels (as opposed to the SAP).



Mr Van Eck



...each against the authorities to ensure improved conditions.

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Mr Ngxobongwana

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Police intelligence said everything went smoothly until Mr Ngobingca broke with tribal tradition and started making statements without consulting the ruling council.

For this he was fined a sheep.

Mr Ngobingca apparently took offence. He joined the leaders who had been driven out of Crossroads last year, but stayed in the squatter camp.

He also started bringing back people who had previously been thrown out of Crossroads.

### Breaking tribal traditions

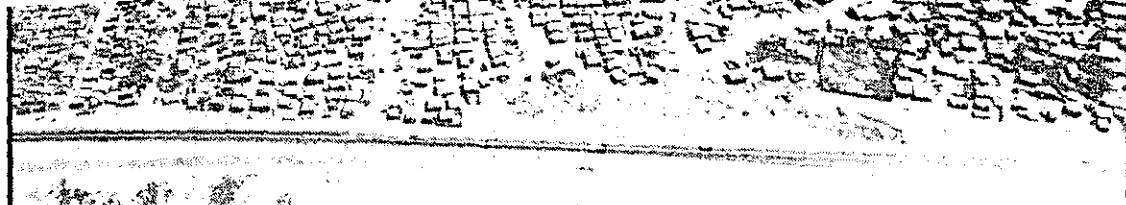
Police said the arrival of people linked to groups who were allegedly intimidating Crossroads residents, coupled with Mr Ngobingca's links to the other groups and the fact that he was breaking tribal traditions by, among other things, visiting the police regularly, prompted the "witdoeke" to take action against him.

Police believe the "witdoeke" do not believe in using western laws to solve their problems and would not dream of obtaining eviction orders.

"If they don't want you in their community, they will burn you out, which is what they did to Ngobingca," one source said.

Police estimates of the numbers involved in the squatter drama — and they point out that it is very difficult to obtain accurate figures — are about 80 000 in Crossroads and about 50 000 in Khayelitsha supporting Ngxobongwana and about 25 000 in KTC.

The figures, police sources say, show that if it ever came to a repeat battle, the war would be heavily weighted in Ngxobongwana's favour.



An aerial view of Crossroads shanty town situated at the boundaries of Philippi and Nyanga off Old Klipfontein Road near D F Malan Airport.

## KTC squatter view

KTC squatter leaders say they are prepared to talk to anyone, anywhere, at any time to achieve peace.

The Masincedane Committee, which runs the 25 000-resident camp, said it was "gravely disturbed" by police warnings to KTC to stop violence.

"KTC has never attacked Crossroads and does not intend doing so," members said in a joint statement.

"Significantly, there is a complete lack of detail of any alleged attack on Crossroads."

Incidents of unrest mentioned by police recently were "completely unrelated to Crossroads and include an attack on a KTC residence.

"It is ironic in the light of events of June 1986 and in the light of repeated calls by us and by our representatives over the last three months for protection against further threatened at-

tacks that we should be called upon to maintain the peace," they said.

Two-thirds of KTC was destroyed by witdoeke from Crossroads in June last year.

The committee was "most upset" by the impression which Brigadier van der Westhuizen was trying to give of KTC as troublemakers and who may be destroyed in acts of retaliation by Crossroads residents.

"We are alarmed that (he) says he can only give an assurance that there will be no trouble from Crossroads if its residents are not 'provoked'. We strongly believe that it is the duty of the police to protect each and every community unconditionally and we call upon Brigadier van der Westhuizen to confirm this is his policy..."

"Finally we want to assure the people of Crossroads that we want peace with them."

Committee secretary Mr Gladstone Ntamo said it was essential for people to have talks with all squatter camp leaders to find out the cause of the fighting.

KTC squatters had responded to Archbishop Tutu's plea for peace by "forgiving" former witdoek leader Prince Gobingca, he said.

Could they come to a similar agreement with Mr Ngxobongwana?

"Of course," they said, virtually as one.

"We would be pleased if he could make that happen," Mr Ntamo said.

Committee members asked for Mr Ngxobongwana to act like a "people's leader".

"We would like people to sit down and talk so that we can follow Bishop Tutu's words," they said.

"They would naturally gravitate towards powerful figures, such as Johnson Ngxobongwana, who offered some kind of security — even at a price."

Such leaders surrounded themselves with their own followers to form the nucleus of a power group with no particular ideological line. But politics in the form of the "liberation struggle", added a new wrinkle and a new opposition.



Mr Van Eck

"Last year the division was far clearer," Mr van Eck said. "On one side you had the comrades, radicals, UDF and civic associations."

Opposing them was the "conservative grouping" made up of organisations and institutions created by the state — councils, mayors and kitskonstabels (as opposed to the SAP).

"But this year we have found on both sides UDF supporters, comrades, civic associations and even kitskonstabels."

### "Attacks meant to silence him"

"Former witdoek Prince Gobingca basically led the vigilante squatters last year," Mr van Eck said. He now heads the opposition Squatter Residents' Association, a "very loose grouping" obviously interested in his inside information.

"There is no doubt in my mind recent attacks on him were meant to silence him," Mr van Eck said.

Mr Ngxobongwana had influence enough to settle the disputes, Mr van Eck said.



Bishop Tutu

## Church view

AFTER a plea for peace from Archbishop Desmond Tutu, church leaders are treading warily in following up peace initiatives.

At talks with Archbishop Tutu were his Catholic counterpart Stephen Naidoo, Canon Winston Ndungwane, provincial executive officer of the Anglican Church, and the Rev Mongameli Bukashe, vice-chairman of the Peninsula Region of the Congregational Church.

"They will be holding follow-up talks in the next few days," said Archbishop Tutu's media secretary, Mr John Allen.

"They remain deeply concerned about the situation in Crossroads and are anxious to act in such a way as to bring about reconciliation and to avoid becoming caught up in the divisions which are complicating the situation," Mr Allen said.

# Blunting the weapon of ignorance

CAM- Tim P 18/7/87 11A

## POLITICAL PERSPECTIVE By ANDRE DU TOIT



3. WHEN Lord Acton said that power corrupts, and that absolute power corrupts absolutely, he did not specify the precise nature or kind of this dangerous corruption.

5. Surely one such case in point, though, is the perennial temptation for those in power to establish exclusive control over information vital to public life.

6. But sometimes truth will out, and it must be counted a sign of political life when the authorities' insistence that they alone can be trusted to know what is in the national interest is vigorously resisted.

### Memoirs

The issue at stake need not always be a matter of utmost concern. When the South African group on their way to meet with the ANC in Dakar recently passed through London, they found that the headlines on the local front pages did not concern their own risky venture.

Instead the main news stories were about the efforts of the British government to prevent publication of extracts from Peter Wright's *Spycatcher*.

It turned out that the memoirs of this former officer of M15 contain allegations that a section of the British security services had been involved in attempts to destabilize their own government, then headed by Harold Wilson, in the early 1970s.

By now these revelations are a matter of historical interest only. Yet the British government remains determined to prevent, at almost any cost, the public dissemination of the relevant information.

A farcical conflict ensued. A series of legal injunctions against British newspapers and TV stations was followed by even more costly and extended legal battles to prevent the publication of Wright's memoirs in

Australia — only to see *Spycatcher* emerge as a bestseller in the United States. With the book now readily available, the British *Sunday Times* published extracts.

But Mrs Thatcher's government still insisted

bolted. Still, it is disturbing to see just how determined the government of even a liberal democracy can be to keep the truth hidden even on such esoteric matters.

It is also heartening

others, both in government and in the Afrikaner establishment, who would better profit from a direct exposure to ANC views?

In the event the Dakar meeting proved both the possibility of, as well as



Dakar indaba... Thabo Mbeki, head of the ANC delegation with Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert, head of the South African delegation.

that such actions would face prosecution for criminal contempt.

To an outsider the furious efforts by the British government to "protect" state secrets which have already become public knowledge cannot but appear ludicrous.

### Disturbing

However reluctantly, even Mrs Thatcher will have to accept that there is little point in punishing those who will not keep the stable door firmly locked when the horse has long since

that these efforts were not allowed to succeed.

For the South Africans who met with the ANC delegation in Dakar the stakes were, of course, much higher.

They knew only too well that they were meeting with the exiled representatives of a banned organization, who may not even be quoted in their own country, and whose publications may not be disseminated or possessed subject to serious penalties.

### Barriers

In effect they set out to challenge the most determined and systematic efforts of the government to prevent South Africans from gaining direct and personal knowledge of the nature and aims of the ANC. Their defiance of all these official barriers must be an eloquent testimony to the urgent and widely felt need of many South Africans in these critical times to obtain first hand knowledge of matters of vital interest to the security of us all.

It could be argued that the members of this particular group had less need for such contact than many other white South Africans. After all, a Beyers Naudé and a Van Zyl Slabbert had extensive and intimate knowledge of the black community and of extra-parliamentary politics, while it was the business of the social and political scientists among the groups to be informed about such matters.

Surely there are many

the difficulties for, a real meeting of minds between South Africans of such diverse political persuasion and experience.

The South Africans found the ANC delegates more than willing to engage in frank and serious discussions, both in the closed sessions and in personal encounters.

There was little or no posturing or personal antagonism, and the discussions soon proceeded to the heart of the matter. Significantly it proved possible, on the basis of a shared commitment to a democratic and non-racial future for a unitary South Africa, to address such vital issues as the escalating political violence or the shape of a future economy.

### Traumatic

This demonstration is the main achievement of the Dakar meeting.

But it also became clear that even this handpicked group still had a lot to learn about communication across the racial and political chasms which divide us.

Observers sitting in on the proceedings commented that some of the South African contributions, in seeking to challenge the ANC's positions, showed a decided lack of understanding and empathy for the traumatic experiences which had shaped their political culture.

A black French journalist, with extensive experience of African politics, had intensive interviews with various

members of the South African group. She claimed to be astonished by their ignorance of many basic aspects of the ANC's long political history: "It brought it home that Pretoria's first weapon is ignorance."

In various ways the Dakar meeting has begun to blunt that weapon of ignorance.

It is, of course, a two-way process. Thus ANC delegates were evidently astonished to hear an Afrikaans entrepreneur enthusiastically relate his successful experiments in devising ways of profit-sharing with his black workforce as well as drawing them effectively into corporate decision-making.

And Afrikaners, concerned about the future of their language and cultural rights under black majority rule, had the unlikely experience of hearing a senior ANC representative telling an extended traditional joke in flawless idiomatic Afrikaans to make an important point.

But if establishing such lines of communication is important, the meeting also showed there should be no illusions that mutual ignorance is the only problem keeping us apart.

### Differences

If anything the main progress at the Dakar meeting consisted in identifying and clarifying the major issues on which views did seriously and sharply differ.

This did not only concern the major question of the ANC's commitment to the armed struggle and their ambiguous position on the proliferation of uncontrolled violence.

Also on the complex issues of diverse democratic forces working together in forging national unity, or the recognition of civil liberties and the right to opposition, as well as the capitalist or socialist structure of a post-apartheid economy did it become clear that there were fundamental differences in position and approach.

It also became clear that these differences are not of such a nature as to rule out a possible negotiated settlement.

### Mandate

These are the issues which will be on the agenda when the time comes for actual political negotiation. The participants in the Dakar meeting made it clear from the outset that they were neither in the position nor had the necessary mandate to engage in any kind of negotiation.

Even so they may well have taken a preliminary step in preparing the way for the real business of negotiation, internally as well as externally, which is still to come.

● Professor Du Toit teaches in the Dept of Political Studies at UCT

TODAY'S TARGET: 21

CANC Trans 18/7/87

# Slabbert-led group set to return home

ACCRA. — The group of South Africans being led by Dr Van Zyl Slabbert and members of the African National Congress (ANC) left Ghana yesterday for Burkina Faso on their way home after a tour of West Africa.

Dr Slabbert said in an interview that the visits to Senegal, Burkina Faso and Ghana had been "a mind-blowing experience for all of us, just to find out how much we do identify with Africa".

"These have been the most hectic 10 days of my life," he said.

Dr Slabbert said he felt more comfortable in West Africa than in Europe. "This is the continent on which I was born and grew up," he added.

He said he did not believe South Africa would become communist under black majority rule led by the ANC because Africa did not lend itself to dogmatic ideologies.

"Africa would borrow from this or that, and maybe make some mistakes, but Africa has her own identity."

Members of the anti-apartheid

movement inside South Africa would not allow the state of emergency to intimidate them into inaction, he said.

"The meeting with the ANC has taken place in spite of the emergency. Regardless of the consequences, we are going back home."

Dr Slabbert's group and the ANC group spent two days in Ghana and met Ghanaian leader Flight-Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings and other government officials.

Dr Slabbert said the main aim of the tour was to gain experience of other African countries, and to go back home to adopt "multiple strategies" aimed at dislodging the apartheid system and bringing about a non-racial democratic society in South Africa.

"We and members of the ANC have a sense of common commitment because the ANC has no interest in preserving the privilege of any group."

Most of the group is expected to leave Burkina Faso later today or tomorrow for Dakar, from where they will fly to Europe before returning to South Africa early next week. — Sapa-Reuter

Black youth is shown the way back

# Out of unrest leadership

WINNIE GRAHAM

South Africa's black youth, many of whom took a leading role during unrest, are being offered youth leadership training by the South African Association of Youth Clubs (SAAYC).

The programme hopes to provide young people, who have missed the chance of an education because of unrest, an opportunity of developing physically, mentally, spiritually and culturally.

SAAYC has received strong support from the country's top non-racial youth groups as well as from the South African Youth Congress (SAYCO), Azapo and the UDF, all of whom agree that, in addition to their role of protest, the youth should become involved in community reconstruction.

The Anglo American and De Beers chairman's fund has provided the capital enabling SAAYC to launch the initiative, and a fund-raising drive has now been started to collect sponsorship of R736 500 over the next 2½ years.

Mr Dave Jackson, the director of community projects and a member of SAAYC's board, said this week there was little doubt that positive youth leadership training was one of the "most urgently needed initiatives" in South Africa.

Up to the present, the thrust of black youth's leadership had been mainly towards protest, boycott, disruption and anarchic unrest.

"This is understandable given the injustices of the current situation and the high level of unemployment, but in the long run this dynamic must assume a more positive and constructive expression or else a generation will grow up unprepared to assume real responsibility in a more just and free South Africa," he said.

Youth, he added, recognised this necessity but lacked the skills, knowledge and the clear sense of direction to enable them to take effective action.

SAAYC believed that "the project it had developed "with a great deal of grassroots consultation and carrying the whole-hearted endorsement of black youth leadership" could do much to resolve the problem.

Mr Jackson said the concept of youth leadership training had been initiated at a workshop at the Alpha Centre at Broedersdroom in March when delegates were asked to consider the resources needed to make youth programmes effective.

He added: "In short, the delegates said they wanted programmes which would develop the talents and potential of young people, would help them work through the challenges of the teenage years, prepare them for adulthood and would equip them to play a positive and meaningful role in bringing about a just, democratic and non-racial society in South Africa."

The programme would cover a wide variety of subjects ranging from nutrition and language usage through to spiritual values and cultural appreciation.

Young people would be taught how to handle strong emotions

One of South Africa's biggest problems is not reform, the ANC, unrest, crime, water, housing or terrorism. It is what to do with the many thousands of youngsters who became swept up in the urban violence of the last couple of years, who missed out on an education because of it, and who now need to be absorbed into society and become responsible, contributing citizens. If they are not shown how to live meaningful lives, South Africa's already mounting problems will be intensified by a mass of discontented people venting their frustrations through continuing civil disruptions. Fortunately, a group of concerned citizens has found a solution... and the Comrades are pitching in and helping.



REACHING OUT: Three men are behind the plan to help black youngsters develop their leadership skills. From left: the Rev Joe Tshawane, Mr Alroy Trout and Mr Dave Jackson.

such as anger and disappointment, civic and community affairs such as service projects and world issues, and would be encouraged to develop a strong awareness of environmental issues.

They will be helped in the choice of a career and be taught job-seeking skills. Consumerism, hire purchase agreements, budgeting, time management, relationships, recreational pursuits were among the subjects they would study.

SAAYC plans to run a pilot youth leaders' training workshop. It will also recruit and train a team of five youth field workers to establish and maintain contact with the youth groups in the Johannesburg/Witwatersrand area.

It will develop a number of "model" youth groups in each area to serve as the nuclei for networks of youth groups and as training bases for youth leadership.

SAAYC estimates the continuing cost of the project beyond the initial period will be about R290 000 a year and is asking the private sector and church groups to sponsor the training of selected individuals.

Mr Jackson said SAAYC had no wish to dominate other youth organisations or to create a centralised administration.

"This is probably the secret of the association's acceptability," he said.

# Mandela turns 69 in jail today

18/7/87

CAPE TOWN — The jailed African National Congress leader, Nelson Mandela, turns 69 today, but there will be no visit by his wife Winnie to Pollsmoor Prison, where he is imprisoned.

Mrs Mandela could not be reached yesterday, but a person at her home and her lawyers said she had no plans to travel to Cape Town.

Mandela, one of the world's most famous prisoners, will be spending his 25th consecutive birthday in jail.

He was born into the Tembu Royal House in Umtata in the Transkei on July 18, 1928.

He was first sentenced on November 7, 1962, to five years' jail for incitement and for leaving the country without a passport.

On June 12, 1964, Mandela was sentenced to life imprisonment at the end of the so-called Rivonia Trial on two charges of sabotage, a charge of contravening the Suppression of Communism Act and a charge under the Criminal Law Amendment Act.

Others who were given sentences for life imprisonment for the same offences were Walter Sisulu, Dennis Goldberg (who has since been released), Govan Mbeki, Raymond Mhlaba, Elias Motsoaledi and Andrew Mlangeni.

Ahmed Kathrada was found guilty of sabotage and also received a life sentence.

Mandela's two trials attracted extensive publicity.

In both trials, he warned from the dock that South Africa was heading for increased violence and bloodshed unless the government changed its course.

Calls for Mandela's release have been made locally and abroad.

Numerous black groups, ranging from the United Municipalities of South Africa to Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha movement and to more radical groups, such as United Democratic Front, have stated that no meaningful negotiations could take place unless Mandela and other political prisoners were released from jail.

In recent years, there have also been rumours, particularly in the international media, that Mandela would be released. — Sapa

# NIS denies ANC kidnapping claim

PRETORIA — A spokesman for South Africa's National Intelligence Service (NIS) has denied allegations that South African security services were involved in an alleged plot in England to kidnap ANC members.

The allegation was made in yesterday's issue of the London Daily News following the appearance in court in London yesterday of three men in connection with a kidnapping plot.

The NIS spokesman said: "As a rule we don't comment on press reports, but should we be accused of such a plot

then it is totally untrue because we are not involved at all."

The London Daily News said agents employed by the South African Bureau for State Security (Boss) planned to use Britain as a base for a series of attacks against the ANC.

The Bureau for State Security's was first renamed the Department of National Security and then the National Intelligence Service.

The paper did not link its report to the appearance of the three men in court. — Sapa.

Fourth arrest P 9

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# Nelson Mandela turns 69 today

By BARRY STREEK

MR Nelson Mandela, the jailed leader of the banned African National Congress, turns 69 in Pollsmoor Prison today.

But there will be no birthday visit by his wife, Winnie.

Mrs Mandela could not be contacted yesterday, but both a person at her home and her lawyers said she had no plans to come to Cape Town.

Mr Mandela, one of the world's most famous prisoners, will be spending his 25th consecutive birthday in jail.

Born into the Tembu, Royal House in Umtata on July 18,

he was first sentenced on November 7, 1962 to five years' jail for incitement and for leaving the country without a passport.

On June 12, 1964 Mr Mandela was sentenced to life imprisonment at the end of the Rivonia Trial, on two charges of sabotage and one charge each of contravening the Suppression of Communism Act and the Criminal Law Amendment Act.

Others who were given sentences of life imprisonment by Mr Justice Quartus de Wet for the same offences were Walter Sisulu, Dennis Goldberg (who has since been released), Govan

Mbeki, Raymond Mhlaba, Elias Motsoaledi and Andrew Mlangeni.

Ahmed Kathrada was found guilty of sabotage and also received a life sentence.

In both trials, Mr Mandela warned from the dock that South Africa was heading for increased violence and bloodshed unless the government changed its course.

There have been demands for Mr Mandela's release, but the government has repeatedly stated that it will not release him unless he renounces violence, something he has refused to do.



**STRONG WOMEN IN AFRICA** ... Part of the singing, dancing, crowd of 700 at the National Women's Day rally at the Samaj Centre in Athlone yesterday

Picture: ANNE LAING

## *Cape Times 10/8/87 114* **'Women's day' rally**

By PETER DENNEHY

ABOUT 700 people, mostly women, crowded into the Samaj Centre yesterday to celebrate National Women's Day on the 31st anniversary of the Pretoria anti-pass law protest march by 20 000 women.

The rally, organized by the United Women's Congress, was chaired by Ms Hilda Ndude, press secretary of the Western Cape Region of the United Democratic Front.

One of the speakers, Western Cape UDF chairman Mr Dullah Omar, issued a call to organize.

"Every single one of us, no matter how old or young, must find ourselves in an organization of the people," he said.

"We believe we must build up our organizations, civics, youth, students',

and women's organisations and — most important of all — our trade unions."

A unnamed woman worker from the Spekenam factory in Bellville said that on Thursday evening strikers were beaten out of the factory grounds, then beaten back again to take off their factory clothes.

"I want you to help us," she said. "The bosses don't know how strong we are."

All the speeches were translated into Xhosa, and the striking woman's elderly interpreter said she had been involved in "the first strike at Spekenam in the '50s".

Mrs Ivy Kriel, mother of ANC guerilla Ashley Kriel, thanked the women for their support when her only son was killed.

"We must stand together with our children," she said.



# Church leaders meet police over squatters

Staff Reporter

CITY church leaders, including the Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town, the Most Rev Desmond Tutu, and the Roman Catholic Archbishop, the Most Rev Stephen Naidoo, met the Divisional Commissioner of Police, Brigadier Ronnie van der Westhuizen, yesterday to discuss peace moves at Crossroads and KTC.

The media secretary for the Church of the Province of Southern Africa, Mr John Allen, said the churchmen and Brigadier Van der Westhuizen had agreed to do "all they can" to get squatter leaders to a peace meeting at a neutral venue.

"The church leaders and the brigadier also agreed to use their influence to restrain squatter groups from initiating acts of violence," Mr Allen said.

Others present at yesterday's meeting were: The Anglican Suffragan Bishop of Cape Town, Bishop Patrick Matolengwe; Bishop John Ulster of the Moravian Church; the Catholic Bishop-elect of Cape Town, Monsignor Lawrence Henry; the Rev Douglas Bax of the Presbyterian Church; Canon Winston Ndungane, provincial executive officer of the Anglican Church, and representatives of the Western Province Council of Churches.

11A

Sowetan 20/7/87

### CORE CONCEPTS THAT SATISFY NON-NEGOTIABLE DEMANDS

What then are the Core Concepts that have the potential to be the basis of a negotiated solution?

1. The unambiguous *abolition of apartheid* in all its covert and overt forms.
2. Full *equality* at law for all.
3. A *single South Africa* with a single South African citizenship.
4. *One person, one vote* on a common voters role.
5. Maximum *limitation and depoliticisation* of central government.
6. Intensive *devolution* of power geographically to numerous second, third and fourth tier governments so that power is delegated upwards instead of downwards, and lower tiers have autonomy over purely domestic matters.
7. A strong *bill of rights* providing for normal civil liberties including freedom of association and disassociation, freedom of movement and residence, effective protection of property rights.
8. A strong, *independent judiciary* to ensure government, at all levels, operates within and honours the constitution and the bill of rights.
9. *Representative democracy* through freely elected representatives in a competitive process with universal adult suffrage.
10. Direct democracy through a referendum system whereby the public may override elected representatives and curtail the abuse of power.
11. *Bicameralism* with proportional representation by parties or candidates in one house and equal representation for second tier governments in another house.

**MR LEON Louw**, the executive director of the Free Market Foundation, delivered a paper at the Dakar conference between the African National Congress and some prominent South Africans last week. To give readers an idea of what was said behind the closed doors in Dakar, the **Sowetan** publishes an edited version of the paper in three instalments. This is the final instalment.



**DAKAR . . . ANC representative Thabo Mbeki with Dr Frederick van Zyl Slabbert in Dakar.**

# Working out a solution

## FOCUS

# ON DAKAR

devolves power.

### REDISTRIBUTION V "MINORITY" RIGHTS

We can, from this discussion, really isolate two key problems with finding a negotiated solution. The Core Concepts in the model proposed are relatively easily agreed upon with only these two exceptions.

The exceptions are one white requirement and one black requirement. Whites will, at the proverbial negotiable

table, no doubt hold out for "belts and braces".

They will negotiate for consociational provisions in the form of more specific and unambiguous protection for "minorities". They will seek something like an ethnic veto or a consociational chamber and "own affairs" over social and cultural matters. Blacks will predictably resist.

The reason for black resistance will be that such white protections will be seen as the perpetuation of apartheid in some form.

Interestingly this will unduly bedevil the chances of a solution in South Africa. Such provisions are commonplace in the world.

Even so, predictably, blacks will be reluctant to make concessions because of the "apartheid" stigma attached to any mention of race. I think it is likely that despite rhetoric to the contrary, the major black groups will be willing to make compromises here, especially given the existing provisions in the Freedom Charter relating to "minorities", and given that the Freedom Charter is increasingly being adopted by black

groups within South Africa. But whites will have a tough time getting such a concession.

From the side of blacks, the least negotiable question is possibly that of redistribution. The final trade-off might have to occur by whites making concessions on redistribution and blacks compromising on ethnicity.

Blacks are most likely to want redistribution to be an integral part of a solution and for there to be more power at central government to redistribute wealth than our model proposes.

One of the potential tragedies of the redistribution demand by blacks, is that it is of an essentially temporary nature. The demand for redistribution is to offset past injustices.

By implication, once that has been done, the need for it falls away. A perpetuation of redistribution would be an insult to blacks, implying that they are inherently, even under black rule and after retribution, incapable of competing with whites on equal terms.

There is a real danger that in the negotiating process, factors that are of a temporary and transitional nature will be institutionalised permanently.

### STRATEGY — PRE-CONDITION NO 2

There are two sufficient and necessary conditions for the *High Road* solution to materialise. They are the second "precondition" mentioned earlier in this paper, namely, that the solution would have to be popularised so as to be acceptable to the majority of blacks and whites, and secondly,

that the negotiation process occurs. With popularisation, negotiation is not only possible but inevitable.

There may well be other necessary conditions but they are certainly not sufficient conditions. The other necessary conditions amount to various forms of pressure and suasion being applied on both the South African government and the ANC, and other important groups.

Pressure against the South African government is already well articulated and orchestrated.

It includes, rightly or wrongly, isolationism through such measures as sanctions, divestment and exclusion from international bodies: military action; politicisation of trade unions; internal unrest; boycotts and protests.

Whilst these measures are all significant, I doubt that they are *sufficient* to bring about a solution in the short or medium term.

### POPULARISATION

I have argued that a solution is identifiable and saleable. Being saleable implies that it must be popularised. Is this achievable? We have reasonably conclusive evidence that it is. As a result of our book *The Solution*, Frances Kendall and I have given hundreds of presentations in South Africa to groups across the spectrum.

A hundred thousand black and white workers have been exposed to a video education programme, with *Justice for All*, that has similar proposals. The near universal experience is that these proposals are met with enthusiasm by all.

This creates an entirely new opportunity that has not hitherto existed. That is, to create a climate of opinion within South Africa that is conducive to a solution.

With relatively little means — we estimate that plus/minus \$15-million are needed — intensive democracy could be "sold" to a critical mass of South Africans.

Cosatu congress makes wide-ranging resolutions

# FREE ANCS WARRIORS

20/11/07  
1/11

**THE Congress of South African Trade Unions is to step up a campaign urging the Government to release captured members of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the military wing of the banned African National Congress.**

At a weekend Press conference in Johannesburg, the federation said it would campaign that the South African Government signs and observes the provisions of the Geneva Convention calling for the release of prisoners of war.

Cosatu's re-elected executive committee said it would support a campaign to save the 32 people presently on death row in the country and actively call for an end to the meting out of capital punishment on political activist.

The committee made public Coşatu's resolutions at the end of its four-day second national congress held at the University of the Witwatersrand and attended by 1483 delegates from 13 affiliates.

Cosatu also adopted the Freedom Charter as representing demands for a democratic society, ending months of speculation following the adoption of the document by some of its major affiliates.

General secretary, Mr Jay Naidoo, said at the conference that Cosatu would also strengthen its ties with other organisations fighting for liberation in South Africa.

Asked whether this would include the Azanian People's Organisation, Mr Naidoo said Azapo, with its black consciousness ideology, was one of the groups rejecting the principle of a non-racial and democratic South Africa.

This congress saw Cosatu and the United Democratic Front (UDF) growing more closer to each other.

The UDF's acting publicity secretary, Mr Murphy Morobe, told delegates on Wednesday that his organisation would formalise contact with Cosatu and both would work together in the struggle for democracy.

## **Boycott**

Cosatu also resolved to:

- Call on employers to resist the Government's intention to compel management to deduct rent off workers' pay in an attempt to break the rent boycott in townships. Management should also resist the Government's "interference in industrial relations for political gain."
- Support comprehensive and mandatory sanctions as means which are likely to bring about a non-violent change in South Africa.
- Campaign in support of the call to the stopping of loans to the South African Government, municipalities and "bantustans"; diplomatic isolation; the stopping of South Africans

• To Page 2

## **Free ANC warriors**

### • From Page 1

- emigrating abroad.
- Call for the withdrawal of South African Airways landing and air space rights; a stop to South African capital being invested abroad.
- Stop South African citizens, businessmen and state officials travelling abroad.
- Call for the effective and comprehensive implementation of the United Nations arms embargo.
- Stop South African state and business recruiting skilled workers overseas; and
- Call for mandatory and comprehensive sanctions against the South African-backed Unita and MNR rebels.

Cosatu said it would strengthen its campaign for total disinvestment in South Africa.



Delegates to the Cosatu congress which ended in Johannesburg at the weekend were entertained with a number of worker plays. Above is a scene from a play by members of the Tembisa Youth Congress.

# Cosatu seeks PoW status for captured ANC members

11A  
SAPR 20/78?

By Mike Siluma

The Congress of SA Trade Unions (Cosatu) has called on the Government to spare the 32 people at present in death row for politically linked murders, and to extend prisoner-of-war status to captured members of the African National Congress.

At a weekend Press conference attended by the 700 000-strong federation's national executive committee members, general secretary Mr Jay Naidoo said delegates had decided "to support the campaign to save the 32 presently on death row, and to campaign for the abolition of capital punishment".

South Africa's biggest worker federation also endorsed the Freedom Charter and pledged support for "comprehensive and mandatory" sanctions against the Government.

The last two resolutions are likely to see closer co-operation between Cosatu, the United Democratic Front and other anti-apartheid groups, and will give a boost to the international campaign to isolate the South African Government.

In adopting the Freedom

Charter, Cosatu said it reflected "the views and aspirations of the majority of oppressed and exploited, in our struggle against national oppression and economic exploitation".

It said: "The struggle against national oppression and capitalist exploitation are complementary to each other and part of an uninterrupted struggle for total liberation."

Mr Naidoo said the sanctions decision was taken "to provide a very decisive guide to our international allies who have committed themselves to isolate apartheid".

The congress had noted that "the capitalists have been supportive of the apartheid regime's policies and remain the State's most trusted partner in maintaining oppression and exploitation".

The sanctions resolution was building on Cosatu's founding principles, which supported "all forms of international pressure on the South African Government, including sanctions".

Cosatu's new sanctions provides for:

- The stopping of loans and

credit to the South African Government, businessmen, municipalities and "bantustans".

- Stopping South African tourists, businessmen and State officials travelling overseas.

- The withdrawal of landing and airspace rights to South African Airways.

- Halting the investment of South African capital abroad.

- Opposing the recruitment of skilled labour overseas.

- Stopping sporting groups and individuals from visiting and playing in South Africa; and preventing South Africans from playing sport overseas.

Cosatu decided "disinvestment, as is currently being carried out by multinational companies, amounts to nothing more than corporate camouflage, which often allows these companies to increase their support for the South African regime".

According to Mr Naidoo, the decision to support sanctions had been taken because the Government had "placed itself on a collision course with organised workers (and was) seeking to destroy the democratic trade union movement. We are giving notice that we

intend to challenge that".

Other resolutions included rejecting regional services councils and the National Statutory Council "in whatever form or guise"; demanding the inclusion of domestic workers into the Labour Relations Act; to work towards the formation of a national union for the unemployed and to seek the immediate release of "all detainees, especially all members of Cosatu affiliates and officials". Delegates also resolved to "call on management to resist government's interference in industrial relations for political gains".

The executive was re-elected and is: Mr Elijah Barayi (president), Mr Chris Dlamini (first vice-president), Mr Makulu Ledwaba (second vice-president), Mr Maxwell Xulu (treasurer), Mr Sydney Mufamadi (assistant general secretary) and Mr Naidoo.

Organisations which pledged support to the congress included the ANC, the Pan-Africanist Congress, the SA Congress of Trade Unions, the National Council of Trade Unions and the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference.

# 'More contact' needed

From MOIRA LEVY  
in LONDON

THE Dakar meeting between the African National Congress and 61 South Africans took place in an "overwhelming atmosphere that this was part of the process of the South African people making history", the Dakar declaration released by the ANC here said.

The document said that further contact between South Africans at home and the exiled liberation movement were necessary and should involve "more and wider sections of the South African people to dispel misunderstanding and fear".

Matters discussed at the con-

ference held from July 9 to 12 included ways to build national unity and how to bring about fundamental change in South Africa.

The delegates also considered future government structures in a free South Africa and the form the economy would take.

According to the report released by the 17-person ANC delegation, much of the discussion was about the movement's resolve to maintain and intensify the armed struggle within South Africa.

"The group accepted the historical reality of the armed struggle and although not all could sup-

port it, everyone was deeply concerned about the proliferation of uncontrolled violence.

"However, all participants recognised that the source of violence in South Africa derives from the fact that the use of force is fundamental to the practise and use of racial domination."

The conference came out strongly in favour of a negotiated solution to the conflict in South Africa.

"Participants" recognised that the attitude of those in power is the principle obstacle to progress in this regard. It was further accepted that the unconditional release of all political leaders in

prison or detention and the unbanning of all organisations are essential prerequisites for such negotiations to take place".

Both delegates recognised the need to achieve a non-racial, democratic South Africa as an urgent goal and "participants agreed that they had an obligation to act for the achievement of this objective".

It was also agreed that there was a need to build a nation of all South Africans, the Dakar declaration stated.

The conference expressed gratitude to President Abdou Diouf of Senegal and Mrs Danielle Mitterand for their role in organising the meeting.

## 'Exciting stage in history'

SOUTH AFRICA was perhaps at its most exciting stage of its history, Dr Alex Boraine, executive director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa), said on his return this week from the Dakar conference.

The return of the more than 50 delegates was as controversial as their departure with members of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) intent on giving them a fiery welcome.

Delegates arriving at Jan Smuts Airport were whisked away from the airport under a strict veil of security.

Cape Town delegates arriving at D F Malan Airport were met by a huge police presence and left the entrance through the goods entrance.

Boraine said at a press conference the delegation never thought it could negotiate with the ANC.

"We do not have the power, nor do we have the mandate to do so," he said.

Instead they shared the belief that serious discussions with the ANC were crucial in finding a non-racial and democratic solution to the conflict in South Africa.

"We are at perhaps the most exciting point in our history, because the government has to see it in terms of their sup-

port beginning to be eroded at the edges," he said.

The group met the ANC, with whom it had wide-ranging discussions on various crucial issues, because the movement had "unbelievable support on the ground in South Africa and respect throughout Africa".

The leader of the ANC delegation, Mr Thabo Mbeki, assistant to ANC president Oliver Tambo, stood "head and shoulders above most politicians that I have ever met throughout my political career", Boraine said.

Boraine likened the ANC's position to violence to someone being "pushed against a wall by a bully".

"You're either going to get clubbed or you are going to hit back because the wall is not going to disappear.

He said the ANC did not have "a great wild commitment to the purity of violence".

"The ball is in the court of the South African Government."

If the state wants the ANC to end its strategy of violence, it must release the leaders, unban the ANC and let them participate as a political party in South Africa, Boraine said.



Dr Boraine at this week's press conference

JOHANNESBURG. — A breakthrough for South Africa, possibly the release of political prisoners — including Mr Nelson Mandela, is on the cards, say the representatives of the United Municipalities of SA (UMSA), who spent hours talking to Mr Chris Heunis last week.

The UMSA men said they saw a change in attitude in Mr Heunis, the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning. They described him as "less arrogant" than in the past and said he actually pleaded with them.

Mr Heunis, who flew from Johannesburg to Cape Town at the weekend, was too tired to comment when the Cape Times approached him yesterday, but he indicated he would probably make a statement in response to the reports today.

The release of political prisoners could open the way for moderate

blacks to take part in the government's proposed National Statutory Council (NSC), as this is their strongest precondition.

If moderate blacks receive credit for the release of prisoners this could increase their credibility in elections for the NSC.

Among those demanding the release of political prisoners before they can consider taking part in the NSC are the Inkatha movement and various homeland leaders.

UMSA adopts a tougher stand on negotiations than the Urban Councils Association of SA

(UCASA), from which UMSA broke away recently.

UCASA has already announced its preparedness to take part in the NSC, but UMSA represents the larger black municipalities, including Soweto, and its cooperation is essential to the government's plans for NSC elections.

After the meeting with UMSA, Mr Heunis said none of the preconditions set by black leaders for participation in the NSC was insurmountable, according to the reports.

Mr Tom Boya, president of UMSA, told the Sunday Star that his im-

pression of the meeting was that the most likely precondition which the government could meet was the release of political prisoners.

"For the first time, I heard the word 'pardon' mentioned in the context of political prisoners," Mr Boya said. He said this happened when Mr Heunis said it would not be possible for political prisoners such as Mr Zeph Mothopeng of the Pan Africanist Congress and Mr Nelson Mandela of the African National Congress to take part in elections unless they were pardoned.

Mr Boya said UMSA's preconditions were the unbanning of all political organizations, the return of political exiles, the release of political prisoners and detainees and the scrapping of discriminatory legislation such as the Group Areas Act, the Population Registration Act and the Separate Amenities Act. — Sapa

*Cape Times 20/7/87*  
**Release of  
Mandela 'on  
the cards'?**

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**T**HE COLLAPSE of apartheid as an ideology — if not yet as a system of domination — has caused a profound shift in the political debate. The focus is shifting from the sins of the past to the shape of the future.

On the far right, by *reductio ad absurdum*, apartheid is being redefined as partition. Its proponents, though some still cling to the old Nationalist formulation of apartheid as "separatism with servants," recognise that the piecemeal partition of Bantustans and mass removals is a chimera; they whisper now of a descent into chaos that will open the chance of violent partition.

It is useful to begin with the right-wingers, for they anchor one end of an argument which otherwise tends to drift towards the assumption that the policy of violence is the patented property of the ANC. In fact, between the ANC and the right, no compromise is possible; if they ever come face-to-face, a war of attrition is certain.

**T**his apocalyptic outcome can be averted only by a reconstruction of the middle ground. A peaceful future depends not on the number of moderates who can be persuaded to join the cause of the ANC, or the number of whites who can be driven into a laager with the AWB and the Conservatives, but on the number of people of all races who can be persuaded to defend the liberal ideas which constitute the only basis for uniting all factions of this country's diverse population (If you doubt that, try selling socialism to whites, or a limited franchise to blacks).

So far the argument is trite, but it does set the stage for the real questions (to use a clichéd phrase in a new context) of South African

# New debate puts spotlight on the real questions

KEN OWEN

politics: what will be the shape of the future? How will post-apartheid SA function?

Some elements are settled, or virtually settled. The country cannot be partitioned except by war; a universal franchise is inescapable, even if the safeguards and qualifications are disputed; some measure of redistribution of wealth is inevitable, although the methods of distribution are in doubt.

Some of the real questions lie hidden in the qualifications. Others have been beaten to death — for example, whether civil liberties are best secured by constitutional recognition of the existence of groups, or by radical decentralisation of power, or by entrenchment of the rights of individuals at the centre of the system; whether rights should be entrenched in a bill of rights that limits the powers of the majority, or whether to submit to Elliot's "totalitarian democracy".

It is a pity that the Slabbert mission to West Africa assumed so quickly the character of a love-in-

that, amid the hugs and protestations of affection, a unique chance was lost to ask some penetrating questions.

At the top of the list is not the question of violence, about which the Slabbert missionaries displayed a touching middle-class concern, undiluted by any comprehension of the nature of a revolutionary organisation. What would the pussy-cat revolutionaries do if they abandoned violence? Confine themselves to protest marches and Press kits, or argue over bottles of good Cape red wine late into the night? Their funds would dry up in a week.

**M**uch more interesting, and more relevant to the political future, is the question whether the common law will survive in a new SA (or free Azania). In particular, will the law of property survive? Under what conditions will the State be entitled to seize property? What guarantees will the individ-

ual have against expropriation? Against nationalisation?

The ANC proposes to nationalise some property, and various theories have been put forward about the degree of nationalisation which is contemplated. But little or nothing is said about the impact which nationalisation will have on individual rights, on the functioning of markets, or on the prospects of economic growth. If a government can seize a mine from the Anglo American Corporation, why can it not take over a house from an individual?

There has been much talk among township intellectuals about housing families in the homes of the rich whites — a family to a room. That was done in the Soviet Union after 1917; will it happen here? And if so, why should any homeowner support demands for change?

The liberal argument is that inequalities of wealth can best be overcome by rapid economic growth which, in turn, depends on secure property rights, on free markets and on the liberty of the

individual to pursue his own best interests. To function at all, the system requires a sophisticated basis of equitable law.

Ironically, the National Party has given South Africans a foretaste of what happens when socialist bureaucrats (in this case, national-socialists) try to operate a command economy to serve their brutal experiments in social engineering.

Its seizure of property by statute has brought the common law into disrepute; it has displaced and impoverished literally millions of people by denying them secure property rights; it has undermined confidence and inhibited investment; it has distorted and sometimes killed markets (from the property market to the near-moribund gilt market); and it has brought economic growth gradually to a halt.

**T**he common law has so lost respect that lately there have been overt attacks on the courts, on judges and on the law itself — with at least one professor of law claiming to find "people's law" more acceptable than Roman-Dutch. The vague promises of the Freedom Charter are used to oust precise and ancient definitions of individual rights. Dubious liberals proclaim free speech for some, not for others.

The pretences are wearing thin. Opposition to apartheid no longer serves to disguise illiberal views behind liberal postures. That is why the new debate begins by seeking — as liberal economist Charles Simkins has best done — to redefine the middle ground on which all South Africans might unite against the tyranny of the State.

It is an essential debate. It helps to weed out the counterfeit liberals.

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# ANC's <sup>Cassius Tsinini</sup> Make <sup>20/7/83</sup> buried in Lusaka <sup>119</sup>

LUSAKA. — A funeral service for assassinated ANC commander Mr Cassius Make was held yesterday in the Zambian capital where the ANC has its headquarters.

Mr Make, another ANC member, Mr Paul Dikeledi, and a Mozambican woman, Mrs Elizabeth Augusta Tsinini, were killed in Swaziland last Thursday by three gunmen who forced their taxi to stop as it was travelling from the airport to Mbabane.

At 42, Make was the youngest member of the National Executive Committee, the ANC's policy-making body. He was also a top military commander, serving as chief executive of the Revolutionary Council, which directs operations inside South Africa. Make was also commander-in-charge of Swaziland.

The funeral procession, which began at Make's home in a Lusaka suburb, was led by ANC secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo, deputizing for ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo who is in the Caribbean. Mr Tambo sent a message of condolence.

### Influx of exiles

Mr Make held a number of important political and military positions during his ANC career which began in 1964. He was chief representative in Angola after the MPLA attained power in Luanda, and was later moved to Lusaka to handle the influx of exiles after the 1976 Soweto revolt.

Meanwhile, Swazi police have established that the woman was carrying a forged passport.

Police Superintendent Mr Azaria Ndzinandze yesterday said the passport found on Mrs Tsinini's body had been issued to a Swazi national, Mr Fanyane Vilane.

Mrs Tsinini was married to a Mozambican. Neither could have qualified for a Swazi travel document. — Sapa-Reuter



Call Times 20/7/87

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## ANC 'kidnap plot': Fourth man named

LONDON. — Last night a fourth man was charged with conspiring to kidnap members of the African National Congress here, police said.

Scotland Yard identified the man as Mr Dennis Evans, 48, and said he would appear in a magistrates' court today.

Three men were remanded by magistrates for a week on a similar charge on Thursday after being arrested and held for five days under the Prevention of Terrorism Act.

They were Mr Frank Lynge Larsen, 58, Mr John Terence Larsen, 27, and Mr Jonathan Richard Wheatley, 28.

The original trio and Mr Evans all face the same charge. The conspiracy is alleged to have taken place between October 1, 1986 and July 10 this year. — Sapa-AP

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CME Times  
20/7/87 11A

## Tvl Labour urges govt to begin negotiation

JOHANNESBURG. — The Transvaal congress of the Labour Party has called on the government to begin negotiations with democratically-elected leaders with a view to drawing up a democratic constitution for the country.

At the congress in Pietersburg, motions were adopted on the state of emergency, detentions and on the abolition of the Group Areas Act, the Population Registration Act and the Separate Amenities Act.

The congress also asked that the countrywide elections for local authorities on October 19 next year be postponed till October 26, as it contended that the first date was not suitable. — Sapa

## Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN— Reports that Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners might be released soon have been dismissed as "utter nonsense" by Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning.

Mr Heunis met members of the United Municipalities of South Africa (Umsa) last week.

After their talks, Umsa president Mr Tom Boya said his impression was that, of the pre-conditions set by Umsa and other organisations for participation in the National Statutory Council, the Government seemed most likely to meet the one calling for the release of political prisoners.

**NOT RESPONSIBLE**

"Rubbish, they're talking through their necks," Mr Heunis said at the weekend. As far as he was concerned, Mandela and other political prisoners were convicted criminals. He was not responsible for their release nor did he refer to release in his talks with Umsa.

"The Umsa statement is obviously wrong," he said.

# Heunis denies Mandela release reports

Mr Boya said Mr Heunis had used the word "pardon" in the context of political prisoners for the first time saying it would not be possible for leaders such as Zeph Mothopeng of the Pan Africanist Congress and Mandela of the African National Congress to take part in elections unless they were pardoned.

Mr Heunis said he was simply referring to the proposed NSC Bill in terms of which no one with a criminal record may stand for Parliament unless he has been pardoned.

He was not prepared to comment further or speculate on how Umsa delegates had gained the impression that Mandela's release was on the cards.

# Hendrickse wants to repeat swim

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse says he will swim again — “on King’s Beach or anywhere where that I’m not supposed to swim” — in defiance of the Separate Amenities Act.

It was high-time the question of his “apology” to Mr P W Botha for swimming on Port Elizabeth’s whites-only beach was clarified, he said.

And this time he is quite prepared to take the consequences — whatever they might be.

“There has been a great deal of misrepresentation, and in many cases, conscious misrepresentation, over the issue,” he said. “The impression can only be rectified by a demonstration.”

His statement follows a decision by the Attorney General not to prosecute the cabinet minister for taking an early-morning dip with other Labour Party supporters in disregard of the Separate Amenities Act.

The swim on January 4, publicized world-wide, raised a storm and earned Mr Hendrickse a 20-minute public dressing down by the State President on national TV.

In an interview with this correspondent last night, Mr Hendrickse denied that Mr Botha had threatened to force him to resign from the cabinet as a result.

His decision to swim again was not new — but a repetition of a statement following the dressing down.

Although he had apologized to Mr Botha for “any impression that we challenged your authority” or “might have caused affront”, Mr Hendrickse maintains he never apologized for his actions.

“I never expected to be charged because I felt I had done nothing wrong and was only exercising a right.”

“I haven’t changed my attitude in this case — I don’t know what the outcome will be but am prepared to take any consequences whatsoever.

“And I also maintain that the Separate Amenities Act must be scrapped as soon as possible,” he said.

# Hit squads: ANC talks to UK police

21/7/87

B/Dew

11A

**IAN HOBBS and  
PATRICK BULGER**

DETECTIVES from Scotland Yard's anti-terrorist squad yesterday were interviewing senior ANC officials in London about attacks and assassinations by alleged South African-organised "hit squads" in various countries.

ANC London mission head Solly Smith claims an alleged conspiracy to kidnap himself and the organisation's military head Joe Slovo forms part of a world-wide South African operation.

And the ANC has begun tightening its security measures to stem the tide of killings that has hit the organisation recently.

The ANC's Radio Freedom director Don Ngubeni said in a telephone interview from Lusaka yesterday the organisation was not prepared to divulge details of its improved measures.

Smith, a member of the ANC executive, has prepared details of a number of "incidents" in London the organisation attributes to illegal South African activities.

He planned to give police details of ANC intelligence which anticipated "se-

rious" action against members in London and elsewhere in Europe.

The British police were told the ANC treated with utmost seriousness suggestions of a plot to kidnap at least two men - Slovo and Smith - and have them taken back to SA. The ANC would not speculate on how the captives would be transported to SA, beyond saying "it could have been a crate-job like the Israelis tried (on Nigerian exile Umaru Dikko)".

Smith was expected to give police full details of previously unknown murders or attempts on the lives of ANC members in Lesotho, Botswana, Zimbabwe and Zambia.

He declined to provide details beyond saying: "Apart from the latest murders of our members in Swaziland on July 9, the South African hit squads have been very active in other countries.

"They are going all out like never before. You can understand how desper-

● To Page 2 →

## ANC talks to Scotland Yard

ate they are getting when you see them operating even here in London."

Meanwhile, a fourth man has been arrested in London on charges of planning to kidnap top ANC officials.

Welsh shopkeeper Evan Dennis Evans, 48, appeared in Marylebone Magistrate's Court yesterday accused of plotting with others to kidnap ANC members between September 15 last year and July 10 this year.

Evans was remanded in custody to appear at Lambeth high security court on Thursday with the other three men. He said nothing in a brief appearance in which police insisted on a remand in custody.

The other three charged are a father and son, Frank Larsen, 53, and John, 27, believed to be Zimbabweans living in Hampshire, and Briton John Wheatley, 28.

They were arrested in simultaneous raids a week ago by British anti-terrorist squad units which had kept them under surveillance for long periods.

Scotland Yard said it could take months before they came to trial, while investigations continued.

The ANC mission has been given guarantees its members in Britain will receive all necessary police protection.

In the spate of killings of ANC members in Swaziland, high-ranking military commander Cassius Make was gunned down by unidentified men in an SA-regis-

tered car. ● From Page 1

Radio Freedom's Ngubeni admitted Make's death would be a loss as he was a senior member who had been involved "in a very sensitive area". His place would be filled, however, he said.

Ngubeni rejected figures by Pretoria University Institute of Strategic Studies head Professor Mike Hough, who said yesterday at least 750 ANC cadres had died in their ongoing attempt to topple the SA government in the last 10 years.

"That is the regime's set-up. The regime has been saying for years it has crippled the ANC, but there is no truth in the claim," Ngubeni said.

He said the pattern of SA attacks on the movement had changed in recent months.

"They are now concentrating on specific individual targets whereas previously they attacked places housing refugees," he said.

Hough said more than 500 "trained insurgents" had been killed by security forces since the end of 1977. This included guerrillas trained inside and outside SA.

Another 150 guerrillas had been killed in cross-border raids into Lesotho, Swaziland, Mozambique, Botswana and Angola.

And at least a further 100 had died as a result of in-fighting within the ANC and as a result of unexplained killings.

B/Dew

21/7/87

11A

CAME Times 21/7/87

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21/7/87

# Yard probes claims by ANC

From IAN HOBBS

LONDON. — Detectives of Scotland Yard's anti-terrorist squad yesterday interviewed senior ANC officials here about attacks and assassinations by alleged South African-organized "hit squads" in various countries.

Mr Solly Smith, the ANC head of mission in London, claims that an alleged conspiracy to kidnap himself and the organization's military head, Mr Joe Slovo, forms part of a world-wide South African operation.

Mr Smith declined to give details beyond saying: "Apart from the latest murders of our members in Swaziland, the South African hit squads have been very active in other countries."

The fourth man arrested in connection with the London case, Welsh shopkeeper Evan Dennis Evans, 48, appeared in Marylebone Magistrate's Court in London yesterday accused of plotting with others to kidnap ANC members between September 15 last year and July 10 this year.

Mr Evans was remanded to appear at Lambeth high-security court on Thursday with the other three men.

They are Frank Larsen, 53, his son John, 27, believed to be Zimbabweans living in Hampshire, and Briton John Wheatley, 28, of Surrey.

All four were detained under the provisions of the Prevention of Terrorism Act.

In the meantime, the ANC mission has been given guarantees that its members in Britain will receive all necessary police protection.

□ Professor Mike Hough of Pretoria University's Institute of Strategic Studies said yesterday that at least 750 ANC guerillas had died trying to topple the government in the past 10 years.

## Unexplained killings

Professor Hough said more than 500 trained insurgents had been killed by security forces since the end of 1977. This included guerillas trained inside and outside South Africa.

Another 150 guerillas had been

killed in cross-border raids into Lesotho, Swaziland, Mozambique, Botswana and Angola, he said.

At least a further 100 had died as a result of in-fighting within the ANC and as a result of unexplained killings. The recent killings in Swaziland fitted into the latter category.

He said the pattern of SA attacks on the movement had changed in recent months.

"They are now concentrating on specific individual targets whereas previously they attacked places housing refugees."

It appeared that the north-western infiltration route through Botswana was now more important to the ANC's military operations than the Swazi route.

The ANC's military strength was about 2 500, he said.

The director of the ANC's Radio Freedom in Lusaka, Mr Don Ngubeni, yesterday rejected these figures.

"That is the regime's set-up. The regime has been saying for years it had crippled the ANC, but there is no truth in the claim," Mr Ngubeni said.

For the 61 South Africans, most of whom returned home today, it was a journey from pariah status to acceptability, writes ALLISTER SPARKS.

ARGUS 21/7/87 (114/3024)

# Unexpected welcome for Afrikaners

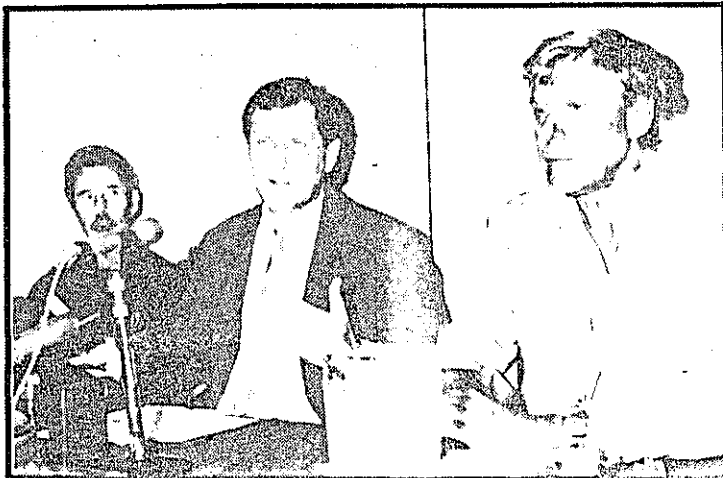
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ACCRA

**I**N a remarkable demonstration of Africa's readiness to accept even that sector of white South Africa most closely identified with apartheid, provided they are prepared to renounce it, the group of Afrikaner academics, businessmen and professional people who held talks with the African National Congress in Dakar were accorded the status of visiting dignitaries as they journeyed on last week to two more African countries, Burkina Faso and Ghana.

In what for most was their first venture into black Africa, the Afrikaners were first astonished and then delighted at the warmth of their reception. Gradually as the 10-day tour progressed their stiff reserve gave way to a reciprocal response that saw them uninhibitedly embracing their black hosts and the ANC leaders who accompanied them in African-style farewells as they parted last Friday.

For most it was a profound personal experience that had left them in an emotional turmoil as deeply ingrained preconceptions have been shattered.

From relatively benign Senegal, one of Africa's few multi-party democracies, where they held their conference with the ANC and had their first experience of how this would be seen as an act of political expiation by the Africans, the Afrikaners were astonished to be given an even warmer reception in the revolution-



**From left: Breyten Breytenbach, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert and Alex Boraine who were part of a delegation who last week met exiled leaders of the ANC in Dakar.**

ary republic of Burkina Faso.

It was tumultuous. Thousands of cheering people lined the streets, with bands and groups of dancers, as the Afrikaners were driven through the sprawling, mud-brick capital of Ouagadougou in a cavalcade led by 12 uniformed policewomen on motorcycles.

A running commentary on the procession was broadcast by the national radio and over loudspeakers throughout the capital.

## Planted trees

The South Africans attended a State House banquet where President Thomas Sankara, an innovative and charismatic new generation African leader, who is trying to revitalise his desperately poor country (formerly called Upper Volta) by engaging the people in get-up-and-go programmes, held a two-hour discussion with them sitting

under the stars in his palace gardens.

They were driven into the countryside to plant trees, Israeli-style, to help halt the encroaching desert and commemorate what Sankara called an historic visit.

In Ghana the welcome was less spectacular but equally warm, and, for the Afrikaners, even more mind-blowing. This is the spiritual birth place of African nationalism, whose founding leader, Kwame Nkrumah — now being resurrected as a hero figure after 20 years of obliteration — launched the Pan-African campaign against apartheid and was the key figure in getting South Africa expelled from the Commonwealth in 1961.

On Thursday evening, while a police band played the lilting strains of the black anthem, *God Bless Africa*, Af-

rikaners and ANC members, buddies by now after a week of travelling together, mingled in the hot night air with members of the Ghanaian government on a floodlit square in the conference complex where 22 years ago the Organisation of African Unity discussed the launching of a war of liberation against apartheid South Africa.

A feature of the extraordinary safari was the complementary relationship that developed between Slabbert, the former liberal opposition leader in the South African Parliament who now runs an institute for inter-racial contact, and Mbeki, the ANC's information director, and a rising star in its leadership.

In public forums and at press conferences the two found themselves repeatedly on the same side of the argument, defending their shared commitment to non-racialism in the face of criticisms from radical black nationalists.

## Visit questioned

At a joint press conference when the group arrived in Accra. After questioning Slabbert about his motives for meeting with the ANC, implying that it might be a capitalist attempt to blunt the black organisation's revolutionary commitment, a young Ghanaian journalist turned sharply to an ANC official and demanded: "Do you really trust these whites?"

Yes, came the instant reply. "There were some whites in the ANC armed forces, and there is nothing in a person's colour that defines his politics."

— *London Observer Service*

114 22/7/87 Jonathan

## **Witness pleads for forgiveness and mercy**

A FORMER senior official of the outlawed Pan Africanist Congress pleaded for mercy and forgiveness in a Pretoria Regional Court yesterday after admitting that he lied during the terrorism trial of seven alleged members of the banned organisation.

Mr Z, who is giving evidence for the State, admitted during cross-examination by Mr Gerald van Tonder, who is appearing for Reverend Daniel Nkopodi, that he lied when he told

# **I LIED SAYS Mr Z**

the court that Mr Sello Mogale, whom he met in Botswana in 1985 was a

PAC member. During his evidence in chief, Mr Z said Mr Mogale was not a member of the PAC.

Asked why he gave conflicting evidence, Mr Z, described as an "evasive witness" by Mr van Tonder, said: "I am a human being and I have my own mistakes. I request that the court accept that I made mistakes."

When Mr van Tonder put it to him that he was attempting to mislead the court, Mr Z replied: "I ask for forgiveness from the court. I do not know where to go if the court does not forgive me".

When Mr van Tonder put it to him that he pleaded for mercy

because he had been promised indemnity, Mr Z said: "The court will either give me indemnity or send me to jail".

Mr Z also denied during cross-examination by Mr van Tonder that he had "a close sexual relationship" with Mr Nkopodi's wife during his stay at the Minister's house in Bophuthatswana in 1985.

Mr Nkopodi spent most of his time in Botswana where he was stationed as a minister at the time of the alleged love affair. Mr Z also denied that he led "a comfortable life style" during his stay in Bophuthatswana before his arrest last year.

He was testifying in the trial of seven alleged members of the PAC who include two suspected members of Qibla, who have pleaded not guilty before Mr J H Bekker to 24 charges of terrorism and defeating the ends of justice.

They are Mr Mabatu Enoch Zulu, Mr Ndada Gcanga, Mr Vincent Mathunjwa, Mr Setsiba Mohohlo, Mr Nkopodi, Mr Achmad Cassim and Mr Yusuf Patel.

**(Proceeding)**



can start without a public inquiry.

*Copy from 28/7/87*  
**500 ANC dead or held**

PRETORIA. — The Institute for Strategic Studies at the University of Pretoria says the security forces have shot dead or arrested more than 500 trained ANC guerillas since 1977. This figure was supplied after reports that the ANC's military strength and logistics had been weakened because of police action in SA and steps against the organization in neighbouring countries.

DOMINIQUE GILBERT  
and DIANNA GAMES  
HIGH-RANKING  
policemen yesterday  
intercepted members  
of the Dakar delega-  
tion before they en-  
tered the Jan Smuts  
Airport building and  
warned they could not  
guarantee their safety  
in the face of an AWB  
protest, members of  
the delegation said.

During the sustained protest by about  
400 AWB supporters — some carrying  
placards — an announcement over the  
public address system warned all non-  
passengers to leave the airport building  
"for your own safety".

Lawyers said the AWB gathering had  
contravened the Internal Security Act,  
and an airport official confirmed it had  
also violated airport regulations.

### Siege of Jan Smuts — Page 4

Police action against the right-wing  
protestors included removing from the  
building an AWB member who was carry-  
ing a visible weapon, and pulling down  
a poster held by another member.

Sixteen journalists, mainly photogra-  
phers, were arrested. They represent a  
range of newspapers and news agencies,  
including Business Day, Reuters, The  
Star and Time magazine.

A number of students who demon-  
strated in support of the Dakar group  
were also held.

Law and Order spokesman Leon Mel-  
let said the arrests followed three warn-  
ings to disperse. It is understood those  
arrested will appear in court tomorrow.

Mellet said apart from the 16 journal-  
ists, three others, including an AWB  
member, paid R50 admission-of-guilt  
fines.

However, AWB spokesman P W Bin-  
gle said no action was taken against a  
single AWB member.

Some Dakar delegates were whisked  
by bus to a safe point where they met  
their families. Others were bussed to  
connecting flights without having to face

● To Page 2 →

# AWB in <sup>22/7/87</sup> ~~SA~~ B/Day demo drama



Eyes left from the right at Jan Smuts Air-  
port yesterday.

Picture: Robbie Botha

## AWB in airport demo drama

the AWB contingent, which waited in the  
arrivals hall for three hours.

The AWB demonstrators eventually  
dispersed after it became clear the dele-  
gation would not enter the terminal  
building. This followed a short "victory"  
speech by AWB leader Eugene Terre-  
Blanche.

Terre'Blanche said later he hoped  
government would look into the affairs  
of the delegates and that they would be  
arrested. Asked if the AWB planned to  
take action against the delegates if gov-  
ernment did not, Terre'Blanche said he  
could not answer.

In other developments:

- On arrival from London, Institute for  
a Democratic Alternative South Africa's  
(Idasa) Alex Boraine, apparently asked  
police at the airport whether he could  
leave the customs area to try to reduce  
the "rising temperature" of the demon-  
stration, but was denied permission,
- Diplomats, including a member of the

Swedish legation in SA and a counsellor  
from the German embassy, met return-  
ing delegates at the airport.

□ Several hundred police guarded the  
airport and formed a human corridor to  
prevent passengers from the British Air-  
ways flight from being swamped by the  
AWB contingent and a barrage of pho-  
tographers.

□ Although the delegation said they  
heard on arrival the Cabinet had the  
previous night banned both their and the  
AWB's Press conferences at the airport,  
this was denied by Law and Order Minis-  
ter Adriaan Vlok. He said senior police  
officials, fearing a confrontation, re-  
quested the airport manager to inform  
Boraine and his party it would be inop-  
portune to hold the conference there.

□ The ANC said they had no intention of  
"taking over" SA, according to Dakar  
delegates.

● From Page 1

**O**NE DAY the white government in Pretoria will have to talk to the black opposition, and since the ANC is by far the biggest and most representative element of this opposition it will have to be included in those talks.

This is the premise on which the Dakar conference was held, and if you can find fault with that reasoning I would like to hear it.

At first it seemed that the Dakar conference, with its motley crew of 61 delegates, was going to be like something from a Tom Sharpe novel. But the chemistry worked.

There were high-powered academics, economists and others who were responsible for the intellectual input, and there was a cross-section of South Africans — not a representative one, but wide enough for a first conference — who made up the supporting ranks.

The 16-member ANC delegation was structured on similar lines — heavyweight contributions from people like Thabo Mbeki, Mac Maharaj, Pallo Jordan and the up-and-coming Steve Tshwete, and a cross-section of personalities in the background.

I did not attend the conference, but I have spoken to people who did. I have read the papers that were delivered and I think it can be said fairly that the conference was a success.

This is the direction in which SA will have to move one day — once it overcomes its hysteria of talking to black liberation leaders.

As I said, while the South African delegation was a reasonable cross-section of occupations it was not representative of white South Africans.

Some 82% of the votes cast in the May elections were for the National Party and the parties on its right, and it must be assumed that in the context of an election campaign in which the central issue was the physical security of whites, and in which the ANC was identified as the principal enemy, this was not exactly a vote for talks with the organisation.

**B**ut as the months and years ahead unfold there is no other direction in which Pretoria can move. For it to unleash the wrath of white South Africans on the returning delegates now and try to destroy what Frederik van Zyl Slabbert and Alex Boraine have achieved would be very short-sighted indeed. If Pretoria boxes itself in now on the issue of negotiations with the ANC, it will regret it later. It needs to keep its options open.

Slabbert's Idasa, therefore, has pulled off a coup. It's in business now in a serious way, provided

# The trailblazers Pretoria will have to follow one day

STANLEY UYS in London

President Botha does not proceed to put it out of business. Slabbert has got it right this time.

I do not want to revive the debate on the "relevance" or otherwise of Parliament — the issue on which Slabbert quit the PFP and on which so many thousands of words have been written and spoken (and to which I have made my modest contribution).

But I feel I must commend to your attention the paper delivered to the Dakar conference by Professor Andre du Toit, who recently joined Cape Town University from Stellenbosch.

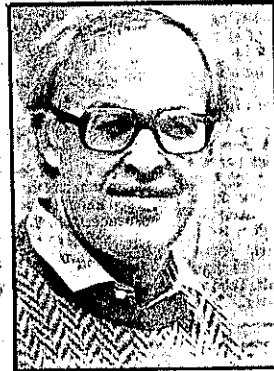
**N**owhere have I read a more succinct, lucid explanation of the whole issue of "relevance". I would like to quote it at some length, because while other sections of Du Toit's paper have received some publicity, this particular aspect has got lost in the wash. It is the definitive analysis of the "relevance" debate.

Du Toit begins by asserting that any viable political strategy in SA must be a multiple one. By this he means that Parliamentary activity and extra-Parliamentary activity are not self-cancelling. Each has its role.

Admittedly, he says, for the present, Parliamentary politics have failed as a potential source of democratic reform. White electoral politics serve mainly as an arena for providing a "mandate" for continued minority rule with no realistic prospect of a more liberal opposition grouping ever gaining power within the existing framework.

The main "democratising dynamics and commitments" are to be found in the extra-Parliamentary arena.

"Nevertheless," Du Toit continues, "while the coercive power of the State is not effectively threatened by any internal insurrection or externally-based challenge, it is



□ GILLOMEE ... "only peaceful solution a 'bi-communal' one"

increasingly losing even the basic legitimacy required for effective government.

"In this situation, it is up to the opposition and resistance movements to generate meaningful political initiatives instead of providing a reactionary and destructive coercive showdown.

"While continuing to attack the sham of government's 'reform' policies and to expose the facade of the existing Parliamentary structures, a flexible multiple political strategy must also seek to turn the minority government's political weakness to its own advantage by exploiting the opportunities provided by the limited electoral democracy for its own counter-objectives."

Now we come to the crux of Du Toit's contention: "In the long run, and looking forward to the transition to a future democratic SA, it should be borne in mind that the continuity of constitutional legality vested in the institution of Parliament is an important political resource which should be utilised rather than spurned."

"Historically, the extra-Parliamentary nature of the main opposition and resistance movements has been forced on them and was not a free political choice: the primary objective has always been to gain participation and representation for all as equal citizens at every level of government."

"In terms of strategy, extra-Parliamentary politics should thus not be conceived as an alternative to Parliamentary democracy, but as a means towards it."

**B**eautifully summed up. And as I see it, the implications of what Du Toit is saying are that those UDF spokesmen (and some white Pied Pipers) who called for a boycott of the election "circus" were not thinking straight.

If the UDF and ANC want whites to immerse themselves in the extra-Parliamentary struggle, well and good, but there is no earthly reason why they should not vote for the PFP at the same time.

If they had (as Mandela wanted them to), the PFP might still be the official opposition today. To dismiss this as unimportant is political infantilism.

The Dakar conference had two main purposes: for the South African delegates to learn from the ANC, and for the ANC to learn from the South African delegates.

It is perfectly true (as commentators have noted) that so far whites have done most of the learning. Most of the delegates who went to Dakar have been shifting their political positions, sometimes radically, over the years.

For the Afrikaners who went to Dakar — the *egte* ones who live in Afrikaner environments and are exposed to the ostracism of their communities — the shift has been particularly courageous.

The ANC has also shifted its position, or rather redefined it more closely in recent years. But the South African delegates felt it

should take this redefinition further.

Basically, the ANC's position is that it cannot make a definitive statement on its position until it is allowed to return to SA and consult its constituents, but the South African delegates felt this was not good enough. It was a cop out.

Du Toit made the very good point that the redefinition of policy must take place now, before there is a sharing or transfer of power.

"A political strategy aimed at a future democratic SA cannot postpone the struggle for and the defence of civil rights until after State power has been gained by a majority government."

"Rather, a possible democratic future for SA will depend upon the nature of the political opposition and its tradition built up prior to taking power."

**T**o the extent that equal legal and civil rights exist or have been extended (Du Toit quotes the pass laws, influx control and trades union rights), these should not be dismissed as mere instrumentalities of State control or cynical manipulations by a crumbling minority group.

What Du Toit is saying is that the ANC must establish its democratic credentials now, before the transition takes place.

"Only in this way can it be ensured that when power is eventually gained by a majority government, the tradition of democracy and consideration of rights will be so deeply ingrained that it is deemed sufficiently important to protect democratic institutions and rights in a future new constitution."

I have quoted only Du Toit's contribution to the Dakar conference. Professor Hermann Gilloomee was even tougher with the ANC on the question of recognition of the Afrikaner ethnic factor in future negotiations.

**T**he theme of Gilloomee's remarks was reflected in an article he wrote for *The Times* of London on the eve of the conference: "An overwhelming majority of Afrikaners will resist the defeat and demise of Afrikanerdom with all their might, even if it means leaving a scorched earth behind them."

"The only possible peaceful solution will be a 'bi-communal' one, which would not allow either nationalist faction to prevail at the cost of the other."

Were these "a fringe group of Afrikaners on a mission of appeasement?" The idea is ridiculous. They blazed a trail the Pretoria government will have to follow one day, however much it resists it now.

22/7/87  
 Whole page except adverts  
 B/Day

# Visitors horrified by AWB rowdies

**The AWB had a hot reception in store for Afrikaner liberals who met the ANC.**



Right-wing leader Eugene Terre'Blanche is raised shoulder-high by supporters.

Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

A BRITISH AIRWAYS air hostess was hissed and sworn at by hordes of militant right-wingers as she carried a black toddler through the Jan Smuts Airport international arrivals hall yesterday.

As they shouted "Sies" and "Skaam jou" (shame on you), a man covered in tomato sauce and a white overall, on which was painted a hammer and sickle and "No to red terror", lobbied for media attention.

White children, some as young as 12, shouted "Shoot Slabbert" and "Where are those apes?"

In one of the most bizarre events yet witnessed at the airport, horrified foreign visitors were met by a large crowd chanting "traitor", "we will get you", and hundreds of Press cameras, as they pushed their luggage through a human corridor of about 100 policemen.

Behind the rows of police stood AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche and nearly the entire AWB leadership, members of the affiliated Blanke Bevrydingsbeweging (BBB) — a group who believe the AWB are not militant enough — and more police.

As several high-ranking police officers, including generals, made their way from the customs area several hours after the Dakar delegation had landed from London, the near hysterical crowd shouted "We want Slabbert".

As police dogs began to bark, AWB members shouted: "The dogs are talking our language."

DIANNA GAMES and DOMINIQUE GILBERT

The group of top policemen and airport officials were joined by Terre'Blanche and several of his followers in an upstairs office.

AWB members barricaded the stairway to the office, effectively preventing the Press or the public from entering.

Some minutes later, a voice on the public address system said planned Press conferences — one due to have been held by Idasa and another by the AWB — had been cancelled. The announcer said Idasa's Alex Boraine would make a statement on his return to Cape Town.

Terre'Blanche, surrounded by supporters, marched back to the crowd, where he was hoisted on to shoulders to deliver a "victory speech".

He said: "The Dakar delegates don't have the courage to look the *volk* in the eye. They are gone. We want to let the world know they are not welcome in their country."

He then publicly praised police for their "professional" work before asking his followers to disperse.

Supporters of the Dakar group, some with clenched fists, began singing *Nkosi Sikelel iAfrika*. Police moved in and arrested several left-wing students and prevented them talking to the Press.

Nusas spokesman John Beadle said: "Knowing that a backlash was likely to happen, we came to welcome them (the Dakar group) as brave South Africans."

## WITWATERSRAND NIGEL LIMITED

("THE COMPANY")

INCORPORATED IN THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA  
 REGISTRATION NUMBER 05/04523/06

### NOTICE TO SHAREHOLDERS OF THE COMPANY

Notices headed "Official Circular to Shareholders from the Board of Directors of Witwatersrand Nigel Limited" were published in various newspapers between Friday 17 July 1987 and Sunday 19 July 1987.

The aforesaid notices emanate from the Board of Directors of the Company and allege inter alia that the meeting of shareholders of the Company to be held at the Johannesburg Stock Exchange auditorium at 16.30 hours on Thursday 23 July 1987 ("the shareholders meeting") and any resolutions passed thereat will be invalid and of no force or effect.

Kindly take notice that the shareholders meeting constitutes a valid meeting of shareholders convened pursuant to the provisions of Section 181(3) of the Companies Act, and any resolutions passed at such meeting will be binding and of full force and effect. That this is so has been confirmed by independent legal advice.

Kindly take further notice that the requisitioned meeting of shareholders to be held at the Johannesburg Stock Exchange auditorium at 16.30 hours on Thursday 23 July 1987 will be duly held.

DATED AT JOHANNESBURG ON THIS THE 20TH DAY OF JULY 1987.

A J MYBURGH

For and on behalf of the requisitionists

## Slabbert determined to go ahead with Press conference

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, who headed a 61-member South African delegation for talks with the ANC in Dakar recently, plans to hold a Press conference at Jan Smuts Airport on July 31, in spite of AWB threats to "get" him.

Police imposed a ban on a Press conference by some delegates who arrived at the airport yesterday.

Slabbert has also announced he is prepared to discuss issues with AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche at any time be-



## AECI LIMITED

Registration no. 04/02590/06

### INTERIM REPORT FOR THE HALF-YEAR ENDED 30 JUNE 1987

Turnover up 14% to R1 479 million.  
 Net trading income up 9% to R153 million.  
 Earnings per ordinary share up 18% to 53 cents.  
 Interim ordinary dividend unchanged.

#### Trading results

The directors announce the unaudited trading results of the Group for the six months ended 30 June 1987 as follows:

Year	1986	First half
		R millions

1987
First half
R millions

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Police imposed a ban on a Press conference by some delegates who arrived at the airport yesterday.

Slabbert has also announced he is prepared to discuss issues with AWB leader Eugene Terre-Blanche at any time because he recognises the right-wing organisation is "part of the body politic in South Africa".

This was announced yesterday by Alex Boraine, a top official of the Institute for Democratic Alternatives in South Africa (Idasa), which organised the Dakar talks, after he and about 40 members of the delegation returned to SA.

Boraine said at a Press briefing at Idasa offices in Cape Town that he and Slabbert had discussed AWB threats and Slabbert had indicated he was "not prepared to be attacked or intimidated".

Boraine said although the delegation had been treated courteously by senior police officers on their return, he was angry the delegation had not been able to hold a conference at Jan Smuts.

Boraine said he took threats by the AWB "with a great deal of seriousness".

"I have no objections to the AWB holding a peaceful protest. There is too little protest in South Africa."

But it seemed the AWB could in fact be a threat to peaceful protest, Boraine said.



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Year	1986	First half		1987
				First half
	R millions	R millions		R millions
2 819	1 295	Turnover (1)		1 479
332	141	Net trading income		153
69	37	Financing costs (2)		32
263	104			121
105	39	Taxation		48
158	65			73
22	7	Investment income (3)		11
180	72	Net income		84
5	2	Preference and outside shareholders' interest		3
175	70	Net income attributable to ordinary shareholders		81
113c	45c	Earnings per ordinary share		53c

(1) Includes exports of R100 million (1986 — R108 million).

(2) Includes unrealised exchange difference of R11 million (1986 — R12 million) on foreign borrowings.

(3) Includes share of after tax net income of associated companies and dividends from foreign subsidiaries.

#### Comments

Demand in agricultural markets remained weak as many farmers delayed fertilizer purchases. A scheduled maintenance shutdown of the nitrogen plants at Modderfontein also impacted on results for the period. The positive effects of the acquisition of the Potchefstroom fertilizer factory in February will only be felt in the second half and given normal rains in the summer rainfall area, profits from this sector for the year are expected to show a substantial improvement over those achieved in 1986.

Excluding the agricultural business, the volume of domestic sales for the first six months increased by 3% relative to the corresponding period in 1986, and profits improved significantly as margins responded to higher plant loadings. Financing costs were further reduced, notwithstanding the acquisition cost of the Potchefstroom factory, reflecting both lower interest rates and a decline in the average level of borrowings.

#### Declaration of ordinary dividend No 106

NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN that an interim dividend of 25 cents per share, in respect of the year ending 31 December 1987 has been declared to holders of ordinary shares registered in the books of the Company at the close of business on 28 August 1987.

Cheques in payment will be posted from the offices of the transfer secretaries in Johannesburg on or about 25 September 1987. Changes of address or dividend instructions to apply to this dividend must be received not later than 28 August 1987. In terms of the Income Tax Act, dividends payable to persons not ordinarily resident nor carrying on business and to companies not registered nor carrying on business in the Republic of South Africa are subject to deduction of non-resident tax at the rate of 13,7025%. The transfer books and register of members will be closed from 29 August to 11 September 1987, both days inclusive.

By order of the Board

can start without a public inquiry.

*Conf. Files 22/7/87*  
**500 ANC dead or held**

PRETORIA. — The Institute for Strategic Studies at the University of Pretoria says the security forces have shot dead or arrested more than 500 trained ANC guerillas since 1977. This figure was supplied after reports that the ANC's military strength and logistics had been weakened because of police action in SA and steps against the organization in neighbouring countries.

CAPE TOWN  
nesday, July 22, 1987 ★

# ANC 'committed to democracy'

By BARRY STREEK  
Political Staff

THE African National Congress wanted a multiple-party system in South Africa, a bill of rights to protect individual rights and an independent judiciary, Dr Alex Boraine said yesterday at a press conference in Cape Town after his return to South Africa.

Dr Boraine said the 18 ANC delegates to the recent Dakar talks had also stressed "over and over again that they insisted on non-racialism".

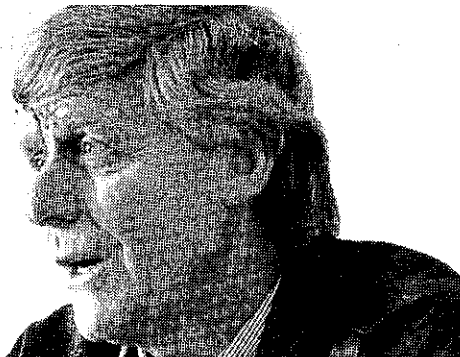
Dr Boraine, the executive director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa), said the fact that the ANC was prepared to meet a group of predominantly white Afrikaners was "a cause for hope".

He added: "It is a miracle that the talks in Dakar took place. It will be a far greater miracle if they were repeated in Pretoria."

The prevailing myth was that the ANC and the Afrikaners were "sworn enemies and can never meet except in conflict and the battlefield."

"We have experienced an openness and a readiness to talk and this will redouble our efforts towards a negotiated settlement, rather than the inevitability of inconclusive and escalating violence," he said.

"We hope that what began in Dakar will continue inside and outside of South Africa and will eventually involve the



**DELEGATES RETURN ...** Dr Alex Boraine, the executive director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa), addresses a press conference in Cape Town yesterday.

South African government itself," Dr Boraine said.

The ANC delegates to the talks said there could not be a system which included group rights and group privileges, which they suspected was a way of protecting minority privileges.

"They are committed to democracy. They were highly committed towards multiple-party systems ...

"It was they who pushed a bill of rights for individual rights to safeguard human rights and civil rights.

"They said they found it strange that whites wanted a bill of rights in the future but they did not think a bill of rights should be introduced now. If they want a bill of rights, why is there not a bill of rights now? they (the ANC) asked."

The ANC representatives also supported an independent judiciary. The ANC said they had suffered because there was not an independent judiciary and "they don't

want to repeat that system".

The 18 ANC representatives also said their economic policies were based on the Freedom Charter, which stressed that the land and resources belonged to all South Africans.

The Charter provided for the nationalization of mines, banks and monopolies, but they were also committed to increasing economic growth and the creation of jobs.

This did not imply confiscation of property but it did imply the "redress of much of the historic injustice.

"It was not just a Marxist programme. They made some very pragmatic statements," Dr Boraine said.

The South African delegation had not expected to find agreement on the armed struggle, but "it is my impression that the South African delegates were much more sympathetic to the reasons for armed struggle than they were before.

"We suggested to the

ANC that by using violence they were taking on the state at its strongest and asked why they did not take it on at the political level.

"They came back and said 'give us the where-withal. If you say abandon that, give us the alternative. What else can we do?'"

Dr Boraine also said they were quite prepared to talk to the government about the creation of a non-racial democracy which included the ANC.

"I have certainly come to the conclusion that to describe the ANC as a bunch of terrorists flies in the face of all reality."

"The ANC has enormous credibility inside South Africa.

"They have international credibility, with 33 diplomatic missions in 33 countries ...

"To say they are just a bunch of terrorists would be a very bad mistake," Dr Boraine said.

ORMANDE POLLOK reports that Dr Boraine said it was clear the ANC disliked Inkatha and that Inkatha disliked the ANC.

The ANC were suspicious of local initiatives because they believed it was a way of "ducking the central issues".

"They see the (KwaNatal) Indaba as having group and ethnic rights built in," he said.

The ANC had said Chief (Mangosuthu) Buthelezi (Chief Minister of KwaZulu) had for a long time been an ANC supporter, and that Inkatha was now not being used for the "liberation" of the country but for Chief Buthelezi's own purposes.

# Top UDF men held in pre-dawn SWOOP

11A  
33/7/87  
CMT TinkS

PORT ELIZABETH. — Two executive members of the United Democratic Front were detained under the emergency regulations by police in a pre-dawn raid here yesterday, the UDF and lawyers said.

UDF secretary-general Mr Mohamed Valli and UDF publicity secretary Mr Murphy Morobe were detained at a private home in the Indian suburb of Malabar about 4am, according to Mr Krish Naidoo, legal representative for the organization.

Although the Commissioner of Police, General Hennie de Witt, had not responded to telexes, Mr Naidoo said that at 1.30pm a Lieutenant Hattingh of Louis le Grange Square in Port Elizabeth confirmed telephonically that the two men had been detained.

## Applied for access

Mr Naidoo said they had been detained under Section 3 (1) of the emergency regulations, under which they can be detained for an initial period of 30 days without trial, after which the Minister of Law and Order is compelled to confirm their detention.

Legal representatives had applied for access to the two, but by 5pm yesterday had received no reply.

Speaking from Johannesburg, Mr Naidoo said the men had been in Malabar for two days before their detention.

Mr Valli, 30, was released from detention in April this year.

Before yesterday's arrest Mr Morobe, 33, had been in hiding following his detention last March when he was held under the emergency regulations. He was released before an application for his release came to court.

A spokesman for the Police Directorate of Public Affairs said a statement would be issued this morning and he would neither confirm nor deny the report of the detention. — Sapa



# PAC 'is fighting the Bothas'

11A  
Sowetan  
23/7/87

## SOWETAN CORRESPONDENT

**UMTATA** - The banned Pan Africanist Congress was an organisation fighting for the freedom of Africans against people who did not belong to this country, like Bothas and together with those who came in 1652.

Mr Balekile Nowalala of Butterworth, Transkei, a former Robben Island political prisoner was giving evidence for the state in the Umtata Regional Court at the trial of Leo Rubusana Kantolo, Salakatya Smuku, Synod Madlebe, Sgqibo Mpendulo, Nomthandazo Lusizi, Villiers Swaartbooi and Victor Zamele, all of Transkei.

They are facing nine counts of furthering the aims of the banned PAC, harbouring terrorists, recruiting people to join PAC and possession of banned literature.

The crimes are alleged to have taken place between November 1985 and March 1986 at various Transkei towns. Advocate Justice Poswa, assisted by Adv Tholakele Madala has entered a plea of not guilty on behalf of the accused.

Mr Nowalala was replying to a question by Adv Poswa who asked him what PAC was. He went on to tell the court that PAC says there are no boundaries in Africa.

"There is one Africa, from Cape to Cairo.

Asked about PAC's opinion on Transkei being an independent state, he said: "It may happen that Transkei was independent but as far as PAC's policy was concerned, we don't recognise its independence. "Transkei is a puppet state" he added.

He said earlier that South Africa must be governed by the owners of the land and the whites should be their subjects.

Mr Nowalala confirmed that he served 20 years imprisonment on Rob-

ben Island on charges for conspiracy to murder paramount Chief Kaizer Matanzima together with other men

Adv Poswa said to Mr Nowalala: "It was alleged that you conspired to kill KD Matanzima. Nowalala: "There is no allegation about it. We were going to kill KD Matanzima because he was beating up people from his area.

Mr Nowalala told the court, in his evidence in chief that Mr Kantolo brought a man unknown to him and requested him

(Nowalala) to put him up for the night.

After Mr Kantolo left I had a casual conversation with this man whom I later established was Enoch Zulu Alias Mhlaba. He later told me on his own that he was among other things a PAC "soldier".

After Nowalala said he attended several meetings in East London, Cape Town and Uitenhage where there have been talks about formation of a new political party to be known as Patriotic African Front (PAF) to replace PAC.

Zulu and Siyabulela Gcanga Alias Vuyo

Fetsha, who are presently standing trial at the Pretoria Supreme Court together with other accused have been named at the Umtata Regional Court as the people who were harboured by Ms Lusizi and Mr Kantolo as well as Mr Nowalala.

Earlier, Lt. Hendrik Johannes Prinsloo of the Pretoria security police told the Umtata Regional Court that when the two men were arrested at a Bophuthatswana house they were found in possession of Transkei travel documents.

• The trial has been postponed to November 11, 1987.

# TOP UDF MEN HELD

**Morobe,  
Valli  
nabbed  
in PE**

11A  
Sanctum  
23/7/87

The two UDF leaders were arrested at a private home in the Indian township of Malabar in Port Elizabeth in the early hours of yesterday morning.

An attorney acting on behalf of the two said yesterday the police had confirmed with his office that Mr Morobe and Mr Valli were being held under emergency regulation 3 (1).

## **Trialists**

He said: "We do not know where they are being detained now".

Mr Morobe was a stand-in for Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekota, the UDF's publicity secretary who is currently facing a charge of treason.

Mr Valli was holding on for Mr Popo Molefe, the organisation's national secretary. He, like Mr Lekota, is one of the trialists in the marathon Delmas treason trial.

Yesterday, the UDF's national treasurer, Mr Azhar Cachalia, said in a statement that the detention of Mr Morobe and Mr Valli made a "mockery" of the

© To Page 14

**TWO high-ranking national executive members of the UDF, Mr Murphy Morobe and Mr Mohamed Moosa Valli were detained under the emergency regulations yesterday.**

Mr Morobe (33), is acting publicity secretary of the organisation and Mr Valli (30), is acting national secretary. Mr Valli is also an executive member of the Transvaal Indian Congress.

**By  
NAT  
DISEKO**

## **Detentions a blow to UDF**

• From Page 1

organisation but that "this will not stop the struggle".

suggestion that the Government was interested in negotiating for a peaceful alternative to apartheid.

"We call on all democratic forces both inside and outside South Africa to condemn this action," Mr Cachalia said.

A president of the UDF, Mrs Albertina Sisulu said the detention of Mr Morobe and Mr Valli was a blow to the

In the Western Cape Region, general secretary, Mr Trevor Manuel, is in detention.

In the Eastern Cape, virtually the entire executive, including Mr Henry Fazi (vice-president), Mr Edgar Ngoyi, and Mr Stone Sizani (publicity secretary) are in detention.

The UDF's Transvaal education officer, Mr Raymond Suttner is also in detention.

11A

# Key to Umkhonto crackdown?

# Top ANC agent captured

CAP Times 23/7/87

11A

By CHRIS STEYN

**THE capture — and probable “turning” — of top African National Congress (ANC) agent Mr Lucas Seme, who was kidnapped by unidentified people in Swaziland last year, is believed to have provided information used in the intensive crack-down on ANC members in various countries.**

South African Police Headquarters in Pretoria yesterday confirmed that Mr Seme — widely known by his code-name “September” — was in custody. In the past month ANC operations in South Africa,

Swaziland and as far afield as Britain have been disrupted by a series of actions at the hands of unidentified people.

The ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), has suffered a severe blow to its activities — especially in Swaziland, where at least 11 top MK members have been killed so far this year.

A group of unidentified armed men kidnapped Mr Seme in August last year from the Bhunya police station cells, where he was awaiting trial on charges of illegal possession of arms and ammunition. The men have never been identified and Mr Seme's whereabouts were unknown till yesterday.

Mr Seme was reportedly seen in Swaziland on several occasions since his kidnapping. It was rumoured in Mbabane he was helping SA security forces to identify ANC members in Swaziland.

Responding yesterday to a Cape Times inquiry, a police spokesman in Pretoria said in a telexed reply: “We confirm that Lucas Seme is in police custody.”

According to information received by the Cape Times from well-placed sources, Mr Seme was allegedly “turned” after being taken prisoner.

Although the extent of his co-operation is not known at this stage, it is alleged he has spilled the beans on the ANC's entire network in Swaziland, and sections of the internal network in SA.

According to sources, security forces have also gathered a great deal of important information on the ANC's operations in other neighbouring countries, such as Botswana and Zimbabwe.

Incidents involving ANC cells recently include:

□ July 9: Two key members of the ANC were assassinated in Swaziland when, in broad daylight, three white men in a SA-registered car shot dead Mr Cassius Make, the youngest executive member of the ANC, who fled SA after the Soweto uprising in 1976, and Mr Paul Dikeledi, who was in control of MK's Transvaal machinery.

□ July 9: Mr Bongane Cele, 21, a “trained terrorist”, was shot dead in Mobeni Heights, Durban. He allegedly tried to lure police into a grenade ambush.

□ July 9: ANC member Ashley Kriel died of what police called an accidentally self-inflicted pistol wound while involved in a “scuffle” with arresting officers at a house in Hazendal, Athlone.

□ July 16: Two Ciskei policemen died in a shoot-out with ANC member Mr Npumpelo Mabanjina.

ANC. Times 23/7/87

# US group made anti-ANC tape

119  
Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The film clip on the ANC in Tuesday night's "Network" was provided by an American evangelical organization called the National Religious Broadcasters (NRB).

The anti-ANC clip coincided with the arrival back home of the Idasa delegates from their Dakar talks.

According to sources in the US, the NRB are a large and well supported evangelical radio and television agency with a right-wing stand.

A SABC spokesman said the corporation had used film from the NRB before, though not frequently. Asked why the SABC had not chosen to use film provided by networks based in SA — to which the SABC has ready access in terms of an agreement on the use of its satellite service — he said the NRB film "was available to us".

The NRB executive director in the US, Dr Ben Armstrong, said he could not remember their doing a documentary specifically on the ANC but had sent correspondents to South Africa about three times in the past two years.

# Killing of Ashley Kriel: Shock finding

(NIA) South 23-29/787

## SOUTH REPORTER

SLAIN youth leader Ashley Kriel had been shot in the back at point-blank range, the family's private pathologist has found.

The pathologist, who did not want to be named, confirmed this finding this week but police refused to comment.

Kriel, 20, of Vlamboom Street, Bonteheuwel, died in a "skirmish" in Hazendal on Thursday, July 9. Police said firearms were seized.

The pathologist says his findings confirm that the posterior

More reports, pictures on Ashley Kriel's funeral, pages 11, 12 and 13

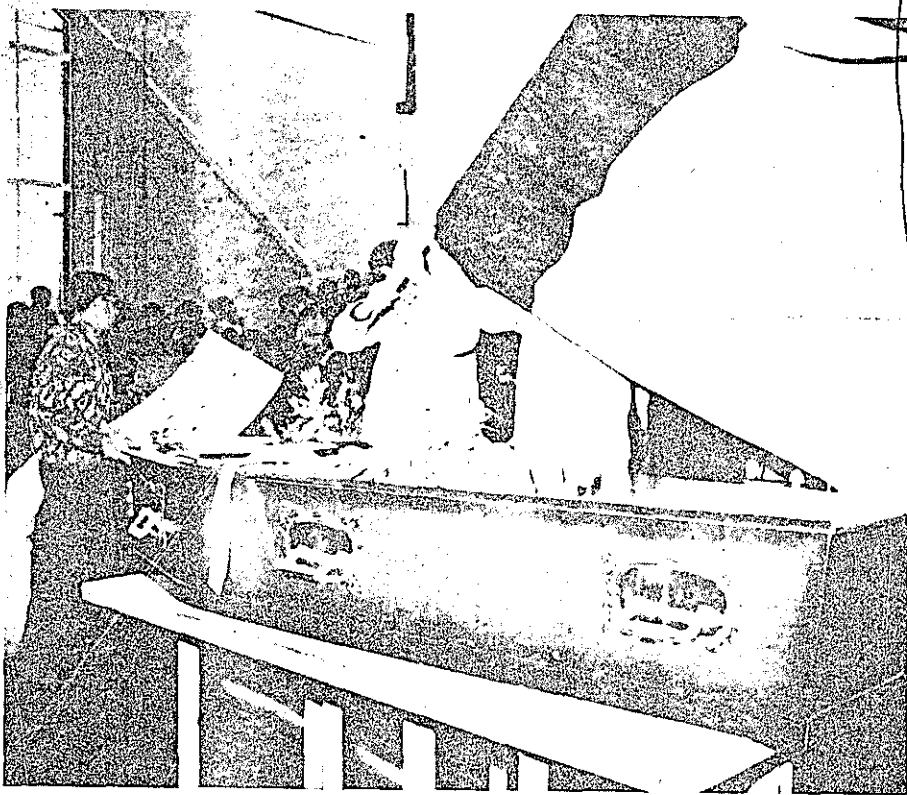
wound is the entrance wound. The range of fire must have been point blank but it would be important to establish what clothing was worn.

The SAP Public Relations Division in Pretoria said Kriel had died an unnatural death. Judicial proceedings had been instituted and, therefore, they could not comment.

SOUTH asked the police for confirmation and comment on the pathologists' reports that Kriel had been shot in the back.

In a telex to SOUTH on July 15, the police denied as "false" allegations that Kriel was shot from behind and that he had been handcuffed. They added that a handgrenade and a small calibre firearm with ammunition were found in the house.

Later police told a daily



Pall bearers drape the ANC flag over Ashley Kriel's coffin at the funeral in Bonteheuwel on Saturday

Picture: BIEN KARLIE

newspaper they were confronted by Kriel at the backdoor of an Athlone house when they investigated "certain information". He pointed a firearm at them. A scuffle ensued and when they tried to disarm Kriel, a shot went off and he was fatally wounded with his

own firearm.

The pathologist said he conducted the autopsy five days after Kriel's death. He had been instructed by the family's attorney to conduct an independent post mortem.

He confirmed that his findings concurred largely with that of

the State pathologist.

The family's attorney, Mr Essa Moosa, confirmed this week that the pathologist's report had been received.

"After studying the findings, we will brief the family. In the meantime, we have asked for an open inquest hearing"

ape town's garbage collectors are tired of being treated like dirt



## AGE 7

FTER meeting a group of South Africans in Dakar last week, the ANC says

more contact needed

## AGE 5

FTER an anonymous one-call this week, other finds

shley Forbes

hospital

## AGE 3

their second national congress the int-trade union Jeration Cosatu solved that it has

ne right to

topfloor

ility



A SOLITARY shot fired by an over-excited policeman was the turning point at the funeral of Ashley Kriel in Bonteheuwel at the weekend.

In eye-witness accounts, members of the Democratic Lawyers Organisation (DLO) charge that the police not only broke their undertakings to the clergy, but also acted outside the law.

The DLO says: "We wish to state that our members who witnessed this ghastly spectacle are prepared to repeat exactly what they saw in any court of law." Here is a text of the lawyers' statement.

# Shot fired the crowd

WE, the members of the Democratic Lawyers Organisation (DLO), feel duty-bound as responsible citizens to let the truth be known.

DLO members had been asked to attend in their capacity as lawyers to assist at the funeral in negotiations and liaison with the South African Police on legal matters or on any action that may be taken by the police:

We were asked to obtain permission to walk in a procession with the coffin, but this request was turned down.

Both sides reiterated that they were not seeking a confrontation and did not wish one to take place.

Major Odendaal specifically said that as long as people came out of the church, placed the coffin in the hearse and then moved peacefully to their transport, the police would not take any action.

Later on a Colonel During arrived. He was apparently in charge of the police.

Archbishop Stephen Naidoo inquired whether General Wandrag would not be present to oversee the proceedings because this was what the clergy had been led to understand.

Colonel During made it clear that General Wandrag would not be present.

It was once again reiterated that both sides did not want any confrontation.

Similar reassurances were later made to the Rev Allan Boesak. Colonel During also pointed out that the time limit of 12 noon for the funeral to end should not be ignored.

Boesak then, like the other clergy before him, asked the mourners in the hall to please conduct themselves with dignity and restraint when they left the hall, and that the police would then not take any action.

He also asked all the mourners in the hall to remain seated until the coffin and the other clergy had left the hall.

Then to allow things to proceed orderly, the pall-bearers and clergy left for the gate of the church and proceeded to place the coffin in the hearse.

The coffin was draped with a banner in green, black and gold colours, the ANC colours.

Many of our members proceeded to where the coffin was to be placed in the hearse.

We did not see Colonel During in the vicinity of the hearse.

As the coffin was being placed in the hearse, Major Odendaal lunged forward and took hold of one end of the banner draping the coffin.



Some of the mourners grabbed the other side and a tug-of-war ensued.

At no stage were any of the police in the immediate vicinity in any way whatsoever physically molested. One of our members in fact implored Major Odendaal to let go of the banner to avoid any retaliation from the mourners.

Soon thereafter, the major in fact did let go of the banner which was hastily thrown on top of the coffin as the hearse raced away.

Most of the mourners were on the premises of the church, many still inside the church on their way out.

Suddenly as the hearse went down the road, a shot went off. It was a very young policeman who appeared to be a constable as he had no markings to indicate rank.

It appeared to our members within touching distance from him that he had got over-excited with the hearse moving

off and accidentally pulled the trigger of his weapon.

For a brief moment everyone was frozen, stunned by the sudden turn of events.

It was only moments thereafter that Major Odendaal shouted words to the effect "skiet die gas, wat wag julle nog voor".

One of the policeman also then shouted "moet nie nog in die lug op skiet nie, skiet sommer reguit in die mense in".

It was at this stage that the police shot gas bullets/canisters almost at point-blank range into the persons directly in front of them.



People scattered in all directions as the police disloaded their firearms directly into the crowd on the premises of the church.

We then witnessed a horrifying spectacle as people were falling over each as they ran, either climbing over walls or running back into the church.

What was particularly horrifying is that some of the policemen did not even attempt to disperse the persons, but shot into their backs as they ran away from the shooting.

A particular horrifying spectacle was that of a group of mourners, most of them young girls and women, who were trying to get back through one of the doors into the church.

Five to six policemen, no more than ten to twenty paces from the group, shot into their backs with gas bullets/canisters.

A large cloud of gas enveloped the people at the door so that one could not see them anymore, and yet the police kept on firing into this cloud of gas where the people had been. Some of our members implored the police to stop firing as the women were in any case running away.

At this stage some stones and other objects were hurled — some from where the mourners ran — to positions from where the police had started firing.

After a while Major Odendaal gave the order to cease fire, which was not immediately heard by all the members who kept on firing until the people in the street also shouted that they should stop firing as they had been ordered to cease fire.

The police had blatantly broken the undertaking that once the coffin had been put in the hearse, the persons would be allowed to move towards their transport to leave for the cemetery.

No warning that the shooting was going to commence or no order whatsoever to disperse were given. The 12 noon deadline had definitely not expired.

Not only had the undertaking been broken, but the police had also acted outside of the law.

No attempts whatsoever were made to arrest any of the mourners while they were being dispersed. Clearly, there was no reason for it because no-one had done anything wrong.

We also condemn the fragrant breaking of the law and breaking of the undertaking given to the mourners.

As far as we are concerned, the mourners were doing exactly what they were told to do.

We also question the fact that a high-ranking officer like Colonel During was not present to command the situation at the most crucial stage.

# Catholic bishops gagged

THE South African Catholic Bishops Conference (SACBC) is being "censored" under the State of Emergency.

A book of pastoral letters and statements by the SACBC spanning six years may not be published in terms of the Emergency Regulations.

Lawyers have advised the SACBC that many statements in the book, Volume III of its Pastoral Letters and Statements issued between 1981 and 1986, may be seen to be "subversive".

The book is ready for the printers, but according to "Inter Nos" the official newsletter of the SACBC, people won't be allowed to read it until the emergency is lifted or until the regulations on "subversive" statements is overturned.

"In effect South Africa's Christian government has gagged the Catholic bishops," Inter Nos says.



Father Mkhathshwa

# Mkhathshwa to speak in Bonteheuwel

RECENTLY released after a year in detention, Father Smangaliso Mkhathshwa, general secretary of the South African Catholic Bishops' Conference, is due to speak in Cape Town this week.

Mkhathshwa, a patron of the UDF, will speak at a mass at St Matthew's Catholic Church in Bonteheuwel at 3pm on Sunday.

One of the main celebrants will be the Catholic Archbishop of Cape Town, Stephen Naidoo.

The mass is being organised by the Justice and Peace Detainees' Support Group of the Catholic Arch Diocese of Cape Town.

Mkhathshwa, the first black priest to be elected to the position of SACBC general secretary, was re-elected for a second term in May this year.

He was released last month from his most recent detention, his fourth in 11 years. Mkhathshwa was detained for six months in 1976; five months in 1977 and five months in 1983.

In August last year the SACBC brought an urgent application to restrain the police from allegedly torturing him in detention. The police undertook that he would not be assaulted.

He was released on June 11 but had to spend another day in jail as an awaiting trial prisoner. He was charged with illegal possessing of a firearm and was released on bail.

# Christians 'for liberation'

A NATIONAL grassroots Christian movement was launched at the recent National Assembly of Confessing Communities (NACC) in Johannesburg.

According to the Belydende Kring — founded in 1974 to work for the unity of the Ned Geref Kerk churches — people of Christian faith have been brought together "in the struggle to realise national liberation".

"A new Christianity is emerging. Clear-headed, aware of the deep divisions among us, ready to accept the challenges of tomorrow."

Those at the NACC were prepared to bring their churches in line with the people's liberation struggle," the Belydende Kring said.

A committee was elected to work towards the formation of a permanent national organisation of Christians involved in the struggle.

The NACC resolved to encourage each confessing community to determine its own programme of action; develop communication with other congregations and Christian groups and to relate to worker, youth, women and community organisations.

"Through this process we build on the witness of the message to the people of South Africa by the SACC, the Kairos document, the Evangelical Witness and the Belhar Confession," the resolution said.

# Dominee's wife dies

THE WIFE of a prominent Ned Geref Sendingkerk minister died suddenly last Friday evening.

Mrs Lizzie Botman, director of the Battswood Educare Centre in Wynberg and wife of the Rev Russel Botman, died of kidney failure.

She leaves her husband and two children, Hayman, 7, and Lizelle, 6.

South 23-29/1/87

South 23-29/1/87

South 23-29/1/87

# 'Daar's 'n stryd om te veg



Dr Allan Boesak and his wife, Dorothy, lead the funeral procession from the Anglican Church, Bonteheuvel, to the hearse

## ... en 'n volk om te lei'

"DAAR'S 'n stryd om te veg en 'n volk om te lei." (There's a battle to fight and a nation to lead). These were the favourite words of slain youth leader and ANC member Ashley Kriel, according to a friend and fellow-worker, Mr Melvyn Bruintjies.

Bruintjies, chairperson of the Inter Church Youth, said he met Kriel during the Bonteheuvel "maintenance campaign" in 1981. "We forged a close working relationship during the formation of the Cape Youth Congress and the UDF during 1983 and 1984. His courage, his dignity, his honesty and dedication towards the struggle earned him the respect of the community.

"I can clearly remember one Sunday evening when we were distributing a banned edition of the Grassroots community paper. Somebody told us we were taking a risk to distribute the paper but Ashley was adamant that the community must be made aware what was happening," said Bruintjies.

Ashley also revealed "a great faith in God" while they were on a youth excursion.

"He told me he believed in an all-seeing God. We also 'played life' as it would be under a socialist system. We and others shared everything and took turns to cook and entertain each other.

"When we went out somewhere we used to pool our money and we would equally divide what was left," Bruintjies said.

"Early in 1985 he told me he was going to decline the position of SRC chairperson at Bonteheuvel High to concentrate more on his studies.

"The Uitenhage massacre in which many people were killed, however, angered him and he said he could not stand by and see these things happen. His studies were pushed into the background and he organised and campaigned against the system with vigour."

Bruintjies said Kriel went into hiding after the emergency was declared.

"He disappeared and I saw less of him. When I saw him again after a

few weeks, he was ill and thin.

"I saw him for the last time at a party shortly before Christmas. He did not tell anybody about his plans to leave the country, but somehow I sensed it," Bruintjies said.

"Something deep inside moved when I heard about his death.

"I could not believe it and I cried that night. But his mother's strength made me realise that mourning him would be in vain. It brought me a renewed sense of commitment and also frustration towards those who take the struggle so lightly."

A teacher and close friend at the school where Ashley was a pupil said he had been a true leader because he had cared about students, teachers and the community.

"I knew him from when I started teaching at Bonteheuvel in 1984. He was the SRC chairperson then and I did not know him very well because students did not usually take to a new teacher.

"But I sensed the students and the staff trusted and had confidence in him because he was not only a talker, but also a doer. When he called

for a march or for action, he was always at the forefront and the masses followed. He had the charisma and the authority to motivate students on any level."

He said Ashley had refused the SRC chairpersonship in 1985 - although he was unanimously elected - because he had believed the position could help to equip others for leadership.

He had "great diplomatic instincts" and had always carefully assessed matters before taking action.

At the height of the school unrest in 1985 Ashley had called on students to form study groups and to continue their studies while boycotting classes.

Before the boycotts he had not attended school regularly and had always complained about his abdomen. Despite this he had always done well at school.

"He tirelessly propagated the setting up of various structures at schools and the community. He played a major role in the formation of the Bonteheuvel Inter School Congress which had become a ma-

ajor force in the area.

"When the police hunt intensified for Ashley, he disappeared and did not attend school but had somehow made his presence felt.

"He made tape recordings of speeches and sent it to the school where it would be played over a microphone. Even the recordings were enough to coax more than a thousand students into action."

The committee that organised Ashley's funeral said in a statement: "We vow that our mourning shall be transformed into a commitment emulating his heroic example."

"To the names of the brave and the gallant sons and daughters, heroes of our people, who paid the highest price for freedom, his name shall be added. When we sing our songs and chant our slogans we shall remember him forever.

"With unflinching commitment he fought to help create the South Africa of his dreams. An ideal for which he was prepared to fight, with arms in hand, when the call came. An ideal for which he was prepared to die."



Dr Allan Boesak negotiating with a senior police officer



Last farewell from grieving relatives





**LETTERS** Address all letters to PO Box 13094, Sir Lowry Road, 7900

# Story had to be told — Esack

YOUR correspondent, Tshonyane from Guguletu, has arrived at certain conclusions from my interview in your paper which certainly weren't there. It is also regrettable that the interview was seen as a "hostile anti-Soviet crusade".

I did speak to your correspondent about the dramatic changes that are taking place in the Soviet Union under Gorbachev and the tremendous excitement that ordinary Soviet citizens feel about what is regarded there as nothing less than a second October 1917 revolution. It was SOUTH'S prerogative to focus entirely on my perceptions of religious life there.

I was far from impressed with religious life there and that story had to be told. If the anti-Soviet paranoids use that as sweet music then it's hard luck. My comments were far from an emotional ranting at the Soviet Union and even went on to explain why religion finds itself in this precarious situation. It certainly does not serve the interests of the Soviet Union or any nation, for that matter, to deny unpleasant realities about any aspect of their national life. The truth is that religion is not free in the Soviet Union, despite constitutional guarantees of such freedom and the existence of officially recognised boards for the various religious communities. Surely to acknowledge "exciting changes", which your correspondent does do, also implies that all wasn't that rosy before those changes. Are the warm feelings that our people have for the Soviet Union going to lead to us denying that many things have been and are still not right and just there? We know of and acknowledge the



**Faried Esack**

impact of the 1917 October Revolution, but who are we to say that the revolution remained on course when its defenders are struggling to reverse some of the more negative aspects and to redress serious flaws in their implementation of socialism.

A commitment to socialism in South Africa and a deep appreciation for the contribution that the Soviet Union has made — and indeed continues to make — to the oppressed people of South Africa cannot be with integrity if it means a slavish and dogmatic toeing of the line. We need to combine gratitude and admiration with intellectual clarity and personal integrity. Attempts to out-Catholic the Pope and to insist on his infallibility — especially when he himself denies it — is certainly not progressive. That is the path of religious and political fascism.

As for the church or religion wanting

a privileged position in a new South Africa, there has been no such requests by any religious leader in South Africa. Religion like any other social institution shall be judged by the people of South Africa in terms of where it stood when the struggle for the creation of that new South Africa took place.

I, furthermore, stand by my comments on women in the Soviet Union, although I had specifically referred to women in the south eastern parts of the country. A generalisation would, however, not be out of place. One only needs to look at a photograph of the politburo to see that. Let there be no denial of the tremendous strides that women have made since the October Revolution in 1917, but let us also not underestimate the tremendously powerful social forces that militate against the liberation of women. My comments on women were essentially intended as a warning to our own comrades not to allow the social oppression of women to slide further down on the agenda of our progressive organisations — not that it's high enough at the moment.

Yours in the struggle for a non-racial, democratic and non-sexist South Africa.

**MOULANA FARIED ESACK**

**THE Editor reserves the right to shorten letters. Although a pseudonym is acceptable, all letters should carry the name, address and signature of the writer.**

I WISH to refer to the letter by Tshoyane, from Guguletu, in SOUTH. The writer has taken particular offence to Faried Esack's assertion that women remain oppressed in the Soviet Union.

While it is important that we acknowledge the gains that have been made for women in the USSR and other Socialist states, it is a historic fact that Socialism has not granted women automatic equality.

The abolition of class

## Inequalities still exist

relationships and the private ownership of the means of production has freed women from the burden of class oppression. However, gender inequalities still exist — maintained by patriarchal structures found in Soviet society. Manifestations of this inequality are evident by the lack of women in top

positions within the army, police, bureaucracy and higher echelons of the Party; the socialisation of children remains the duty of women; the privatisation of domestic labour; the feminisation of certain industries; women are accorded low-status jobs and professions (like medicine and teaching).

Women will only become truly emancipated once ALL oppressive structures have been abolished.

**S PARKER**

## Emphasis on religion strengthens govt's hand

TO a certain extent we agree with Tshonyane of Guguletu's criticism of Faried Esack's comments on his recent visit to Russia.

We agree that life under the Tsars was slavery and that the Russian Revolution freed the peasantry from this serfdom.

We agree also that Esack's comments could be "sweet music to the racists", but for a different reason. Our reason is that we Muslims are very sensitive about religion and Esack's emphasis on the suppression of religion in Russia (though undoubtedly accurate) could strengthen the Government and the isolationists in league with it in their efforts to poison the minds of our young people against any organisation it (the Government) sees fit to label "communist" or "leftist".

Since every organisation opposed to the Government is labelled thus, the result of Esack's comments is that they could lead to a breakdown in the present Muslim cooperation with non-

Muslim elements in the struggle for the establishment of a just and non-racist South Africa.

Personally, we (unlike your Guguletu correspondent) are not interested in Russia or any other nation when it comes to this struggle.

At the moment we all (Muslim, non-Muslim, whatever our persuasions) share but one objective — the founding of a racism-free, equitable Azania. Let us unite on that and let us leave our differences until later on. Perhaps we would never have occasion to differ if we remember that which is "good" for Russia or "good" for America is not necessarily good for Azania, for Africa, and the solutions for our post-apartheid republic must be our solutions and those which shall materially satisfy and most easily rest upon the conscience of the entirety of the panorama of our peoples.

**ISMAIL JOZUA JOUBERT**  
DIRECTOR, AL-JIHAAD



Members of the SA Railways and Harbours Workers Union

# militancy'



A member of Num's Western Transvaal branch takes part in Cosatu's cultural day at the congress last week

# Union for unemployed?

COSATU is to give renewed attention to the formation of an unemployed workers union.

About 20 observers from the National Unemployed Co-ordinating Committee attended last week's congress.

The general secretary of Cosatu, Jay Naidoo, told delegates: "We must acknowledge that the material assistance offered to these comrades is not sufficient to meet their projected needs."

Naidoo said the elements used to wage these attacks were mainly from the ranks of the unemployed. Bosses were using the unemployed as scabs to break major strikes.

While organised unemployed workers are to be given observer status on local shopstewards, and affiliate unions agreed to campaign for a 40-hour week and overtime bans thus creating more jobs —

much of the activity of Cosatu and the unemployment workers union will be directed at the establishment of co-operatives. These will be jointly controlled by shopstewards councils and unemployed workers structures, and of a national co-operative movement.

While advocating comprehensive sanctions, the congress spotlighted specific areas of the international campaign to isolate South Africa by calling for: Full diplomatic isolation of the country; an end to loans and credits not only to the central government but also the municipalities and homelands and South African businesses; a ban on all immigrants from South Africa, as well as a ban on recruitment of skilled workers to South Africa.

The congress also called for a ban on overseas investments by South

Africans, the withdrawal of landing and overflight rights to SAA, and a ban on overseas travel by government officials, tourists and businessmen.

The congress also voted to "actively support the campaign to save 32 compatriots on death row".

The campaign, launched two weeks ago by the South African Youth Congress, was initially supported by the National Union of Mineworkers, three of whose members are among the 32.

Cosatu also voted to support a campaign to force the government to sign the Geneva Convention protocol on the treatment of prisoners of war and to observe them in its treatment of captured members of the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto weSizwe.

A SOLITARY shot fired by an over-excited policeman was the turning point at the funeral of Ashley Kriel in Bonteheuwel at the weekend.

In eye-witness accounts, members of the Democratic Lawyers Organisation (DLO) charge that the police not only broke their undertakings to the clergy, but also acted outside the law.

The DLO says: "We wish to state that our members who witnessed this ghastly spectacle are prepared to repeat exactly what they saw in any court of law." Here is a text of the lawyers' statement.

# Shot fired the crowd

WE, the members of the Democratic Lawyers Organisation (DLO), feel duty-bound as responsible citizens to let the truth be known.

DLO members had been asked to attend in their capacity as lawyers to assist at the funeral in negotiations and liaison with the South African Police on legal matters or on any action that may be taken by the police.

We were asked to obtain permission to walk in a procession with the coffin, but this request was turned down.

Both sides reiterated that they were not seeking a confrontation and did not wish one to take place.

Major Odendaal specifically said that as long as people came out of the church, placed the coffin in the hearse and then moved peacefully to their transport, the police would not take any action.

Later on a Colonel During arrived. He was apparently in charge of the police.

Archbishop Stephen Naidoo inquired whether General Wandrag would not be present to oversee the proceedings because this was what the clergy had been led to understand.

Colonel During made it clear that General Wandrag would not be present.

It was once again reiterated that both sides did not want any confrontation.

Similar reassurances were later made to the Rev Allan Boesak. Colonel During also pointed out that the time limit of 12 noon for the funeral to end should not be ignored.

Boesak then, like the other clergy before him, asked the mourners in the hall to please conduct themselves with dignity and restraint when they left the hall, and that the police would then not take any action.

He also asked all the mourners in the hall to remain seated until the coffin and the other clergy had left the hall.

Then to allow things to proceed orderly, the pall-bearers and clergy left for the gate of the church and proceeded to place the coffin in the hearse.

The coffin was draped with a banner in green, black and gold colours, the ANC colours.

Many of our members proceeded to where the coffin was to be placed in the hearse.

We did not see Colonel During in the vicinity of the hearse.

As the coffin was being placed in the hearse, Major Odendaal lunged forward and took hold of one end of the banner draping the coffin.

Some of the mourners grabbed the other side and a tug-of-war ensued.

At no stage were any of the police in the immediate vicinity in any way whatsoever physically molested. One of our members in fact implored Major Odendaal to let go of the banner to avoid any retaliation from the mourners.

Soon thereafter, the major in fact did let go of the banner which was hastily thrown on top of the coffin as the hearse raced away.

Most of the mourners were on the premises of the church, many still inside the church on their way out.

Suddenly as the hearse went down the road, a shot went off. It was a very young policeman who appeared to be a constable as he had no markings to indicate rank.

It appeared to our members within touching distance from him that he had got over-excited with the hearse moving

off and accidentally pulled the trigger of his weapon.

For a brief moment everyone was frozen, stunned by the sudden turn of events.

It was only moments thereafter that Major Odendaal shouted words to the effect "skiet die gas, wat wag julle nog voor".

One of the policeman also then shouted "moet nie nog in die lug op skiet nie, skiet sommer reguit in die mense in".

It was at this stage that the police shot gas bullets/canisters almost at point-blank range into the persons directly in front of them.

People scattered in all directions as the police dislodged their firearms directly into the crowd on the premises of the church.

We then witnessed a horrifying spectacle as people were falling over each as they ran, either climbing over walls or running back into the church.

What was particularly horrifying is that some of the policemen did not even attempt to disperse the persons, but shot into their backs as they ran away from the shooting.

A particular horrifying spectacle was that of a group of mourners, most of them young girls and women, who were trying to get back through one of the doors into the church.

Five to six policemen, no more than ten to twenty paces from the group, shot into their backs with gas bullets/canisters.

A large cloud of gas enveloped the people at the door so that one could not see them anymore, and yet the police kept on firing into this cloud of gas where the people had been. Some of our members implored the police to stop firing as the women were in any case running away.

At this stage some stones and other objects were hurled — some from where the mourners ran — to positions from where the police had started firing.

After a while Major Odendaal gave the order to cease fire, which was not immediately heard by all the members who kept on firing until the people in the street also shouted that they should stop firing as they had been ordered to cease fire.

The police had blatantly broken the undertaking that once the coffin had been put in the hearse, the persons would be allowed to move towards their transport to leave for the cemetery.

No warning that the shooting was going to commence or no order whatsoever to disperse were given. The 12 noon deadline had definitely not expired.

Not only had the undertaking been broken, but the police had also acted outside of the law.

No attempts whatsoever were made to arrest any of the mourners while they were being dispersed. Clearly, there was no reason for it because no-one had done anything wrong.

We also condemn the fragrant breaking of the law and breaking of the undertaking given to the mourners.

As far as we are concerned, the mourners were doing exactly what they were told to do.

We also question the fact that a high-ranking officer like Colonel During was not present to command the situation at the most crucial stage.



ASHLEY KRIEL



ASHLEY KRIEL



hamba kahle  
ASHLEY KRIEL

23/11/87  
Bj Day  
IA

# Boraine warns AWB of action

DOMINIQUE GILBERT

IDASA is considering legal action against AWB leader Eugene Terre-Blanche over his threats to the Dakar-talks group.

The Institute for a Democratic Alternative for SA's co-director Alex Boraine said yesterday he had been told Terre-Blanche wanted to bring private prosecutions against the Dakar delegates.

He and the other Idasa director, Frederick van Zyl Slabbert, would hold Dakar report-back public meetings throughout the country regardless of Terre-Blanche's threats.

Boraine holds his first report-back meeting at UCT today. Other large public meetings are planned for East London on August 4, Port Elizabeth on August 6 and Johannesburg possibly on August 12.

He said Terre-Blanche's attitude was "filled with hate and incitement" and his statements were highly irresponsible because "there are enough mad people in this country to take serious action" against members of the Dakar group.

"If any AWB member or anyone urged by him takes physical action against any member of our group, he will live to regret it in terms of the legal action we'll take," Boraine warned.

"Government had better wake up. They are almost in bed with Terre-

● To Page 2 →

23/11/87  
Bj Day  
IA

# Boraine warns the AWB

Blanche in terms of their attitude towards the ANC. Every time they take the attitude portrayed on the SABC, they are encouraging people to take the Terre-Blanche line. It's the last thing anyone in this country wants to see."

It was not certain whether the AWB intended trying to prevent Idasa from holding meetings or what other action it contemplated against people who went to Dakar, but Terre-Blanche's threats were "extremely disturbing", Boraine said.

Since his return from West Africa, Boraine has received numerous threat-

ening phone calls at home. There have also been reports of delegates' families being harassed in their absence.

□ Fifteen Press photographers and film cameramen, arrested while covering events at the airport, appeared in the Kempton Park District Magistrate's Court yesterday. They were told to appear again on August 12, pending the Attorney-General's decision on whether or not they should be prosecuted.

● See comment Page 6

● From Page 1

ANC deaths  
number 420

← Biday 23/7/87

IN A report on July 21 Pretoria University Institute of Strategic Studies head Professor Mike Hough was incorrectly reported as saying 750 ANC cadres had died in the last 10 years in their ongoing attempt to topple the SA government — 500 of them in SA.

Hough said the figure of 500 was for arrests and deaths of ANC members in SA. The overall number of those killed in the decade was closer to 420.

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# The politics of murder

BEFORE 1985 there were few political assassinations — the most notable being those of Dr Ric Turner in 1978 and Griffiths Mxenge in 1981.

With the disappearance of United Democratic Front activist Toto Dweba and Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation leaders Siphon Hashe, Qoqawuli Godolozzi and Champion Galela in May 1985 the rate of mysterious political deaths increased sharply. These murders are still unsolved.

The deaths of Matthew Goniwe, Sparrow Mkhonto, Fort Calata and Sicelo Mhlawuli, all prominent members of the Cradock community, added to the spate of unsolved murders.

The beginning of the first State of Emergency in July 1985 marked a further upswing in mysterious killings of anti-apartheid activists. From August to October of 1985, 12 prominent activists were murdered and these killings are still unsolved. Lawyer Victoria Mxenge, wife of Griffiths, died on August 1.

There is a close link between the rise of resistance against apartheid, the State of Emergency and the emergence of vigilante and death squads, according to Azhar Cachalia, a member of the UDF's national executive.

It is particularly disturbing that few of these murders find their way to the courts despite the presence of "such an alert security system", said Graham Howe, editor of SA Indicator.

Official reaction to these deaths and disappearances range from vigilante action, to UDF/Azania People's Organisation faction fighting to Inkatha/UDF faction fighting. Some criminal murders are often given the appearance of so-called "political murders", a police spokesman said.

"The notion of black on black violence is a smokescreen used by the Bureau for Information to justify sinister vigilante actions and assassinations of anti-apartheid activists", Cachalia said.

Certain incidents have been directly related to police action.

The most notorious case of police involvement in a political assassination was that of Batandwa Ndong, a rural health care worker in Transkei and a close friend of Goniwe.

Ndong was murdered in broad daylight in September 1985 in full view of several witnesses who are now either in detention or facing banishment orders. Police involvement in this murder was admitted by the then head of the Transkei CID, General DG Nkalitshana, who also admitted that the identity of the killers was known to him. They have not yet been brought to trial.

Police action is not limited to the "homelands", though it is often obscure and difficult to prove.

The call by the UDF for an investigation into the death of Ashley Kriel, who died in a police shoot-out, illustrates this tendency to distrust police reports in action against activists. In this instance the UDF asked whether Kriel had been handcuffed or subdued before being shot. Answers to these questions were crucial if the authorities wished to allay "the deep suspicion in our community", said Joseph Marks, vice-president of the Western Cape

THE assassination of Casius Make, the African National Congress commander and another member, Paul Dikeledi, two weeks ago has once again highlighted a significant development in the escalating violence in the South African situation — the quiet elimination of political rivals.

The two ANC men and a Mocambican woman, Elizabeth Tsinini, were on their way from the Swaziland's airport to the capital when they were intercepted by gunmen and murdered.

RICHARD BARTLETT examines this trend which shows the deaths or disappearances of about 50 anti-apartheid activists since May 1985.



Victoria Mxenge

**UDF.**

The murder of Goniwe, Calata, Mkhonto and Mhlawuli remains shrouded in mystery. It is claimed that the only people who could have known of the group's movements that day were people who monitored Goniwe's telephone calls. Before leaving for home, on the night of his death, Goniwe told friends that he would not stop for anyone but the police. Their bodies were later found at various places, some distance from the abandoned car. Police say investigations into these murders are continuing.

In many cases the attitude of police takes the form of indifference and complacency in investigating the murders, says Howe.

One example of alleged police complacency and indifference was the murder of Chief Ampie Mayisa, an executive member of the UDF-affiliated Leandra Action Committee. Mayisa was to meet Chester Crocker, the US Undersecretary for State, the day after he was murdered by vigilantes. Witnesses say police stood by and watched while Mayisa was murdered. Police denied this claim.

Hardest hit by the political

assassinations are youth congresses affiliated to the UDF and trade unions affiliated to the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu).

Since August 1985 11 key trade union organisers or shop stewards have died or disappeared as a result of vigilante action or mysterious murders.

Through such killings "labour relations are made more tense and workers are made more aware of attempts to crush" the labour movement, according to Frank Meintjies, Information Officer of Cosatu.

In Natal, rivalry between Inkatha and Cosatu-affiliated unions is seen as the cause of many of these deaths. One example of this was the death of three Metal and Allied Workers Union members, former employees of BTR-Sarmcol in Natal, who were killed by Inkatha members. Many progressive organisations, both in SA and abroad, called for an investigation into these killings. The cases are still unsolved.

There is no "decent police investigation" into such murders, said Meintjies. He said he does not believe the SAP follows up such cases and Cosatu does not expect anyone to be brought to trial. The State of Emergency helps

cast a veil of secrecy over these killings and helps keep the broader public ignorant of police actions," he said

"The State of Emergency also encourages a militaristic approach which leads to more deaths. We are moving into a stage where repression approaches that of some South American countries," Meintjies said.

This was echoed by Howe who mentioned the trials of generals in Argentina as a possibility in SA in the future.

On the fringes of the security establishment is the right wing who are either dissatisfied or frustrated with the normal legal procedure and sometimes take matters into their own hands," Howe said. This is quite possible in the chaos of present circumstances, he added.

A more recent, and ominous, intervention has been that of kitskonstables. Their limited training has been criticised by many anti-apartheid groupings.

The death of the Rev Booi Jantjies, a minister of the Zionist Church in Africa, earlier this month at the hands of a kitskonstabel is an example of this. Witnesses claimed the kitskonstabel shot and beat Jantjies and called him a communist while he lay handcuffed and dying. This was denied by the police.

The African National Congress is sometimes also used to bypass the central issue of murder. The killing of Fabian and Florence Ribeiro (relatives of former Pan African Congress leader Robert Sobukwe), by unidentified white men in December last year illustrates this point.

Police said they were investigating allegations that Ribeiro's medical practice was being used as a front to forward funds to the ANC. Very few people paid attention to this preposterous allegation, said Cachalia. The murder of Griffiths Mxenge in 1981 resulted in similar allegations.

The court case of the Ribeiro murder showed the involvement of a private security company and a former Selous Scout. This indicates a possible role of mercenary elements in these killings, said Howe.

The possible participation of the State security network in many of these murders is extremely difficult to ascertain, Howe said.

Commenting on the deaths and disappearances of anti-apartheid political activists and alleged police complacency and indifference, a police spokesman said such allegations "are ludicrous and we reject it with the contempt it deserves".

He said these types of murders are extremely difficult to investigate and witnesses often were reluctant to come forward.

Referring to the Ribeiro and Goniwe murders the spokesman said witnesses had been asked to come forward but the response had not been positive.

"The SAP is above politics and mainly concerned with crime and related matters" the spokesman said.

The real story of these murders will only come out in many years to come, Howe concluded.

# Ama-Afrika and UDF conflict:

# UN asked to intervene

PORT ELIZABETH.— The Uitenhage branch of the UDF has written a letter to the General-Secretary of the United Nations, Dr Pérez de Quellar, asking for intervention in the conflict between the Pan Africanist vigilante group Ama-Afrika and the United Democratic Front.

The conflict has claimed 15 lives since the beginning of the year.

The letter, which is also addressed to a number of other organisations and individuals including Dr Allan Boesak, Archbishop Dennis Hurley, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Colin Eglin, Dr Beyers Naude and the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, calls for a "combined effort to bring a lasting solution to this conflict".

"We also demand that an

open judicial inquiry be held in connection with the events since the second week of March 1986 (the date the conflict started) and that police actions are immediately checked."

The letter claimed that Ama-Afrika, had received support and protection from the State.

In an interview, the leader of Ama-Afrika, the Rev Ebenezer Maqina, said: "The conflict that has arisen between the UDF and Ama-Afrika has nothing to do with ideological differences."

"The UDF is trying to dominate an area or territory where Ama-Afrika is the only other liberation group continuing with its programmes."

Affidavits of allegations against Ama-Afrika fill

hundreds of pages and 16 summons are to be served on the Minister of Law and Order and Ama-Afrika members for incidents on January 4 this year when Kwanobuhle residents were allegedly attacked by Ama-Afrika members.

Ama-Afrika, as explained by Maqina, is a political organisation "completely unrelated to Azapo" with 60 000 members countrywide carrying out "various projects to better the quality of life of the black people".

All the members involved are "Africanists" who endorse the policy of Pan Africanism.

Its projects range from trade union activity to employment agencies and included civic organisations under the African Persons Civic Association (APCA) in Port Elizabeth and the African Persons Concerned Committee (APCC) in Uitenhage.

"We say that Ama-Afrika is an organisation reserved for black people. The white people are part of the problem and can never be part of the solution. The black people are the solution." — ECNA



Ama-Afrika members salute their dead in a funeral for three Ama-Afrika members last week

## COMMUNITY HOUSE

### CAPE TOWN

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Community House is a new centre in Cape Town for organisations working towards a democratic and just non-racial South Africa. The Tenant's Committee is looking for someone who is -

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# Winnie as patron of OFS youth

By VUSI GUNENE

THE Free State Youth Congress, launched in Durban last weekend, has elected activist Winnie Mandela, wife of jailed ANC leader, Nelson Mandela, and Patrick "Terror" Lekota, former UDF national publicity secretary and currently on trial for treason, as honorary presidents.

The launch was moved to Durban apparently because of problems involved in acquiring a venue in the Free State.

Fryco is an affiliate of the 600 000-strong South African Youth Congress, the largest UDF affiliate, launched four months ago. Six hundred delegates from 42 townships attended; the group claims a membership of 23 000.

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# Inkatha: Our peace bid failed

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Inkatha has tried to patch up its differences with the ANC "for quite some time", Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday.

The KwaZulu Chief Minister responded to reports quoting Dr Alex Boraine — on his return from talks with the ANC in Dakar — as saying the ANC was suspicious of the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba and believed Inkatha was being "misused".

Dr Boraine said it was clear the ANC and Inkatha disliked each other and it would make better sense for the organizations "to resolve their differences".

Chief Buthelezi said: "Obviously Dr Boraine was not informed by the lower rungs of leadership of the external mission of the ANC that we in Inkatha have sought a rapprochement — to no avail — for quite some time."

Chief Buthelezi also rejected an ANC claim, reported by Dr Boraine, that the banned organization had been responsible for founding Inkatha.

He said it was an outright lie that Inkatha was not being used for the "liberation" of SA.

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# UDF's Morobe, Valli detained

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PORT ELIZABETH. — Two United Democratic Front executive members, Murphy Morobe and Mohamed Valli, were detained at Malabar near here early on Wednesday.

Krish Naidoo, the UDF's legal representative in Johannesburg, said he received confirmation of the detentions after telexing the office of the Commissioner of Police in Pretoria.

Morobe, the UDF's publicity secretary, and Valli, secretary general, were visiting here since Monday.

Valli, 30, was released from detention in April this year. Morobe, 33, had been in hiding for over a year after he was detained for three weeks in March last year under the first State of Emergency.

# Fighting in ANC, PAC ranks reported

The Star's Africa News Service  
MASERU — Members of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and the African National Congress (ANC) had both been engaged in internal faction fighting recently in the refugee centre here, said an official announcement on Radio Lesotho.

The radio said that in the fighting which took place among factions in PAC, four members were seriously injured and had to be admitted to hospital for treatment. They have since been discharged.

In the fighting among ANC members, four men were also seriously injured. Three of them have since voluntarily left the refugee centre, while the fourth man is missing and authorities are searching for him.

This is the first time Lesotho authorities have admitted rifts in PAC and ANC ranks there that has led to fighting.

# No licence to kill, court tells police who shot ANC suspect

BY FRANZ KRÜGER AND LOUISE FLANAGAN, East London

TWO Transkei policemen who shot dead an alleged ANC guerrilla may face criminal charges after a magistrate's ruling this week that they did not have the right to kill him.

Magistrate DE Moses made the unusual finding at the conclusion of an inquest into the death on December 21 last year of Ngwenduna Vanda.

Vanda had allegedly crossed the Lesotho border illegally, near the Telle Bridge border post in the remote Sterkspruit district of the Transkei. Armed with a Makarov pistol, he was confronted by Transkei police and was shot dead in a confrontation whose details, said the magistrate, remain "cloudy".

The magistrate found Vanda had already been disarmed when he was shot dead. The danger under which the police operated at the time should not be underestimated, he said, but

this did not give them the right to shoot a man they had disarmed.

Vanda's death had been caused by actions by constables Ishmael Comamando Dzai and Nelson Nceba Solombela, "which might constitute an offence". The inquest docket is now to be sent to the Transkei attorney general, who will consider whether to charge the two.

The inquest finding marks a further stage in the dramatic story of Vanda's death, which remained unknown until over four months after it occurred.

On May 1, his family, who live in the Ciskei town of Peddie, received an anonymous telephonic tip-off that he had been killed.

Investigations by their lawyer, TM Mdlalana, identified the caller as Bonisile Qabaka, who had been travelling with Vanda on the day of his death and who had been in detention

since then.

Qabaka told the lawyer that Vanda, who was known in Lesotho as David Ondala, had arranged that Qabaka take him and his possessions from Lesotho into South Africa, where he was due to take on a teaching post.

They had left Maseru on December 21, but when they approached Telle Bridge, Vanda had said he would walk across the border, avoiding customs officials, because his passport had expired. This would spare them "unnecessary delays and fuss". Van-

da had arranged to meet Qabaka on the other side of the border.

Instead, Qabaka said in an affidavit, "I was accosted by a number of policemen who approached my car with pointed firearms, shouting that I should come out of the car and saying that I was a terrorist."

Qabaka said he was led away and shown Vanda's body; Vanda had a hole in his chest. "I was greatly shocked when I saw him lying there motionless and it only dawned on me after he was dead and that the hole in his chest was that of a bullet."

Qabaka had been held in Transkei and then in South African security detention until his release in April, when he contacted Vanda's family.

Delivering his judgement, Moses criticised the actions and evidence of the policemen involved in the incident.

Constable Dzai had testified that he and Solombela had grown suspicious about Qabaka's behaviour, and had seen Vanda come out of Palmfontein plantation while they were investigating.

Solombela got out of the car to question Vanda, who ignored the policeman and walked over to the other side of the car, where Dzai was sitting, and held his door closed.

A third policeman, security police Sergeant Gift Mzwandile Sinyanya, had arrived in another car, the policemen testified.

At this point, the issue had become "cloudy", the magistrate said, because of conflicting evidence by the policemen.

Dzai had managed to get out of the car and the three policemen had begun questioning Vanda. When they tried to search him, however, he drew a firearm "from his private parts" and began firing at them, police testified. They returned fire, fatally wounding him.

There were numerous contradictions between the policemen's evidence on details of the incident, Moses said. "One would get the impression Dzai and Solombela were recounting another incident to the one Sinyanya saw."

Sinyanya had testified Vanda had collapsed with the Makarov in his hand, while the other two policemen said the firearm had fallen from his hand while he was still standing.

The district surgeon had said the fatal injury in the chest, as well as one on the buttocks, had been inflicted while Vanda was "cowering", and the third injury, to the forearm, must have been inflicted beforehand.

"What has been proved beyond reasonable doubt is that when he was shot in the arm it would have the effect of disarming the deceased, so that when he sustained the wound on the sternum and buttocks he was no longer a threat to anybody," the magistrate said.

He criticised the police for not arresting Qabaka immediately, if they suspected he was waiting to meet someone trying to cross the border illegally, and for not arresting Vanda if they believed him to be a trained ANC guerrilla.

And despite operating in dangerous circumstances, they did not have the right to shoot a man they had disarmed. — elnews



## A Cape SOS to the UN over bloody vigilante war

THE Uitenhage branch of the United Democratic Front has asked United Nations Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar to intervene in a 16-month conflict between the UDF and Ama-Afrika, an alleged vigilante group.

The conflict has claimed 15 lives since January 4, the bloody Sunday when thousands of armed men moved into UDF-organised sections

By MBULELO LINDA and EDYTH BÜLBRING, Port Elizabeth

The letter demands an open judicial inquiry into events since the conflict erupted, "and that police actions are immediately checked."

But Ama-Afrika leader, the Reverend Ebenezer Maqina, denied the al-

Eugene Terre'blanche — the man at the centre of the rightwing reception committee at Jan Smuts airport this week to meet liberal Afrikaners returning from their Dakar summit with the ANC — defies airport prohibitions on press conferences. The AWB leader told journalists the Dakar delegation had no right "to speak to the ANC about a fatherland that does not belong to them". Sporting AWB badges and flags, his supporters waited three hours for the men to disembark, chanting "traitors" and "we'll get you". But the travellers were whisked away to the airport police station and forbidden to confront Terre'Blanche.

Pictures: ERIC MILLER, Afrapix



## A Cape SOS to the UN over bloody vigilante war

THE Uitenhage branch of the United Democratic Front has asked United Nations Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar to intervene in a 16-month conflict between the UDF and Ama-Afrika, an alleged vigilante group. The conflict has claimed 15 lives since January 4, the bloody Sunday when thousands of armed men moved into UDF-organised sections

By MBULELO LINDA and  
EDYTH BÜLBRING, Port  
Elizabeth

The letter demands an open judicial inquiry into events since the conflict erupted, "and that police actions are immediately checked."

But Ama-Afrika leader, the Reverend Ebenezer Mqina, denied the al-

Eugene Terre'blanche — the man at the centre of the rightwing reception committee at Jan Smuts airport this week to meet liberal Afrikaners returning from their Dakar summit with the ANC — defies airport prohibitions on press conferences. The AWB leader told journalists the Dakar delegation had no right "to speak to the ANC about a fatherland that does not belong to them". Sporting AWB badges and flags, his supporters waited three hours for the men to disembark, chanting "traitors" and "we'll get you". But the travellers were whisked away to the airport police station and forbidden to confront Terre'Blanche.

Pictures: ERIC MILLER, Afrapix

## False names, silenced pistols, parcel bombs. The most savage aspect of the South African conflict is a war which rages across two continents

SOUTH AFRICA'S undeclared civil war is being fought increasingly in the shadows as security force agents and guerrillas operating under false names try to outmanoeuvre and eliminate one another.

The killing by anonymous gunmen of two top African National Congress men in Swaziland a fortnight ago is a reminder of the secret nature of the conflict. Both ANC men, Cassius Make and Paul Dikeledi, were using guerrilla code names.

If the ANC had not chosen to acknowledge their assassination by what it called "South African agents", they may have been buried without acknowledgement or recognition in a foreign country.

Another reminder came last week with the appearance in court in London of four men on charges of plotting to kidnap top ANC men in Britain. Two of the four men, Frank Larsen and his son, John, were expatriate white Zimbabweans.

Appraising the situation the ANC chief representative in London, Solly Smith, said: "South African hit squads have been very active... They are going all out."

There are signs that the secret war has intensified in recent months. Eleven ANC members have been killed in Swaziland alone in the past eight months. But the use of anonymous assassins — by both sides — is not new.

As far back as 1981 Joe Gqabi, the ANC chief representative in Zimbabwe and, like Make, a member of the ANC national executive, was shot dead by a hit squad.

Later unidentified saboteurs placed a bomb in a car in Botswana, killing the son of John Nkadimeng, another member of the ANC executive and a top man in the South African Congress of Trade Unions. Exiled former journalist Nat Serache narrowly escaped death when his house in Gaborone was blown up.

Several attempts were made, again by unknown men, to kill Chris Hani, the number two man in the ANC underground army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, while he was in Lesotho.

More recently anonymous gunmen using pistols equipped with silencers attacked "ANC targets" in Lesotho in December 1985, and Maputo in May 1987. They killed nine people in Lesotho, six of whom were ANC members or sympathisers. In Mozambique the victims were three Mozambique nationals, including a husband and wife.

The use of parcel bombs, another form of the secret and deadly war against ANC operatives or sympathisers, has an even longer history. Victims include Jeanette Schoon and her young daughter, Katryn, and Ruth First, wife of Joe Slovo, general secretary of the SA Communist Party and former Chief of Staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe. Schoon was killed in Angola in 1984 and First in

By  
**PATRICK LAURENCE**

# The war in the shadows

## The mystery of 'Comrade September'

Weekly Mail Reporter,  
Swaziland

knows names and addresses of ANC people living in Swaziland. Since September's abduction the wave of attacks on ANC members has risen. Sources claim some of the attackers worked directly with September.

Swaziland police are known to be looking for September, but will not say why.

In spite of police pledges to intensify security, some ANC supporters question the local police's sincerity.

South Africa's increasingly violent "silent war" against the ANC in Swaziland has produced an upsurge of popular sympathy for the organisation. Ordinary Swazis are suspicious of strangers, especially whites driv-

FEAR is rife in exile circles in Swaziland after disclosures that a former top African National Congress member is now working with South African authorities.

"Comrade September", whose real name is thought to be Lephath Sebibe, was kidnapped from a rural Swaziland prison last August. He has been seen in Swaziland since then — some say in the company of South Africans.

It is believed that September has a house in Ermelo.

ANC members and supporters have been warned to watch out for informers in their ranks. ANC supporters have volunteered information to the movement about "suspicious" people.

The former military commander

Mozambique in 1982.

Even earlier, in 1974, exiled student leader Abraham Tiro was murdered in Botswana when a parcel bomb exploded in his face.

These assassinations co-existed with open raids by South African commandos, of which strikes against "ANC targets" in Maputo in January 1981, in Maseru in December 1982 and Gaborone in June 1985 are key examples.

But assassinations by shadowy men are not the prerogative of suspected South African agents. ANC guerrillas who by definition operate under aliases carry out strikes of their own.

To cite examples: the car bomb kill-

ing of four white policemen outside the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court in May, the "execution" for alleged treachery in 1984 of black activist Ben Langa by two ANC men, the gunning down of black security policeman Phillipus Selepe in 1982, and the killing in the same year of B Hlapanane, a renegade ANC member who gave evidence for the state in several security trials.

Another aspect to the secret war is the attempt by both sides to infiltrate one another in a protracted and perilous game of espionage and counter-espionage.

Not much is known about these intrigues. The recent display by the ANC of seven unmarked security po-

## ANC expects hit-squad tactics to spread

By HOWARD BARRELL,  
Harare

the night of May 25/26, is currently being held at John Vorster Square and is to be used as a state witness in the pending trial of Ebrahim, according to the ANC.

Swazi police have yet to apprehend a single assassin or abductor.

Hit squad-style assassinations, in which silenced firearms have been used, have also taken place in Lesotho and Zimbabwe.

And four men are facing allegations in Britain of planning to abduct locally-based ANC exiles.

The ANC holds South African government agents responsible for the assassinations and abductions. It views the assassinations as an indication that the government "knows it does not have a political solution and that its resort to military repression has not worked".

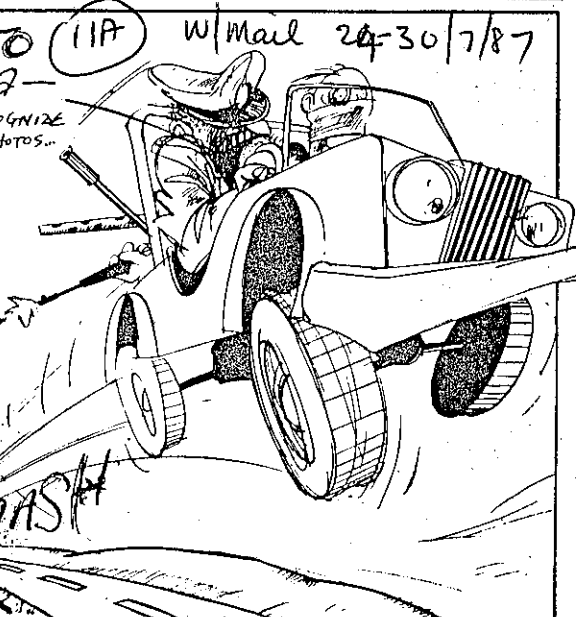
As a result, "its bankruptcy has led

it to employ state gangsterism and assassinations on a wide scale", a senior ANC military source who preferred not to be identified charged in a long-distance interview.

The source said the ANC saw no difference between the assassination of its members outside the country and of leading anti-apartheid activists inside the country, which had become particularly noticeable since September 1984.

"The same objective applies in both cases: eliminate by any methods your opponent."

"What has happened in Swaziland has provided the regime with a model. We expect the Swaziland model to be employed more widely, and we have already seen the first signs of this. The model involves the use of hit teams who target specific refugees. These hit teams are serviced by an in-place structure of resident agents which can provide a relatively high degree of mobility and security



indicating, *prima facie*, the use of incognito agents and perhaps even of mercenaries.

The raid into Swaziland last December is a special case. South Africa did not acknowledge its role until Switzerland complained about the abduction of two of its citizens, Daniel Schneider and Corrine Bischoff, reportedly by white gunmen.

The complaint by Switzerland — whose relative friendliness to South Africa is greatly valued in official financial and diplomatic circles — precipitated a defiant admission of responsibility by Foreign Minister Pik Botha. Appearing on television, he warned that South African agents would even kidnap ANC men from Lusaka if South Africa's security was at stake. Botha's belated acknowledgement of South African responsibility for that raid, and his hypothetical justification of a kidnapping foray into London has made subsequent denials of involvement in undercover action in neighbouring states suspect.

The use of incognito assassins and saboteurs has clear advantages over undisguised cross-border raids, a well-placed source told *Weekly Mail*. International condemnation is usually more muted. Agents can usually move more quickly than, say, a commando unit. Their intelligence is thus less likely to be out of date (as it was in the December 1982 raid in Lesotho when 30 Lesotho nationals were killed).

The deployment of secret agents has another advantage. It can be more terrifying than cross-border raids. As a strategy for "terrorising terrorists," it may be more effective.

Once a commando raid is over, there is usually a lull. International anger ensures that South Africa will not embark on another attack immediately. ANC operatives can breathe easily again. But agents can strike at any time. There is a perpetual sense of unease.

Using trained agents to thwart ANC plans to intensify its "armed struggle" appears to have been given priority over cross-border raids in the past year in South Africa's corridors of power.

But it is only one in a range of counter-strategies deployed by the South African state against the ANC and its allies. These stretch from the deployment of proxies — vigilantes in South Africa itself and dissidents in neighbouring countries — to the co-optation of black notables at home and in the smaller and vulnerable adjoining states such as Lesotho and Swaziland.

Professor Mike Hough, of the Pretoria-based Institute of Strategic Studies, estimates that the ANC has lost 550 men killed and captured in South Africa in the last 10 years. He calculates that another 200 have died in cross-border operations by commandos and agents.

But it has neither stopped the flow of recruits to the ANC nor stemmed the explosion of bombs by its saboteurs. The "little war" is becoming very nasty.

ing South African registered cars.

ANC members have taken measures to protect themselves against attack, changing houses since the wave of terror which started in May.

Public support seems to have swung in the ANC's favour, providing covert assistance to ANC members despite police requests to report the organisation's activities.

ANC members were arrested on the day the police announced their new strategy during the height of the hunt for the "death squad".

The Swazi government was silent and the police reluctant to blame anyone for the latest wave of political murders.

Police said they were taking the hunt for the killers seriously and were still holding the taxi driver.

lice plants to the international press, and the current trial of two black security policemen for allegedly passing information to the ANC, hint at an on-going struggle for supremacy.

If the use of anonymous agents by South Africa's security forces is not new, it does appear to have intensified in recent months.

Leaving aside a raid into Swaziland shortly before Christmas last year, there has not been a major cross-border raid by uniformed South African security forces since May 1986.

On that occasion South African forces made a tri-pronged and simultaneous attack at "ANC targets" in Botswana, Zimbabwe and Zambia. Since then, however, the killings have continued,

to them," the military source added.

ANC sources have reported a marked increase in recent years in South African government attempts to penetrate its ranks. The government toll in numbers of its agents captured by the ANC has been high, the sources add.

The military source said his organisation was taking counter-measures but, he said, "you will understand we cannot comment on these".

In the case of Swaziland, the ANC's only recourse is to appeal for intervention by the Swazi government and the international community to secure both a release of the abducted people and an end to hostile actions against South African refugees living there — and it has done so.

Elsewhere, South African refugees show signs of believing they have no rational course other than to arm themselves and to stalk still darker shadows than those coming to look for them.

# Protest at clamps on ANC funeral

THE family of murdered ANC activist Peter Sello Motau will appeal against tight restrictions imposed on his funeral in Soweto, attorney Amichand Soman said last night.

According to Soman, Motau's father, David Mankurwa Motau, was summoned to Protea police station yesterday morning and told to bury his son today in Avalon cemetery.

Soman said it would not be possible to arrange the funeral at such short notice. The family, he said, would apply to hold the funeral on Sunday or on a day next week.

Restrictions published in a special Government Gazette yesterday forbid flags and banners, amplification equipment, non-clerical speakers and the attendance of more than 200 mourners at the funeral of Motau, gunned down two weeks ago in Swaziland.

Motau was killed with ANC executive member Job Shimane Thabane when their taxi was forced off the Matsapa-Mbabane road by a South African-registered BMW sedan. Slain with them was a Mozambican woman, Eliza Tsinini.

◆ The contents of this issue have been restricted in terms of the Emergency regulations

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# The Kriel funeral is ended, but the disputes rage on

TIA

By GAYE DAVIS,  
Cape Town

THE man in charge of South Africa's riot squads, Major General AJ Wandrag, reneged on undertakings he gave church leaders about the funeral of slain ANC guerrilla Ashley Kriel, said Dr Allan Boesak this week.

He said gazetted restrictions on the funeral were re-negotiated the morning of the funeral, following a request from Wandrag, who flew specially from Pretoria to Cape Town, that urgent discussions take place.

During the meeting — also attended by Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Roman Catholic Archbishop Stephen Naidoo — Wandrag agreed not to uphold the 800 limit on mourners and promised police would keep a low profile. Wandrag wanted "no red flag, slogans on banners or posters" but gave in on the latter, Boesak said.

South African Police public relations division said during discussions between Wandrag and the churchmen permission for an open-air funeral service was refused, but it was agreed that the service would be held in the New Apostolic Church and that the coffin would be carried directly to the hearse and driven to the cemetery.

When the church leaders arrived in Bonteheuwel there was a huge police presence and teargas had already been fired at youths carrying the coffin from the New Apostolic Church to the nearby Anglican church where a second service was to be held.

The coffin was taken taken by a group of funeral-goers who ran down the road with it. The police "were forced to take action to enforce the agreement and the restrictions placed on the funeral", according to the SAP telex.

"When Desmond Tutu telephoned Wandrag from the church to tell him what was happening he told Tutu he would be coming through by helicopter. He may have, but we never saw him," Boesak said.

"We were deliberately deceived. This raises the question whether community leaders can in future be expected to talk to police to try and limit confrontation because the police cannot be trusted. We feel General Wandrag was not willing to reverse orders given."

This week's call by Progressive Federal Party MP Jan van Eck for the dismissal of Major Dolf Odendaal, the riot squad chief at the scene, was not unreasonable in the light of what happened, Boesak said. "But it goes beyond that."

He said Wandrag had "undermined whatever possibilities people saw in church leaders speaking reasonably with police and by extension, the government. I don't think they understand the implications this has for the future."

For Kriel's family, the nightmare that began with news of his being shot dead by police at an Athlone home two weeks ago has yet to end.

Repeated visits to their Bonteheuwel home this week by police apparently investigating a "criminal case" arising out of the funeral have driven Ivy Kriel, 44, and her daughter Melanie, 19, to take refuge with friends.

Their sole comfort is that Kriel, 20, was buried according to his wishes. That it took place against the odds was, in Melanie's words, "a victory for the people: Ashley wasn't just ours, he belonged to the people."



Mourners pay their last respects to Ashley Kriel at his family's home.

Picture: ROGER MEINTJIES, Afrapix

For Ivy, Melanie and her sister, Michel Assuré, last Saturday began with a 6am visit by police demanding details of the funeral arrangements.

To satisfy "conservative" family members, two services were held. On the way to the first just before 9am, Ivy wondered at the police vans barrelling past the cortege. She soon got her answer. Arrayed opposite the church and in surrounding streets were armed and helmeted police, a

drowned by the clatter of the hovering helicopter. Then teargas canisters arced towards the head of the procession, enveloping it in white smoke. The pallbearers faltered. For a moment it seemed the coffin would fall; then it disappeared round a corner.

Firing ceased and the rest of the mourners, who had run back to the church to escape the fumes, were allowed through, guided by United Democratic Front marshalls who maintained discipline throughout.

Michel Assuré, who rushed to help her grandparents, Cupid, 75, and Mary Truter, 65, out of the teargas, thrust her young child into the arms of a bystander. She couldn't remember who the person was but the child was safe with a neighbour.

Ivy Kriel wasn't among the mourners who packed the church for the second service. She didn't see the silent tributes paid by members of youth and community organisations who took turns to stand around the green, black and yellow-draped coffin, fists clenched in salute. She didn't hear the eulogies to her son's "courage and dignity as a patriot and revolutionary", the decision to rename Bonteheuwel High School after him, the prayers by Tutu, Islamic leader Moulana Faried Esack, Naidoo and the World Alliance of Reformed Churches leader, Boesak.

She sat outside in a car with her elderly parents, the Truters. She didn't think her heart — operated on six years ago — could take it. "But I was happy the service took place, so that Ashley's comrades could pay their last respects."

Preceded by robed priests, the coffin was carried out, still draped in ANC colours with the UDF flag flying behind. At the hearse Odendaal dived for the ANC flag. A tug-of-war ensued before mourners bundled it into the departing hearse.

He ordered his men to fire teargas. As people scattered, stones were hurled at police.

According to the SAP telex: "These actions would not have been necessary had the mourners and other elements present, complied with the restrictions imposed on the funeral. The said restrictions, which also prohibited the displaying of flags and banners, were blatantly ignored."

Melanie Kriel said she thought Odendaal was trying to take the coffin. Running after the hearse she leapt over the church wall, injuring her foot. "The undertaker was so overcome by the gas he couldn't see — I had to steer," she said. Teargas billowed from the windows of the church where mourners, had run to safety.

Nowhere near the estimated crowd of 3 000 reached the cemetery. Police turned vehicles away saying 800 people — the police limit — were through but less than 100 people gathered at the graveside, watched by police about 5m away.

According to the family, police told them they had 15 minutes to bury Kriel. Boesak, due to officiate, had yet to arrive. Naidoo took his stead. While mourners softly sang an Umkhonto weSizwe anthem, police took photographs. As handfuls of earth were scattered on the coffin, a flash of the ANC flag could be seen, before the grave was filled to the strains of *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika* and mourners started drifting away.

A second police warning, that an illegal gathering was underway, was



# Anti-ANC trial begins in London

IAN HOBBS

LONDON — A chilling display of anti-terrorist firepower was on show yesterday as a court heard first details of an alleged plot to blow up the ANC's London offices and kidnap the leadership.

Lambeth top security court was told a conspiracy had been hatched by an unnamed extreme right-wing South African, as the four accused men — one a former SADF officer — appeared together for the first time.

In a surprise opening defence statement, the court was told one of the accused, Welshman Evan Dennis Evans, 48, dissociated himself from his co-accused and the alleged plot, and sought bail.

In the heavily guarded court, Evans sat apart from father and son Frank Larsen, 53, and John Larsen, 27 — said to be Zimbabweans — and Briton John Wheatley, 28.

Counsel said Evans, who was arrested

24/7/87 To Page 2 → (11A)

ADAM PAYNE  
RUSTENBURG  
Platinum Holdings increased its available profit by 59% to R368,1m (R232,1m) in the year to June.

The stock market had been expecting good results but the figures exceeded expectations, especially as the recently stronger rand had led analysts to reduce estimates.

The share price reached a year's high yesterday at R61. With the final dividend up by 33% at 110c to total 200c (135c), the share is on a dividend yield of 3,2%.

Earnings a share rose to 293,8c (185,2c) and dividend cover was 1,5 (1,4).

The directors say that if current rand prices of the company's metals are maintained, profits in the year to June 1988 should be similar to those achieved in the past year.

Net sales revenue surged past the R2bn mark at R2 073,4m, sending net operating profit past the R1bn mark at R1 098,6m.

During the year, the sales volumes of all metals, except iridium, ruthenium and nickel, increased over the 1986 levels and higher dollar and rand prices were recorded for platinum, palladium, rhodium and gold.

Capital expenditure, including that in-

# Profit up to R368,1m

BJ Day 24/7/87

curring at the refineries, amounted to R193,2m (R136,1m) of which R143,6m (R122,9m) was charged as renewals and replacements.

Construction of the new precious metals refinery at Rustenburg has progressed substantially, say the directors, and capital spending of R41,8m was incurred on the project.

Profit before tax was R955m (R594,4m) and tax rose to R555,4m (R354,6m). There was an increase in stock at R19,7m (R0,7m).

Output from the mines was marginally less than that achieved in 1986, mainly because of lower tonnage and recoveries at union section.

A substantial part of a rise in on-mine costs to R812,5m (R628,0m) is attributable to improved salaries, benefits and employment conditions extended to all employees.

# Court hears of plot to blow up ANC offices

in an Anti-Terrorist Squad raid last Thursday, had first been approached "by a South African with extreme right-wing views" and asked to obtain explosives to blow-up the ANC offices in London.

Further approaches were made to him at his sub-post office in the island of Anglesey by two men who wore "uniforms something like the SAS".

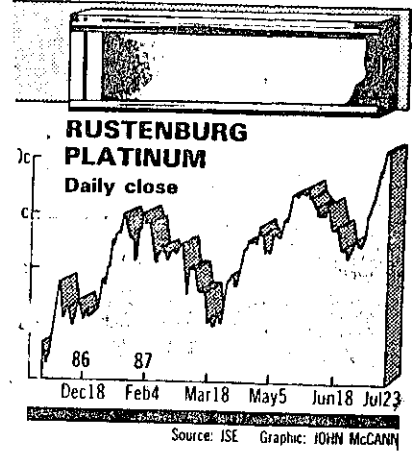
He was subsequently asked to join in a plot to kidnap senior ANC officials in London but "in the lightest possible way he told them to get lost".

Counsel said that at one of these meet-

ings Evans had been gullible and agreed to write down the names of certain ANC officials. These names had been found among documents — including forged Ministry of Defence warrant cards, weapons and ammunition — when Evans was arrested last week.

Because of police investigations still under way it could be a "very, very long time" before the case came to trial, counsel said.

24/7/87 From Page 1 (11A)



News pulls out

BLACK CHAIN EXCLUSIVE II early yesterday

DAKAR ARRIVALS

# Airport '87

It was hardly surprising that the group of 50 or so Afrikaner "liberals" who flew back to SA on Tuesday morning after their talks with the outlawed ANC in West Africa, were not allowed to exit via the main arrival hall at Jan Smuts airport.

For, judging by the threatening, baying behaviour of the "reception committee" of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) and the Blanke Bevrydingsbeweging, it would almost certainly have been like throwing them to the wolves — despite the large number of policemen on guard. When an airline stewardess emerged carrying a black baby, a kind of howl rose up among the ultra-Right, who'd been chanting words like *verraaier* (traitor). However, the man they really wanted to "get," Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert, who led the historic visit, was of course not even due back for another week.

The press conference that Slabbert's co-organiser Alex Boraine was due to hold from 10 am to 12 pm (as well as that scheduled by AWB's Eugene Terre-Blanche directly afterwards) was cancelled for security reasons. It appears that police felt AWB threats could have led to a confrontation and had information that the press conference might be disrupted. They therefore asked the airport authorities to cancel them.

After the cancellation of press conferences was announced by the airport, Terre-Blanche, carried shoulder high, told the crowd that the Dakar delegates "don't have the courage to look the *volk* in the eye... we want to let the world know they are not welcome in their country."

TerreBlanche then told his supporters to disperse. Just as they were, however, a group made up of members of Nusas, Jodac, the Black Students Society and the End Conscription Campaign began, perhaps suicidally in the circumstances, to sing *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika*. There was the odd *Amandla* cry. The departing AWB phalanx immediately turned and began to wade into the leftwingers.

There were no really ugly scenes. With the main lounge cleared, scuffles again broke out outside the building when AWB men attacked the students.

Ten press photographers were arrested and later released on bail. They included the *FM*'s Arnold Pronto, *People* magazine's Mike McCann, *Time*'s Peter Magubane, Reuters' Wendy Schwegman, AFP's Trevor Samson, the *Sunday Times*' Hettie Zant-

man, *Business Day*'s Benedicte Scott, and *Beeld*'s Alan Sacks.

They were due to appear in court on Thursday on charges of refusing to disperse in an unrest situation.

Inquiries at the Jan Smuts police station

Boraine said Slabbert is undeterred by the AWB threats and is prepared to meet Terre-Blanche and other senior AWB members at any time to discuss the situation in the country. Idasa expects the AWB to again protest at Jan Smuts when Slabbert returns to the country on July 31. Boraine personally is taking the AWB threat seriously and is considering arranging protection for his staff, his family and his office and home.

Boraine outlined the trip and explained that the group met the ANC in Dakar out of concern at the escalating violence and drift towards authoritarianism in SA. He said Idasa believes the conference demonstrated that talks of that nature can take place constructively. The group didn't expect to find consensus on all issues.

Replying to questions, he said the selection of the group of delegates took more than four months of confidential arrangements. Negotiations with "key" ANC mem-

bers to make the trip possible took eight months.

Idasa deliberately set out to bring together as wide a cross-section as possible of South African society rather than only people with strong political interests. At no time did the group imagine it could "negotiate" with the ANC because it had neither the power nor the mandate to do so. "We didn't try to speak on behalf of anyone but ourselves," he said.

While members of the group differed on key issues, they were bound by a common search for a non racial and peaceful solution to SA's problems and believed that negotiations with the ANC were part of the solution.

"We hope that what began in Dakar will continue both inside and outside SA and eventually involve the government," he said. What happened in Dakar was a "miracle," but it will take an even bigger miracle to draw government into similar talks.

Boraine said while there were differences between the ANC and Idasa delegates during hours of talks on a wide range of subjects, it was clear to him that the ANC was aiming for a non racial democracy in which economic growth would play a key role in the prosperity of the country.

While Idasa delegates could not agree on the ANC's strategy of violence, Boraine said it is his impression that many of them are now more sympathetic to the "armed struggle" than before, after having heard its justification from ANC executives, "but this doesn't mean we condone it." ■



Greetings, comrades ...

turned out to be fruitless at that stage, but revealed that the Dakar delegates were being protected in a nearby police building until friends and relatives arrived to take them home. Former FCI director Johan van Zyl told the *FM* the trip was a "fantastic experience. I learned a great deal about ANC, Africa and SA." Two other members of the group (journalists) were dismayed by the negative comment their visit had received in the English-speaking press.

Talking to journalists at Idasa's office in Cape Town, Boraine said his delegation had heard of the AWB threats while still in West Africa and sent messages asking for official assistance on their return.

He said he has "no problem" with peaceful AWB protests, "but the line must be drawn somewhere." The group was "received courteously" by senior policemen and security officials at Jan Smuts who kept them away from the main concourse.

Boraine added he was refused permission to go to the concourse to try to calm the situation because the security officials couldn't guarantee his safety. He said he regrets that the authorities were unable to find a reasonably safe venue for a press conference at Jan Smuts.

It was a tragic comment on the situation in the country that a group of South Africans can't return home in a relatively normal manner, said Boraine. The situation at the airport also seemed to indicate that the violent threat posed by the AWB has reached serious proportions.

**I**MAGINE. Your dateline is Senegal, your host at tonight's reception at the Palace in Dakar is President Abdou Diouf.

The white Afrikaners (most of them) on this trip with you have been shopping at the local marketplace and tonight they're dressing up to meet the president in flowing shirts, bright and embroidered.

Chatting at the reception (you're thinking that to be welcomed quite

as warmly is unexpected to say the least) you're introduced to the Zimbabwean ambassador to Senegal. He addresses you in Afrikaans and you talk of his 20 years spent in the heart of the Orange Free State.

Later, the hot breath of Africa stirring a sleeping Dakar outside the bedroom window of your fine French hotel, you toss and ponder the oddness of it all. It's remarkable yes but there's a prickling discom-

fort too: what is so remarkable about travelling within your own continent; meeting people with whom you share similar experiences and languages?

Sleep finally wrests you out of the quandary and the damp heat of the Dakar night.

The delegates just back from Senegal, Burkina Faso and Ghana are extremely loath to talk about the "atmosphere" of the places they've

been to.

As South Africans, West Africa was quite new to them; it was strange to be there in many respects. But they fear the exotic descriptions of local colour that might romanticise their trip. They are wary of creating starry eyed impressions by talking about — sheer novelty aside — how easy and natural and good an experience it was ... remarkable yes, but also not so.

By  
**DALE LAUTENBACH**  
Political Staff

# African minds meet

"SOME of us were swimming early one morning," says Professor Gerhard Erasmus of the Stellenbosch University Faculty of Law. "Slabbert joined us and we spoke about the constant need we felt to digest and make sense of what was happening without losing sight of the harsh context of the experience: the stark realities of South African politics."

And no, they've not returned with a simplistic buddy-buddy message from beyond the equator. But yes, it was good to be in Africa at last.

Stellenbosch University political scientist Mr Jannie Gagiano says Burkina Faso was perhaps the strangest experience for the South African delegation.

Under military rule following a coup led by President Thomas Sankara, the society is run according to revolutionary principles; there is an active campaign to shake off the yoke of colonial repression and reject first world penetration both materially and, most importantly in the president's estimation, psychologically ... "My people are taken over in their heads," says the President, drilling an index finger into his temple. A rough translation of the country's new name is "proud people".

## Hard-nosed nature

"This trip wasn't designed as a sightseeing tour," says Mr Gagiano, uncomfortable, too, about dabbling with personal impressions of places; about deviating from the hard-nosed nature and intent of the talks which were the purpose of the trip.

"We weren't there to make observations about Africa." But pressed he talks of the heat in Burkina Faso which "grips you, controls you and takes away your sense of personal autonomy and independence".

Delegates were put up in the only hotel in Ouagadougou: "The Hotel Silimande and it was crawling with the things — salamanders — but very good and the single first-world platform in the city," says Mr Gagiano.

A sore thumb? ... "No. It sticks out like a cool thumb, an air-conditioned thumb."

He saw people wearing long colourful robes, the women headdresses. Military uniforms are everywhere and there is also a type of revolutionary uniform worn by officials.

"The uniform's got a sort of a Mao Tse Tung mandarin collar ... looks like pyjamas."

## Extreme poverty

He talks of extreme poverty in Ouagadougou, in evidence "without the usual ugly associations like begging cripples and distended stomachs. Nothing was hidden away from us that we knew of. The people are very poor but in a sense it doesn't matter."

He laughs by way of explanation that this observation is not one in the colonial tradition of "see the happy natives, how they smile" but an integral part of the revolutionary thinking that prevails in Burkina Faso where the prominent role of a very conspicuous military force is not obviously associated with coercion, control and aggression but with social mobilisation and civic duty.

An illustration of the degree to which the community is penetrated by the regime came up when he lost or had stolen from him his traveller's cheques at the marketplace.

"I ran into one of these pyjama boys, asked what I



CONCENTRATION: Delegates at the Dakar talks including, right, Dr Alex Boraine of Idasa.

should do, should I tell the police. He said to give him a chance and that night at the reception the cheques were returned to me. I didn't have the sense that anyone had been beaten up ... just that in the context it would have been futile to try and hide them or sell them."

Another instance ... a number of delegates had those revolutionary suits made for them by a local tailor but they were not ready in time. A "pyjama" official heard about the problem, went straight on to national radio, called on the tailors and the suits arrived.

The food in Senegal was predominantly French and first world but still tourist-tummy hit most of the delegates. Fare was simpler in Burkina Faso where Mr Gagiano says they were obviously served the very best of what was locally available. There was a huge sense of occasion and fanfare and yes, they were greeted like heads of state. But the idea of flying in caviare to mark that occasion did just not occur in an environment of revolutionary principle.

Professor Erasmus re-

marks on the sense of occasion too, the welcome and that he never felt his presence was resented, even at a public forum held in Accra where crowds put questions to the visiting delegates.

Mr Gagiano speaks of the way in which the very geographical context for the talks relaxed the South African mindset, the stereotypes and prejudices that exist about Africa. He speaks of the openness of delegates in this environment.

Professor Erasmus speaks of delegates getting to the

market in Dakar at the first opportunity and buying local textile, clothing and art.

"That evening we had formal cocktails with the President and quite a number of our group — boertjies — arrived wearing their bright and spectacular new local shirts, embroidery and all." He laughs fondly and describes a "rather large friend" of his from Potchefstroom in a Sengalese shirt.

"There was a readiness in the group to be involved in African culture."

## "Great injustice"

It was Professor Erasmus who, among other delegates, chatted — in Afrikaans — to the Zimbabwean ambassador to Senegal about the Free State. ANC delegates, too, broke into Afrikaans sometimes — "after a few drinks" — and said a great number of them still talk Afrikaans in ANC training camps.

"We don't begin to realise the full implications of being part of this continent. We are part of Africa and it holds much that can enrich us. But we are also unique and part of our re-integration will be what we can offer in terms of trade and expertise.

"We do ourselves a great injustice but cutting the potential for a full, rich life down to a fearful, paranoid little bit. We're so arrogant that it makes me angry just to think of it ... letterlijk kwaad."



POETS AND POLITICIANS: Poet Breyten Breytenbach and Dr Alex Boraine share thoughts with Madame Danielle Mitterrand and Mrs Abdou Diouf, wife of the Senegalese president.



TALKS TALKS TALKS: Dr Alex Boraine of Idasa addresses President and Mrs Abdou Diouf, centre, Madame Danielle Mitterrand and others at a reception at the presidential palace in Senegal.

ARK645 24/7/81

# 'Plotters' wore SAS uniforms, court told

The Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — One of the four men accused of conspiring to kidnap leading members of the African National Congress here has alleged that he was approached about the plot by a South African "who held extreme rightwing views", Lambeth Magistrate's Court has heard.

Evan Dennis Evans, who has served in the Rhodesian and South African forces, was later approached by two men in uniforms "like those worn by the SAS" who tried to harass him into joining "a crazy kidnap scheme", his counsel said.

But Evans told them as politely as possible "to get lost".

Evans, now a postmaster in his native Anglesey, made a brief appearance with co-accused, Zimbabwean-born psychologist Frank Larsen, 53, computer technician John Larsen, 27, both from Aldershot, and 28-year-old Briton Jonathan Wheatley of Guildford, Surrey.

The four were remanded until July 30. No charges were put to them and they were not asked to plead.

Information about the approaches made to Evans came out during his plea for bail. However, bail was fiercely opposed by the police, who said they feared he may abscond.

Turning down the request, the magistrate said that not enough information had been provided and Evans should apply to a higher court.

The prosecution said Evans, arrested some time after the other three, had been found in possession of forged Ministry of Defence warrants and of a cache of firearms, one of which — a shotgun — appears not to have been licensed.

However, his counsel claimed that Evans collected antique firearms and that most of those found at his home were not operative.

Security round the court was tight, with marksmen on rooftops and policemen with sniffer dogs at every entrance.

ANC files 24/7/87 (11) (12) (13) (14)

## Motau burial order

JOHANNESBURG. — Police yesterday ordered the father of a senior ANC official, who was gunned down in Swaziland two weeks ago, to bury his son in Soweto today, under tight emergency restrictions.

Mr Amichand Soman, the family's attorney, told Sapa that Mr David Mankurwa Motau had been summoned to Protea police station yesterday morning and told to bury his son — high-ranking ANC activist Mr Peter Sello Motau — at Avalon cemetery today.

Mr Soman said the family would apply to hold the funeral on Sunday and failing that on any day next week. — Sapa

# Plot to 'blow up' London ANC office

From IAN HOBBS

LONDON — A chilling display of anti-terrorist firepower was on show yesterday as a court heard the first details of an alleged plot to blow up the London offices of the ANC and kidnap the leadership.

Lambeth top-security court was told a conspiracy was hatched by an unnamed extreme right-wing South African, as the four accused men — one a former SADF officer — appeared together for the first time.

In a surprise opening defence statement, the court was told one of the accused, Welshman Mr Evan Dennis Evans, 48, dissociated himself from his co-accused and the alleged plot.

In the heavily guarded court he sat apart from father and son Mr Frank Larsen, 53, said to be a psychologist linked to the British armed forces, and Mr John Larsen, 27, said to be Zimbabweans, and Briton Mr John Wheatley, 28. All were behind bullet-proof screens.

Counsel for Mr Evans said he had served for many years as a

senior officer in the Rhodesian and South African armed forces but he did not have extreme views for the country.

He had returned to Wales in 1985 because he had not wanted his son to be conscripted into the South African forces.

He said Mr Evans had first been approached "by a South African with extreme right-wing views" and asked to obtain explosives to "blow up" the ANC offices in London.

Further approaches were made to him by two men who "wore uniforms something like the SAS". He was asked to join in a plot to kidnap senior ANC officials in London but "told them to get lost".

Counsel said that at one of these meetings Mr Evans had been gullible and agreed to write down the names of certain ANC officials. These names were found among documents including forged Ministry of Defence warrant cards, weapons and ammunition when Mr Evans was arrested in an Anti-Terrorist Squad raid last Thursday night.

Counsel said that while live ammunition was found in Mr Evans's jacket and he could face

charges for possession of an unlicensed shotgun, other weapons found in his house were useless antiques. They included a rare 1913 Luger, an 1896 Mauser, an air rifle and 19th Century muzzle loaders which were hardly a "massive cache of weapons" as the police purported.

The magistrate said police objected strenuously to bail, suspecting that Mr Evans would abscond or interfere with ANC witnesses, and ordered continued detention in custody.

The men were remanded to July 30.

Police sources yesterday said they were still seeking at least two men and they suspected that others involved were already back in South Africa.

The identity of the "extreme right-winger" said to have master-minded the alleged plot is known to the police.

Anti-Terrorist Squad officials were yesterday again interviewing ANC executive members in London, including head of mission Mr Solly Smith and Umkonto we Sizwe commander Mr Joe Slovo, both of whom were named on the "kidnap list".

Cape Times 24/7/87 (11A)

# Police correct Seme info 'error'

By CHRIS STEYN

POLICE yesterday claimed their confirmation that former African National Congress top agent Mr Lucas Seme was in custody, was an "administrative error" — although the confirmation came directly from security police headquarters.

According to information received by the Cape Times, however, the capture — and probable "turning" — of Mr Seme, who was kidnapped by unidentified people in Swaziland last year, is believed to have provided information used in the intensive crack-down on ANC members in various countries.

On Wednesday the Cape Times received a telex from the Police Public Relations Division which stated: "Your telex was referred to Security Police headquarters for attention. We

confirm that Lucas Seme is in police custody."

But yesterday another telex was received which said: "The confirmation yesterday of the detention of one Lucas Seme, occurred due to administrative error.

"In clarification of our statement re Lucas Seme, referred to by you as one 'September', we wish to state that September is not in police custody and Lucas Seme is not on record as having been detained by the SA Police."

But, according to information received by the Cape Times from well-placed sources, Mr Seme allegedly "turned" after being kidnapped.

A group of unidentified armed men kidnapped Mr Seme in August last year from the Bhunya police station cells, where he was awaiting trial on charges of illegal possession of arms and ammunition.

# Talks with ANC cause extra-parliamentary stir

South Africa's extra-parliamentary organisations have strong and often divergent opinions on who should be conducting political dialogue and with whom.

While the UDF believes that it is important for people in South Africa to be exposed to the views of the ANC, Azapo believes that such "talks binges" are very divisive and lead to a paralysis of expectations.

Mr Ahzar Cachalia, the UDF's treasurer, said: "We believe it important that people in South Africa are exposed to the views of the ANC. We say so because we believe there can be no solution to South Africa's problems without the involvement of this organisation.

"It is unthinkable that groups such as the Government should not be willing to talk to the organisation which unquestionably commands the sup-

**The Dakar indaba generated much comment, but what did extra-parliamentary groups think of it? The Azanian People's Organisation, the United Democratic Front and the National Confederation of Trade Unions were asked if the talks served a purpose, whether they supported them and who should be talking to the ANC? MUDINI MAIVHA reports.**

port of the majority of South Africa's people.

"We believe that all people, including the Government, who are genuinely interested in the peaceful alternative to apartheid should be talking to the ANC."

But Mr Muntu Myeza, Azapo's publicity secretary, said: "Beyond the fact that these talks gave undue publicity to an inconsequential meeting, they achieved very little.

"What comes out from these talks is that the white employers are prepared to listen to the demands by

black people as long as their profits, at the expense of black workers, are not disturbed. It is a pity that the ANC does not seem to realise this.

"Obviously talks between only one section of the oppressed and an unrepresentative section of the oppressors cannot receive any support. The ANC should realise that the problems of this country shall be resolved by black people and that these are the people who should talk first before any attempt is made to talk to the white oppressors.

"The wrong impression is being

created that the ANC is the only organisation to talk to externally when in fact there are organisations like the BCMA (Black Consciousness Movement of Azania) and the PAC (the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania), and internally there is Azapo and others.

"Therefore such talks are in fact very divisive and lead to a paralysis of expectations. The lessons of Zimbabwe must forever remain paramount in the minds of the people where (Joshua) Nkomo and his Zapu were presented as those who enjoyed the majority support when in fact the 1981 elections proved the contrary."

Mr Myeza added: "Anybody can talk to the ANC but the guiding principle should be what such talks are likely to achieve. In the present circumstances these talks amount to nothing other other than increases in the circulations of newspapers.

"The ANC should be advised that their talking about talking with all and sundry except the right people like the BCMA, the PAC and other black organisations is not going to achieve much. The people and organisations who are on this 'talking' binge should know that the workers are the people who matter most."

Nactu's assistant general secretary, Mr Pandelani Nefolovhodwe, said: "The meeting in Dakar cannot just be ignored and dismissed in simple words. It is a matter which needs consideration by the collective leadership of Nactu.

"Only when the collective leadership, through the central committee, has assessed the true implications of the Dakar meeting, only then will Nactu be in a position to comment on the pros and cons of the Dakar meeting."

11A  
SMA  
25/7/82





# DAKAR

## — the other side

THE Dakar mission has been reviled for talking to the enemy, murderers and communists. All this criticism would have been justified, says Stellenbosch law professor GERHARD ERASMUS who was on the safari, had South Africa been a normal society. Here he argues the case for talking to the ANC.

W/Lc AR6us 25/1/82

had South Africa not found itself in almost complete international isolation (with fewer "missions" abroad than the ANC), had we been unfamiliar with disinvestment and sanctions, then the conference in Dakar could indeed be described as futile. Had we enjoyed a sense of national unity, a democratic and legitimate government, one that was truly committed to a political settlement, those who had travelled to West Africa would indeed have deserved the scorn that was heaped upon them.

If, however, there is no sign of meaningful negotiations with authentic black leadership, if the policy is one of fighting to the bitter end, then the meeting in Dakar begins to make sense!

Why? Because it offered an opportunity for both sides to fully explore the complicated issues of the South African political dilemma and to learn more about the possibilities for bargaining and negotiations — at least with respect to the ANC. And they do exist! We could not bargain, only explore. But that sometimes leaves more room for in-depth discussion.

The true value of such an occasion can only be properly determined within the context of the prevailing political reality and on the basis (or lack of it) of the prospects for breaking the deadlock.

THE sad truth is that there are no signs of a new political initiative. On the contrary, what is to be expected is only more polarisation, more radicalisation, violence and counter violence and less goodwill and moderation. This will happen in both the black and white communities.

Our present dilemma portrays a frightening and logical dynamics of its own. As political and economic conditions deteriorate, it will draw in its wake more violence. This again will require more

(white) young servicemen in the townships, more military expenditure and more infringements of civil liberties.

It is doubtful whether the full implications of a policy of "winning the war" have been realised. Do we really understand what it will cost to preserve this strange status quo, to refuse a true political settlement? A grave disservice is done to the ordinary white South African whose only political education seems to consist of superficial emotional rhetoric, as exemplified by so much of the reporting on the Dakar conference. Is this the proper preparation for the changes that will inevitably come?

With whom did we talk? Only with another very important actor on the South African political stage. (Should it be true that the ANC is not the most popular black political movement in South Africa, then surely the best way to call its bluff is to unban it?)

The ANC was founded 75 years ago. For about 50 years it toiled as a typical nationalist movement to achieve basic political rights for black South Africans. It failed. Then it resorted to violence, ie violence as a political instrument. This had grown out of the desperation and the failure to persuade those in power to let them share in the status of fellow South Africans.

VIOLENCE can perhaps be understood; it can never be supported. It displays a deceptive temptation that often turns out to conceal an insatiable appetite.

The Afrikaner himself has flirted with this dangerous outgrowth of political desperation. He had also risen in armed rebellion, but under very different political conditions. He had full political rights then. The moral argument against violence cannot fail to take into account the historical push toward such a policy — and the co-responsibility of those on the "other side."

The condemnation of violence only really rings true when uttered by those with relatively clean hands.

To ask, as is of late often done, why the South African government should talk to terrorists while the same is not expected from the West German or British governments, is to assume equality in legitimacy that simply does not exist. Members of the Red Army Faction in West Germany enjoy full political and civil rights. When they refuse to walk the democratic path which is available to them, but instead resort to terror, the state is fully justified in punishing them and in refusing to adhere to their demands. The analogy does not apply when basic political rights are denied, especially when it is the majority that is involved.

What did we learn?

A definite determination exists to work towards a non-racial democracy which will include white South Africans. A distinction is drawn between rights and privileges. The former (basic human rights and respect for language and culture) will be preserved, the latter (eg group areas) will not.

They understand the power of the South African state and are therefore not immune to the temptation of a negotiated settlement. On the other hand, and with signs of increasing support within the country and internationally, they will not relinquish the struggle.

The South Africans who attended this meeting have all returned with a far better understanding of the nature of the South African political dilemma. We are perhaps "sadder but wiser".

We realise that only through pressure on both the Government and the ANC will the possibility of a peaceful settlement remain alive. And it was only because of our firm belief in and desire for a peaceful solution that we travelled to that unknown part of Africa.

ON Tuesday the "Dakar Safari" returned home. That same evening SABC-TV screened a programme on the ANC, complete with communists and brutal killings. All the carefully selected evidence was there, even the live interviews (with prior permission) with banned people.

The case seemed almost irrefutable. How can anyone but a "useful idiot" see any value in talking to such an organisation?

After all, the government's policy on this makes it quite clear. Since the aims of the ANC are well known, there is no need to talk to it. The only result such talks could have is to generate undeserved credibility for a terrorist organisation. No, the best approach is (as the AWB also maintains) to fight it, not to talk to it.

All these criticisms would have been justified — had South Africa been a "normal" and relatively peaceful society, had we not found ourselves in a political impasse with 70 percent of the population without political rights, and had we not known epidemic violence and a seemingly permanent state of emergency!

Had Southern Africa been a stable region, with no cross-border raids and no destabilised econo-

when he was 26

*Emp. Times. 25/7/87 (112)*

### Funeral of ANC official

JOHANNESBURG.— Police have granted permission for the funeral of slain anti-apartheid activist, Mr Peter Sello Motau, to be held on Monday. Mr Motau, a senior official in the African National Congress, has to be buried under strict conditions stipulated by police, said the family's lawyer, Mr Amichand ~~Soman~~.

GALE TIMES 25/1/87

# Police crackdown on UDF activists

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Nine anti-apartheid activists were reported to have been taken into custody yesterday after pre-dawn raids by security police.

Four people were later released. They include UDF national treasurer Mr Azhar Cachalia, Ms Gail Eliot of the Detainees Support Committee, Ms Jesse Duarte of the Federation of Transvaal Women, Wits University SRC president Mr Etienne Marais and Ms Lisa Seftel, whose detention was not known until her release.

Others reportedly still in detention are Mr Azhar Bham of the Transvaal Indian Congress, Mr William Curry of the South African Council for Higher Education, Mr Eddie Makue, project co-ordinator SACC, Ms Rina Sherman of the Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee and a youth, Ignatius Jacobs.

Hours before being held Mr Cachalia issued a statement expressing concern about an apparent State crackdown on his organization.

He said statistics showed that 75% of all people in detention were linked to the UDF, indicating a "sustained assault at all levels of our membership".

Six of the UDF's 12-member executive are believed to be held by police.

A police spokesman in Pretoria last night was unable to confirm the latest detentions.

copy to his 25/10/77

# Censoring information on ANC is 'harmful' — Prof

11/1/78



Prof Van der Westhuizen yesterday.

PRETORIA. — South Africans were capable of formulating an adult opinion of the ANC and should not be deprived of information about the organization, Professor Johann van der Westhuizen of the University of Pretoria said yesterday.

Prof Van der Westhuizen, head of the Department of Legal History, Comparison and Philosophy and director of the Centre for Human Rights Studies, was one of the participants in the recent Idasa-ANC summit in Dakar.

He told a joint Pretoria Press Club and Public Relations Institute of SA luncheon in Pretoria that it was imperative that complete speeches and policy documents be made available so they could be judged in conjunction with ANC actions.

"To keep back and isolate information leads to a total misconception of

realities, to mythologising on both sides and to poisonous, confusing and harmful propaganda and disinformation from various sources," he said.

ANC leaders had said it was not their policy to attack soft targets. Had it been so, the position in South Africa would have been totally different, the ANC delegates said.

Prof Van der Westhuizen said the ANC leadership was not the most radical faction in South Africa. There were township children who wanted nothing but an AK47 rifle.

A proposition that one white child be killed for every black child killed in the townships had been blocked by ANC leaders.

He said the Idasa group hoped their efforts would contribute to ending or reducing violence and animosity.

# Tambo top of London kidnap hit list — ANC

25/7/87

IIA

Dispatch Correspondent

**LONDON —** The president of the African National Congress (ANC), Mr Oliver Tambo, is named in a "kidnap list" now in the hands of the anti-terrorist branch in London, ANC officials said yesterday.

The other previously unpublished names on the list are the heir apparent to the ANC leadership, Mr Thabo Mbeki, Mr Aziz Pahad and a leading Communist influence within the ANC, Mr Brian Bunting.

It had already been revealed that the top target names on the list were the head of the ANC's military wing, Mr Joe Slovo, and the head of the London mission, Mr Solly Smith.

Because of the intense security, including British special branch protection, surrounding Mr Tambo when he is in London, it is presumed his name was on the list just "for show".

However Mr Pahad,



MR TAMBO

an ANC executive member who played a leading role in the recent meetings with white South Africans in Sene-

gal, would be a top target.

He is said to be a key organiser of ANC cells within South Africa.

Mr Bunting is a veteran member of the South African Communist Party (SACP) executive who has lived in exile here for some 30 years and works for the Soviet new agency, Tass. It is not known why his name is on the list.

Four men were remanded at a special hearing here after being charged with conspiring to kidnap the ANC leaders on Thursday.

They are a former Rhodesian and SADF officer, Mr Evan Dennis Evans, 48, a father and son who are believed to

be Zimbabweans, Mr Frank Larsen, 53, and Mr John Larsen, 27, and a 28-year-old Briton, Mr John Wheatley.

Evans, who returned from South Africa in 1985 to live in Wales, admitted to the anti-terrorist squad that an unnamed South African with extreme right-wing views had tried to recruit him to "blow up" the ANC offices here and join in the alleged conspiracy to kidnap the leadership.

He has dissociated himself from the other three accused and is co-operating fully with the police, who are still seeking other men, including one said to have returned to South Africa.

# Court told of Crossroads meeting in EL

Supreme Court Reporter

AN OLD CROSSROADS shopkeeper — who claims to have been “popularly chosen” as Crossroads leader — flew from Ysterplaat in a government aircraft with government officials to negotiate in East London with Crossroads Mayor Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana, the Supreme Court heard.

The flight, on June 9, 1986, was made on the day a “witdoek” attack that destroyed most of KTC camp began and after the Portland Cement, Nyanga Bush and Nyanga Extension squatter camps were razed.

These claims were made by Mr Prince Gobinca, who was yesterday granted a temporary order restraining Mr Ngxobongwana and three members of his officially recognized committee from assaulting or threatening him and two associates, Mr William Boko and Mr Mzwandile Yeko.

Mr Ngxobongwana and three members of his committee — Mr Alfred Pupu, Mr Alfred Gele and Mr Eric Ndzingu — must show cause on August 26 why the temporary order should not be made final.

In an affidavit filed in support of his application, Mr Gobinca claims he was “popularly chosen at a meeting of residents as leader and spokesman of the residents in order to liaise with the authorities in regard to the upgrading of Crossroads”.

It followed an alleged decline in Mr Ngxobongwana’s popularity following his alleged involvement in an incident in March when “certain residents were attacked and killed” after which Mr Ngxobongwana left for the Ciskei.

Mr Gobinca says he was approached by the chief superintendant of Nyanga, Mr Ricky Schelase, who asked “whether it would not be in the interests of all” for Mr Ngxobongwana to return to Crossroads.

Residents consulted allegedly agreed to his return “on condition that he worked with me (Mr Gobinca) and did not cause more fighting”.

Mr Gobinca says he then flew from Ysterplaat to East London in a military or State plane with Mr Schelase and the chief director of black housing in the Western Cape, Mr Graham Lawrence.

They met Mr Ngxobongwana who agreed to abide by the condition stated for his return and they discussed “the upgrading of Crossroads”.

But, the relationship between Mr Gobinca and Mr Ngxobongwana subsequently “deteriorated”.

On April 12 this year, it was heard that Mr Ngxobongwana had been appointed mayor and the other three men cited in the suit had been appointed to the newly constituted Crossroads Town Committee.

Mr Justice C T Howie presided. Mr S P Rosenberg, instructed by Yekiso and Associates, appeared for the applicants. Mr P F Cloete, instructed by Bornman and Hayward, appeared for the respondents.

MA

26/7/87

C/Press

## Planned service 'led to stabbing'

By STAN MZIMBA

THE planned commemoration service for black consciousness leader Steve Biko and former student activist Batandwa Ndondo on September 24 last year led to the stabbing of seven pupils, while others sustained minor injuries, a Transkei court heard this week.

These incidents were recalled at the trial of 36 pupils from Cala High School, Matanzima High School and Cala Village School charged with public violence.

The State heard that pamphlets were distributed at various schools in the western Transkei calling on all schools to boycott classes in commemoration of the deaths of Ndondo and Biko.

Pupils from Arthur Tsengiwe School who did not adhere to the call were allegedly attacked in their dormitories on the night of September 24, 1986.

A television set, window panes and furniture were damaged in the process.

The principal of Arthur

Tsengiwe, Sabata Mfobo, told the court there were about 500 pupils on the premises who did not belong to his school. He said when he had approached the pupils stones were thrown at him.

Major H Somtunzi, police station commander at Cala, told the court that 32 pupils were arrested that night. Asked by defence counsel Themba Sangoni how the remaining four pupils on trial got arrested, Somtunzi said he did not know.

Somtunzi then pointed out those students who were arrested that night. He tried four times and kept including the pupils he had not pointed out earlier or excluding ones he had already pointed out.

He admitted he beat some pupils with a switch "because they had done a wrong thing".

He denied any knowledge that the military police, who went to assist them in arresting the pupils, later caused the pupils to do frog-jumps at the police station.

The trial is continuing.



Steve Biko ... a planned commemoration for the BC leader resulted in chaos.

Bags packed as unionists  
head back underground

# Activists hide as UDF men held

W/Mail 24-30/7/87  
I/A

WITHIN hours of the detentions of United Democratic Front officials Murphy Morobe and Mohammed Valli Moosa this week, leading figures of South Africa's major opposition groupings had packed their bags and vanished underground.

Identifying the police move against Morobe and Valli as the start of a renewed government crackdown on the opposition, virtually the entire leadership of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) had, by yesterday morning, disappeared — joining top UDF officials who remained underground, despite the apparent easing of government pressure since the June 11 second national State of Emergency.

By MONO BADELA

Acting UDF publicity secretary Morobe and acting general secretary Valli were detained in a police raid on a home in Port Elizabeth's Malabar township — robbing the UDF of its most visible public figure and the extra-parliamentary opposition of its best known face.

Although he has eluded arrest by living underground since the national Emergency was imposed last June, Morobe has moved relatively freely between black townships and newspaper offices to keep news of the UDF on front pages.

Morobe has also emerged occasionally to deliver major policy speeches. His last public appearance was to deliver the main address on Wednesday last week during the official opening of Cosatu's second biannual congress at the University of the Witwatersrand.

He and Valli were crucial in organising the recent secret meeting of the UDF national executive committee.

In addition, since government action under the Emergency forced the closure of UDF offices, he and Valli, among the UDF's few full-time officials, have functioned as a mobile head office for the organisation, often the major interface between widely-divergent UDF affiliates and regions.

Morobe avoided detention during much of the 1985/6 Emergency as well. He was detained near the end of the Emergency in central Johannesburg and held for six weeks.

Valli avoided detention throughout the 1985/6 Emergency but was held on January 12 this year. He was freed on April 7, just before a Supreme Court action demanding his release was due to come before the court.

Although the UDF, a major affiliate, the South African Youth Congress, and Cosatu have said the detentions will not restrict opposition activity, the capture of Morobe and Valli could be the most serious police move against the UDF since the 1984-85 arrests of Patrick "Terror"

# Activists hide after UDF leaders held

W/Mail 24-30/7/87  
I/A ●From PAGE 1

Lekota and Popo Molefe, whose publicity and general secretariat roles Morobe and Valli took over.

This week's detention take to at least eight the number of UDF national leaders in custody.

Lekota, Molefe and Moss Chikane are among the 19 accused — and the only three denied bail — in what was known as the Delmas treason trial. The trial has now been moved to Pretoria and is due to reopen next month.

Other UDF national executive members known to be in custody include Western Cape leaders Christmas Tinto and Trevor Manuel, Border's Arnold Stofile, who is serving an 11-year sentence in Ciskei for "terrorism", the Northern Cape's Jomo Khasu and Port Elizabeth's Henry Fazzie.

Of the UDF's three presidents, Albertina Sisulu and Archie Gumede are free, but Oscar Mpetha is serving a five-year sentence in Cape Town.

Morobe and Valli are among many major opposition figures detained in Port Elizabeth.

Lekota was detained in Port Elizabeth in September 1984 after addressing an anti-election rally, but was released after a month. He was arrested again in February 1985 and charged with treason.

Joyce Mabudafazi, a UDF Northern Transvaal official, was detained in the township in October last year. He is still in detention.

Molefe also had a slight brush with the law in Port Elizabeth. A car in which he was a passenger was stopped in Kwazakhele and searched. Security police confiscated his briefcase. He was detained at Jan Smuts airport on his way to Port Elizabeth in early 1985.

The latest detentions have been condemned by a number of extra-parliamentary opposition groups.

In a statement, Cosatu said the continued detention of Morobe and Valli "would aggravate the crisis that the country now faces". General secretary Jay Naidoo said "We have always said that detention of leadership that has the will and the backing of the majority of the oppressed people will not contribute towards finding a solution."

The militant South African Youth Congress has also registered its condemnation of the action. A spokesman for Sayco said the detentions were "part of an ongoing attempt by the Botha-Malan junta to crash opponents of apartheid and to smash the UDF in particular and the broad democratic movement in general".

Police have confirmed that the two men are being held under Emergency regulations.

## Protest at clamps on ANC funeral

W/Mail 24-30/7/87

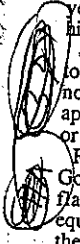
THE family of murdered ANC activist Peter Sello Motau will appeal against tight restrictions imposed on his funeral in Soweto, attorney Amichand Soman said last night.

According to Soman, Motau's father, David Mankurwa Motau, was summoned to Protea police station yesterday morning and told to bury his son today in Avalon cemetery.

Soman said it would not be possible to arrange the funeral at such short notice. The family, he said, would apply to hold the funeral on Sunday or on a day next week.

Restrictions published in a special Government Gazette yesterday forbid flags and banners, amplification equipment, non-clerical speakers and the attendance of more than 200 mourners at the funeral of Motau, gunned down two weeks ago in Swaziland.

Mofau was killed with ANC executive member Job Shimane Thabane when their taxi was forced off the Matsapa-Mbabane road by a South African-registered BMW sedan. Slain with them was a Mozambican woman, Eliza Tsinini.



W/Mail

● The contents of this issue have been restricted in terms of the Emergency regulations

●To PAGE 2



# Now it's ANC-TV!

26/11/87  
SIT  
11A

THE SABC is considering a repeat of a controversial Network TV documentary which featured ANC leaders Joe Slovo and Oliver Tambo talking about the banned organisation and its strategy.

The documentary formed the major part of the programme on Tuesday night and has drawn criticism in some quarters for being "blatant propaganda".

Mr Christo Kritzinger, executive editor of the SABC's news and public affairs division, said more than 300 calls this week have requested more material showing the ANC.

"The impact of the report, apparently, is that the public wants to see more of the ANC speaking for itself, instead of just Government Ministers talking about the ANC," he said.

## Atrocities

"We will very likely screen the programme again soon."

The 30-minute report — which also showed necklacing and other atrocities — was compiled by Cliff Saunders and had taken three weeks to complete, said Mr Kritzinger.

The rights for the opening 10-minute American news report had to be obtained, and the SABC's TV news correspondents had supplied the rest of the footage on the ANC leaders from the US and Europe.

The appearance of Mr Slovo and Mr Tambo on SA screens is unprecedented. Both may not be quoted by SA media without permission

Public wants more of that controversial Network film claims SABC

By DOUGLAS GORDON, TV Correspondent

— which in practice is often difficult to obtain.

The SABC secured permission to screen the two men and to quote extracts from the ANC's official Sechaba publications from the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, who viewed the programme in advance last week — which is also unprecedented.

## Timing

Mr Kritzinger said the timing of the documentary, on the day that the Idasa delegation returned from Dakar, was a coincidence.

The high viewership of Tuesday's Network report, screened immediately before Dallas, was also unplanned, he said.

"We received no more than a dozen calls protesting about the programme," he said. "But we've had more than 300 calls and telegrams asking for a rescreening."

## Clearance

"The fact that the Idasa party returned on Tuesday was irrelevant. We had scheduled the show last week, after clearance from the Minister.

"We have been preparing the report for some time. It took several weeks for the producer to research the many issues of Sechaba magazine for material for the programme," he said.

● The Bore War — Richard McNeill's view, Page 23



'I can't withdraw. If they want to sell my land, I must be there,' AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche tells Major-General Du Plessis after being asked by police not to confront the Dakar group.

## Airport was Afrikaner battleground

26/7/87  
THE political polarisation within the Afrikaner nation was clearly evident this week at Jan Smuts Airport when the 40-odd, mostly Afrikaans-speaking, South Africans arrived back from talks in Dakar with the ANC and walked straight into an AWB demonstration.

AWB members displaying flags which read "ANC anti-

(20th) (11A) C/P/20  
Christ-anarchy" and their red, white and black flag chanted "traitors" and anti-ANC slogans to the homecoming group.

The tension exploded into violence as AWB members charged at those who had come to the airport to welcome the returning group, after some of them began singing *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika*.

See Page 2 for details

# ANC ON FULL ALERT

24/8/77 (11A) UPres

A NEW and sophisticated method to eliminate all top members of the African National Congress internationally by alleged South African hit-squads has forced the outlawed movement to send warning signals to its missions overseas to take "maximum care".

Plots to assassinate and kidnap ANC members have been uncovered in Swaziland, Botswana and London and all ANC missions overseas - 22 in all - including Asia, Latin America, the US and Canada, have been put on the alert and warned to exercise maximum care and to take measures to defend themselves against attacks.

The new and systematic method to render ANC

In the past month, unknown people have wreaked havoc in neighbouring states and overseas countries by shooting and killing ANC members and sympathisers.

Joe Gqabi, of Mofolo Village, Soweto, is the first known top ANC member to have been assassinated. He was the ANC representative in Zimbabwe and was killed there in 1983.

On July 9, two key members of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the ANC military wing, were assassinated in Swaziland when three white men in a South African registered car ambushed a Swazi taxi on its way from Matsapa Airport.

Those killed were Cassius Make, the youngest executive member of the ANC, and Peter Sello Moutau, also known as Paul Dikeledi, of Dube, who left the country in 1976.

In May, a well-known top ANC member, Theo Dldlo, and two others were killed when their car was ambushed.

In January, four suspected members of the ANC were found murdered in a house outside Mbabane.

In December, a youth was killed and five people abducted to South Africa by a group of men.

Grace Cele, a Swazi national, was also abducted by the SA agents. After being kept for more than two months, she was freed by the SA police.

According to the ANC's intelligence report, this trend by agents was a far bigger threat than ever before, not only for the destabilisation of the neighbouring states, but also to ANC



**KHULU SIBIBA**

members ineffective was highlighted by recent court appearances in Britain, Botswana and other countries of people who claim to be South African agents on a mission to kidnap or assassinate members of the ANC.

And for the first time, after almost a year, the South African Police headquarters in Pretoria confirmed the abduction of a

top ANC agent in Swaziland in August last year.

Lucas Seme, a top ANC man, was kidnapped by unknown persons in Swaziland and is believed to have provided information used in the intensive crackdown on ANC members in various countries.

Police said Seme - widely known by his code name "September" - is presently in detention. His whereabouts were not known until the police confirmed

this week that he was being held.

The security forces are apparently using information gathered from captured ANC men to crack down on the ANC network and its members in other neighbouring states and overseas countries.

Over the past eight months in Swaziland alone - now known as the playground for assassins and abductors - 11 ANC members have died at the hands of assassins and, up till today, the culprits have not yet been apprehended by the Swazi police.

During the same period six people were abducted and the ANC claims that three have since turned up in South Africa.

exiles.

This trend is a far cry from cross-border raids in the neighbouring states. Political analysts say this is another way to avoid criticism from Western countries and the international media.

Reports from London say Scotland Yard believes it has uncovered a plot by South African agents to kidnap top members of the ANC.

Newspapers there said the alleged kidnapping campaign was uncovered by accident when one of the suspected agents was arrested for drinking and driving.

Police searching him found names and details of a number of members of the ANC.

The man is believed to have intended to kidnap key ANC members and take them back to South Africa. Three men are presently facing charges of conspiring to kidnap ANC members.

Among those who have been singled out are Joe Slovo, ANC executive member and former commander of the organisation's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, and Solly Smith, a known communist in the ANC.

In Botswana, Briton Steve Burnett, 30, of Johannesburg, has been charged with attempting to murder anti-apartheid activist Ronnie Watson, of Port Elizabeth. Watson was shot at in a Gaborone hotel room in May.

In spite of the sophisti-

cated machinery of curbing the ANC cadres, a spokesperson for the outlawed organisation said the ANC was not going to relinquish its operations for the liberation struggle, despite its knowledge that "South African-employed" hit-squads were trying to eliminate its leadership internationally.

Speaking in Lusaka, ANC spokesperson Victor Moche, said: "From our own investigations we are aware that the entire leadership of the ANC is on the South African hit list.

"We are not going to lock ourselves behind doors as we have a duty to the liberation struggle in South Africa, but we are taking absolute maximum care," said Moche.

Reacting to the figures released this week by the head of the Institute of Strategic Studies at the University of Pretoria, Professor Mike Hough, that at least 750 ANC cadres had died in the past decade in attempts to oust the South African government, Moche said that, as a political analyst, Hough "leaves one with a question mark".

He said: "Hough has had no sympathy towards the ANC. Whatever he claims to know about the ANC comes to him largely via the South African security services.

# Many expected

By SANDILE MEMELA

HUNDREDS of mourners are expected to flock to the funeral of assassinated African National Congress member Peter Motau, shot in Swaziland recently.

Motau, of 879 Marivane Street, Dube, will be buried at the Avalon cemetery on Sunday.

His mother, Salome Motau, told *City Press* that a service would be held at home from 11am, before the cortege left for the cemetery.

Soweto divisional police commissioner D Nel yesterday ordered "routine" restrictions on Motau's funeral, proscribing flags and banners, amplification equipment, unordained speakers and more than 200 people attending the ceremony.

Motau, also known as Paul Dikeledi, was gunned down by unknown white assassins in a South African registered vehicle in Swaziland two weeks ago.

26/7/87 CPress

(11A)

# Top UDF officials detained in PE

CP Correspondents  
and Sapa

MURPHY Morobe, and Mohammed Valli, two executives members of the United Democratic Front, were detained in the early hours of Wednesday in Port Elizabeth.

Morobe is the acting publicity secretary of the UDF, while Valli is its acting national secretary.

They were detained at 4am at a house in Malabar, an Indian suburb in Port Elizabeth.

Valli and Morobe had been in Port Elizabeth for two days.

Valli, 30, was released from detention in April this year. Morobe, 33, has been in hiding for over a year after he was detained for three weeks last March.

UDF lawyer Krish Naidoo said they have been detained under the emergency regulations.

Meanwhile, the South African Youth Congress strongly condemned their detention.

"This is part of an ongoing attempt by the government to smash the UDF in particular and the broad democratic movement in general," said the statement.

11A

**Court  
told of  
PAF** *affers*

By **STAN MZIMBA**

PLANS were underway to form a new political party to rescucitate the banned Pan Africanist Congress, a State witness told a trial of seven Transkeians charged with terrorism.

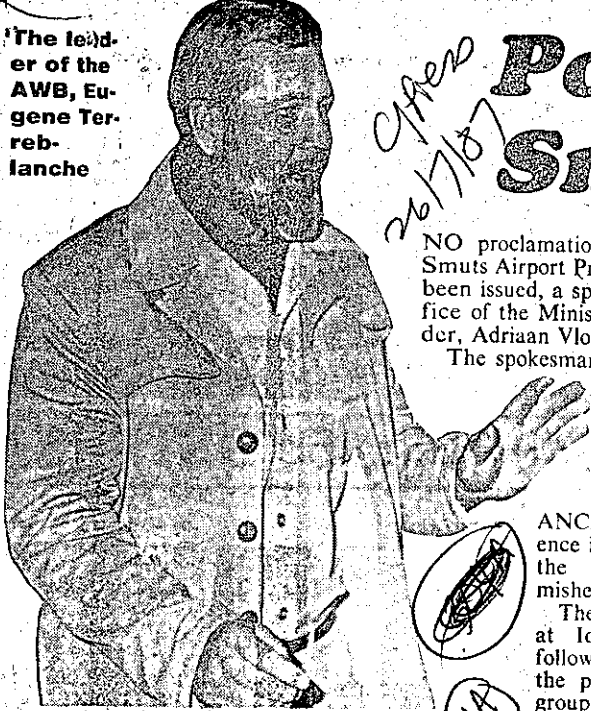
47/87  
Appearing before R Miclesfield are Leo Kantolo and Sasakanya Simuku, both of Centane, Sgqibo Mpendulo, of Umata, Synod Madlebe, of Tsomo, Nomthandazo Lusizi, of Idutywa, Vivian Swaartbooi, of Sterkspruit, and Victor Zamela, of Butterworth.

The State alleges that between November 1985 and March 1986 the accused furthered the aims of the PAC, recruited people to join the PAC and harboured terrorists.

All have pleaded not guilty.

Balekile Nowalala told the court that Simuji invited him to a meeting at the house of Lusizi at Butterworth where a new party to be known as the Patriotic African Front was to be launched.

The leader of the AWB, Eugene Terre-Blanche



Cyrene  
26/7/87

# Police feared Jan Smuts violence

NO proclamation banning the Jan Smuts Airport Press conferences had been issued, a spokesman for the office of the Minister of Law and Order, Adriaan Vlok, has said.

The spokesman was reacting to a statement by Alex Boraine, a member of the Idasa group which visited African states for discussions with the ANC, at a Press conference in Cape Town after the Jan Smuts skirmishes.

The conference, held at Idasa headquarters, followed the refusal by the police to allow the group to hold a Press conference at Jan Smuts Airport in Johannesburg.

The AWB had earlier given notice that it intended to confront the Idasa group on its arrival back in South Africa.

A spokesman for the Minister of Law and Order denied the Minister or his department had anything to do with the cancellation of the proposed Press conference.

"What, in fact, happened was that the police feared a confrontation between various groups at Jan Smuts Airport - a

confrontation which under the circumstances appeared very imminent - and it was felt that the police could not allow a confrontation at the airport which could turn into violence.

"As a result, senior police officials requested the airport manager to inform Boraine and his party that the police considered it inopportune to hold a Press conference at the airport and suggested that a Press conference could and should be held at an alternative venue." - Sapa.



Peter Magubane (forefront) and other journalists outside the Kempton Park Magistrates Court after appearing yesterday.

# FEELING THE AWB WRATH

THE wrath of the AWB was this week felt at Jan Smuts Airport when some 40-odd South Africans were given a torrid welcome on their arrival from Dakar, where they held talks with the African National Congress.

Two faces of the South African political scenario jostled and taunted each other in a tense atmosphere at the airport.

Tension soon exploded into violence as scuffles broke out between members of the AWB and Institute for a Democratic Alternative in South Africa supporters shortly before the arrival of the Idasa group.

AWB members had charged at Idasa supporters after the group had begun singing *Nkosi Sikelel' Afrika*.

The incident occurred when it was announced that the group had boarded a Cape Town-bound plane to avoid possible confrontation with the AWB members.



SANDILE MEMELA

A Press conference which was to be conducted by Alex Boraine, former PFP MP and co-leader of Idasa, was cancelled.

The AWB members, who were led by their leader, Eugene Terre-Blanche, anxiously waited for more than two hours for the delegation.

The group's leader, Van Zyl Slabbert, remained on an extended working holiday abroad, according to sources at the airport.

On arrival, the delegation was briefed by senior police

and security personnel to use a side exit.

A strong contingent of SA Police with police sniffer dogs paced the airport hallway packed with fervent supporters of the AWB, who taunted anxious friends and relatives of the delegation.

AWB members displayed flags which read "ANC anti-Christ anarchy" and their red, white and black flag. They chanted "traitors" and anti-ANC slogans.

After a brief address by Terre-Blanche, the crowd dispersed but continued chanting.

However, running skirmishes broke out when a handful of Idasa supporters burst into the African national anthem. AWB members charged at them, hurling insults and calling them traitors.

According to Sapa, a foreign correspondent who travelled to Dakar with the delegation said the group had been met in the customs area by "hundreds of policemen" who asked them not to leave via the main exit into the concourse, where the AWB members were waiting.

Terre-Blanche later told scores of his supporters

By SANDILE MEMELA  
FIFTEEN foreign and local journalists made a brief appearance at the Kempton Park Magistrates' Court on Wednesday afternoon on charges under the regulations governing media and airports.

## 15 in court after clash

Their case was postponed to August 12 by presiding magistrate AN du Plessis while awaiting the decision of the Attorney-General on whether to continue with the prosecution.

"This matter has been postponed until the Attorney-General has looked into it," said Du Plessis.

Their charges arise out of the clashes between AWB members and a group of leftwing students at the international arrival hall at Jan Smuts Airport.

The 15 were arrested at the airport after various clashes, including a police charge on the journalists, who scatted

The incident occurred shortly after the arrival of about 40 members of the delegation which had held talks with the ANC in Dakar.

All 15 accused squeezed onto the plaintiff's bench in the small court, packed with a large contingent of police, until the magistrate ordered that only six should sit at a time.

This was received with smiles of relief from the accused.

defence counsel lawyer, Paul Jenkins, later told journalists outside the court building that it was possible that all charges against the 15 would be



# ER SALE

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# AWB WRATH

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According to Sapa, a foreign correspondent who travelled to Dakar with the delegation said the group had been met in the customs area by "hundreds of policemen" who asked them not to leave via the main exit into the concourse, where the AWB members were waiting.

Terre'Blanche later told scores of his supporters that the delegation "did not have the courage to look the volk in the eye".

"Let the world know that they are not welcome in South Africa," he said.

A number of white students were arrested by uniformed policemen after a group of black and white students began singing *Nkosi Sikelele*.

John Beadle, a spokesman for the National Union of South African Students, said the students were there to give support to the delegation from Dakar and to show that not all South Africans identified with what the AWB did.

"We support these kinds of discussions with the ANC because most whites don't know what the ANC is because of its banning and through censorship of the Press," he said.

Shortly after talking to Sapa, Beadle was whisked away by police, who had

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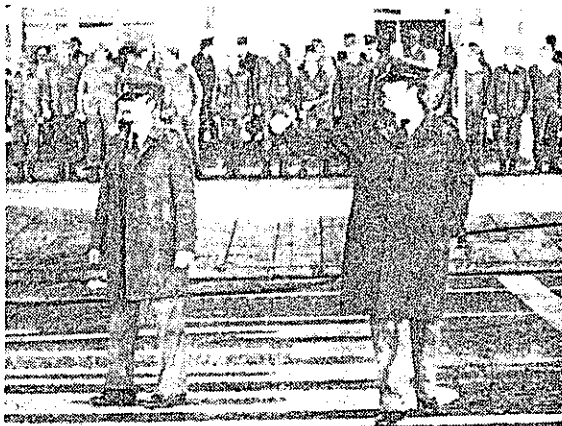
### SANDILE MEMELA

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Policemen ... before arrival of the Idasa group.

## Support Dakar talks - Nigeria

NIGERIA this week called on the OAU Council of Ministers session, currently being held in Addis Ababa, to adopt a declaration supporting the recent meeting held in Dakar between officials of the African National Congress and white liberals from South Africa.

Sources close to the conference, which is being held behind closed doors, affirmed that they supported the proposal which would be the subject of consultation with the frontline states.

When the council began its 46th session on Monday, Botswana apparently endorsed the recent meeting.

"It is the road to a democratic regime in South Africa," Botswana's Foreign Minister and outgoing chairman of the council, Gaositwe Chiepe, told the Foreign Ministers.

Earlier, commenting on the Dakar meeting during a Press conference, OAU secretary-general Ide Oumarou described the meeting as an important step towards the recognition of the ANC which is considered by the South African government as a "terrorist" organisation.

announced that no Press briefings could take place at the airport.

Police also ordered scores of local and foreign journalists to leave. A number of foreign Press photographers, including Peter Magubane of *Time Magazine*, and Wendy Schwegmann, of *Reuters*, were arrested and bundled into a police van.

A white student, who was identified by colleagues as Eli Silver, was also arrested after he tried to defend a friend involved in a scuffle with the AWB.

Before the delegation left the airport, scores of AWB supporters, sporting the red, white and black insignia of their movement and waving the Vierkleur flag, shouted "traitor" and "pig".

A man dressed in a white coat spattered with tomato sauce, who came to represent an organisation called Victims Against Terrorism, staged a one-man protest.

Written on the back of his coat, across a large hammer and sickle, were the words, "No to Red terror".

Before being taken away by police, Beadle said the people who had gathered to welcome the delegation included representatives of the Black Sash, the National Union of South African Students, the End Conscription Campaign, the Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee, the Black Students' Society at Wits University and the SA National Students' Congress.



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# Townshippers reject 'fest'

CP Correspondent

AN INCENSED Grahamstown bishop has called for an end to the town's 10-day money-spinner, the Standard Bank National Festival of the Arts, because it "does nothing" for the town's impoverished township residents.

Last week, a visibly angry Bishop Sigqibo Dwane, head of Grahamstown's Order of the Ethiopia Church, said: "I question whether it is appropriate to hold this festival at a time like this."

He said that while white townspeople and the festival organisers had raked in an estimated R9-million thousands of township residents, upon whose labour the festival had thrived, had looked on from a position of abject poverty and appalling squalor.

He said that the ticket price of R6 per show, set down by the organisers, as well as the long, costly "trek" township residents had to make to get to the shows, were a way of saying "you cannot at-

tend".

He called on the Standard Bank, the festival's funders, to spend money on job creation instead.

Dwane went on to contrast conditions in the townships with white Grahamstown. He said that, while the town's roads were well lit and scrupulously maintained, the townships were in darkness.

He added that, although the municipality had erected over 100 houses at Joza township near Nombulelo High School, they had failed to install roads, electricity, and water-borne sewerage.

Two modern schools, erected recently, were without electricity, while streets were untarred.

Residents were also forced each morning to throw their bathwater into the streets as there was no proper drainage.

"The filth is disgusting," said Dwane.

"Why is it such a problem to install proper facilities? We have a right to our common wealth."

## 'I do, I do, I do, I do ...'

A 35-YEAR-OLD Camerounian singer, Mongo Faya, has taken six new wives in addition to the 36 he already lives with, the official Cameroon *Tribune* newspaper reported.

He married all six at a civil wedding ceremony on July 11 in the port city of Douala, Cameroon's economic capital.

Faya's wives, aged between 20 and 24, live harmoniously under the same roof, the paper added.

The singer, who earlier this month returned from the United States where he recorded his latest album entitled *Stop Apartheid*, has 28 children whose ages range from three months to nine years. - Sapa.

Dwane said he believed the white townspeople were only interested in the plight of the townships when the black consumer boycott was in place.

Jan Breitenbach, executive director of the 1820 Foundation, said that the organisers had not ignored the high unemployment, poverty and squalor in the townships, but had rather chosen to ignore the divisions created by apartheid.

Sue Ross, Press officer for the foundation, said the organisation and the funders were undergoing a "huge rethink" about the aim of the festival and was investigating ways of incorporating all in Grahamstown.

A spokesman for the Standard Bank, Bruce Cohen, said his group was "conscious and sensitive to" the township dilemma raised by the bishop and would be investigating ways of ensuring black residents would benefit more from the festival.

frustration that he had grabbed Fourie whose "lack of action" provoked him.

"I was desperate for some way to solve my problem.

"Because of his apathy and lack of interest he was putting me in a position that would affect my future.

"My body was absolutely full of adrenalin when I turned over the desk."

Young said he regretted his actions immediately afterwards. - Sapa.

## 'Please touch'

TOUCHING is the name of the game at a blind 12-year-old Californian boys' store which supplies toys for blind children.

"When we went to stores, people kept saying 'Don't touch', but that's the way Denny sees," said the boy's stepfather, Dan Richardson.

"We decided to open a store where kids could touch things without being yelled at." - Sapa.



Placard-carrying students holding a vigil at the Bonteheuwel Catholic Church.

# Call for police's 'Mr Conflict' to resign

**CP Correspondent**  
THE firing of teargas at clergymen and others attending the funeral at ANC activist Ashley Kriel has led to a call for the dismissal of Major Dolf Odendaal, the officer in command of the police at the funeral, by the MP for Claremont, Jan van Eck.

Van Eck, who attended the funeral which was attended by about 3 000 mourners, said this week that putting Odendaal in charge of the funeral called into question the supposed "new approach" of the police to sensitive situations.

"It has now reached the point where his presence is provocative in itself - he is 'Mr Conflict'", he said.

Recalling events at Saturday's funeral, Van Eck said Odendaal became enraged as Kriel's coffin was carried out of the church draped in an ANC flag.

"I jumped over a wall and ran to try to reason with him. But he refused to listen.

"As members of the clergy were trying to persuade the youth to remove the flag Odendaal shouted at his men to fire teargas.

"There was teargas everywhere and some was fired right at the clergymen standing just outside the church gates.

"These are not mistakes by junior policemen. The man in charge loses control of himself and instructs his men to take action," he

said. A police spokesman said the police acted at the funeral because conditions laid down by the police were ignored by mourners.

He added that an attack of police and other action by the crowd forced the action.

Meanwhile, television cameraman Craig Ian Matthews, 29, pleaded not guilty in the Cape Town Magistrates' Court on Monday to a charge of attempting to evade arrest at the funeral of Kriel.

Matthews, of Camp Street, Gardens, declined to disclose the basis of his defence and the hearing was postponed to August 4 for trial.

Matthews' bail of R50 was extended.

26/7/87  
c/pers  
(11A)



The coffin of Ashley Kriel is carried shoulder-high by mourners.



Major Odendaal ... call for his resignation.

# Ecasco emerges with its demands

CP Correspondent

THE Eastern Cape Students' Council, powerful offspring of the banned Congress of South African Students, broke its silence this week.

In an exclusive interview this week, Ecasco - who has remained underground for six months - discussed some of the issues that faces it now that students are crowding back into the remaining Eastern Cape schools.

One of the major concerns that the organisation expressed was the re-building of those schools damaged during the 1985 unrest.

Over 15 schools in the Eastern Cape townships were razed to the ground and about 22 were partial-

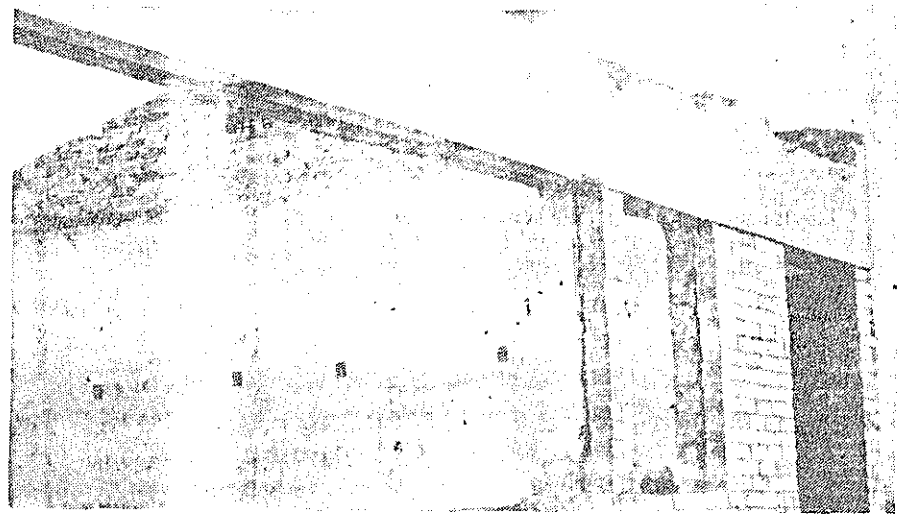
ly damaged during the unrest two years ago.

A representative of the organisation said Ecasco had offered to rebuild the damaged schools but the DET had maintained that the schools belonged to it and it was, therefore, the department's responsibility to repair them.

Certain Port Elizabeth companies are believed to be prepared to help Ecasco re-build black schools and renovate all those which have been partially damaged.

However, six months after the end of the boycott, conditions in most schools are far from adequate.

Classes are extremely overcrowded, windows are broken, buildings are badly



**Slogans replace lessons on the remaining walls of Kwazakhele High School in Port Elizabeth which was destroyed in unrest.**

maintained, and sometimes without doors, and facilities such as libraries, laboratories and administration offices are lacking.

The attitude of parents to the situation has, however, changed. Many believe that it was the go-ahead from parents which finally lent substance to the long negotiations between local DET officials and church leaders which precipitated the return to class. Throughout these negotiations Ecasco was involved.

As part of the breaking of its six-month silence, Ecasco this week released

a list of amended demands to the DET.

The list incorporates several demands which emerged from the 1985 school boycotts and includes some responding to the current school situation.

Some of the demands are:

- Re-instatement of students and leaders expelled from schools.
- Scrapping of the ID and re-registration system.
- Scrapping of the year-old restrictions on political activities in the schools.
- Allowing the establishment of parents' committees to co-operate with

teachers and students.

● Unbanning of student representative councils and associations of parents, teachers and students.

● Scrapping of the Internal Security and Public Safety Acts.

● The removal of vigilante groups inside school premises.

● Unbanning of the Congress of South African Students and the release of students, teachers and parents detained under the state of emergency.

The DET's stance on some of these demands has been that the department was not involved in the banning of Cosas, detentions or the Internal Security and Public Safety Acts.

Sam de Beer, Minister of Education and Training in the House of Assembly, said last year the question of certain other demands including the rebuilding of damaged schools - could only be solved if the students went back to school.

Now that the schools had been open for six months, the time had come for the "DET to address itself to the students' problems", the ECASCO representative said.

But J. Schoeman, from the DET public relations department, said neither the regional office nor the head office were aware of any offers to rebuild schools in the Eastern Cape townships.

He said any firm or company was welcome to broach this subject with the regional director.

9 Press 26/7/87 (11A) (circled) (circled)

# 'WORKERS ARE BEING FORCED TO ACCEPT CHARTER'

Project, to look into the sphere of labour.

The BWP was responsible for the establishment of the Black Allied Workers' Union and marked the resurgence of trade unionism.

Although the statute books were silent, strikes were often viciously suppressed. The biggest strike under these conditions was in 1973 in Durban. The strike demonstrated the potential of united workers.

Baton charging, arrests and detentions followed the '73 dock workers' strike.

That this strike occurred in Durban was not a coincidence. Writers of history will know that Durban was the nerve-centre of relevant political thinking and organisation.

Both Saso and Bawu had their headquarters in Durban. These facts are necessary in order to understand the development of unions as they exist today.

It may be validly argued that Bawu had embarked upon an ambitious and mammoth task in trying to organise all the workers in SA under one union.

The task was even more difficult as black consciousness was operating in a vacuum created by the death of political activity that the country had to be organised in its entirety at all levels, and that the guiding principle was, and still is, the fostering of black solidarity.

The tasks needed to be done in our struggle have produced a more dedicated, more motivated and more tenacious breed of cadres as those who broke the virgin ground in the nascent days of black consciousness.

The formation of trade union federations is not the best, but it is a necessary development from the beginning made by the Black Workers' Project.

The brinkmanship tactics which resulted from the ambivalent legal status of trade unions have been somewhat alleviated by their being granted legal standing by the government.

The legalisation of trade unions after the recommendations of the Wichan Commission is not to be interpreted as a gesture of goodwill on the part of the government.

The government discovered an old truth - that trade unions are necessary shock-absorbers in every society, particularly those with a capitalist economy.

**By MUNTU MYEZA  
Publicity Secretary  
of Azapo.**



It will be recalled that, only a few years ago, the issue of the registration of trade unions was very topical and contentious. The unions were justifiably wary of the desire by government to control them.

It is also important that trade unions realise that trade unionism is not, in itself, an instrument of change. The workers themselves must transform the union into a strong catalyst for change.

This trend to make unions work as an instrument for change has been clearly understood and, hopefully, will continue unless a negative tendency that is festering in a union federation is immediately nipped in the bud.

The tendency or proclivity we are referring to is the coercion of trade unions in the Cosatu federation to adopt the "Kliptown" Charter, also known as the Freedom Charter.

There is nothing wrong with people believing in anything that satisfies them. However, it becomes dangerous when ideas held by some persons are foisted on workers.

The trend seems to be that every trade union within Cosatu MUST adopt, or be seen to be adopting, the Kliptown Charter.

Where the motions for the outright adoption of this document is not realised, the media and Cosatu create the impression that it has been adopted.

It is history now that unions like the National Union of Mineworkers, the National Union of Metalworkers of SA, and the Commercial Catering and Allied Workers' Union of

6 The same people who run to Dakar, to Lusaka, to London are the same employers who deny workers a living wage and seek a perpetuation of the status quo.

SA are said, through the media and other bulletins, to have adopted the Kliptown Charter.

That the recent Cosatu congress also adopted the Kliptown Charter does not gainsay these facts but serves to confirm them.

A look at the manner in which NUM adopted the document will demonstrate this. At the NUM congress, a delegate from the Wits region proposed that NUM should take a clear political stand.

After a lot of arm-twist-

ing invective and veiled intimidation about "necklacing", the document was adopted.

What is striking is that the president of NUM promised that the education department would teach the workers about the document. This was striking in that the workers were being asked to adopt a document they did not know.

Numsa adopted the Kliptown Charter with the note that it is limited and went further to say that a workers' document has to be drawn up.

Despite this the media continues to mislead the public in saying that the Kliptown Charter was adopted *hélus bolus* by Numsa.

Ceawusa said clearly that it would adopt neither the charter nor the Azanian People's Manifesto.

At the supposed merger of Ceawusa, Harwu and Rawu, the meeting was aborted and when all had left save a minority, the meeting was unconstitutionally opened and the Kliptown Charter was adopted. This has resulted in serious disquiet within the unions.

It is this negative trend - that seems to be gaining momentum - that the workers must stop.

One would wonder why it is so important to have the charter adopted by as many unions as possible. Various organisations are also climbing on this bandwagon of adopting the charter.

The UDF will be joining the chorus on the August 20. What we are seeing is

the smoke, so where is the fire?

The plan, it is said, goes something like this: When all, or most, of the unions and organisations, have "adopted" the charter, a "Congress of the People" will then be called which will adopt the charter for the umpteenth time.

Why is the "adoption" so important?

To answer this question one needs to retrace the history of this document somewhat.

It is instructive to know that the charter is not the only such document in its own time.

In 1944 the Ten Point Program was adopted by

6 After a lot of arm-twisting invective and veiled intimidation about "necklacing", the document was adopted.

the Non-European Unity Movement.

The Ten Point Program has basically the same demands as the charter.

Was it, therefore, necessary to adopt the charter when a document which had more or less the same demands was available? The answer is no. But the charter was intended to be everything to everyone.

Whites were supposed to feel that their aspirations were accommodated.

This is the reason which made it possible for the con-

gressors of the Kliptown congress to invite the National Party to the "Congress of the People".

Of course, the National Party did not attend but even if it did, it would not have had difficulty with respect to adopting the charter.

Only its bigotted superiority complex prevented it from attending. At the end of the circus-like "Treason Trial" of 1956, the trial judge found that this document was not a communist document and acquitted the 156 accused.

Even Chief Albert Lutuli said he was not a communist loud enough to earn the Nobel Peace Prize. On this aspect there are many parallels in history.

The invitation to the National Party to the "Congress of the People" gives an indication of what is to be understood by "the people" - the Africans through the ANC, the coloureds through the Coloured People's Congress, the Indians through the South African Indian Congress and the Whites who could not get enough votes to be in Parliament through the Congress of Democrats, and the whites in Parliament through the National Party.

So when the charter screams demands like "the People shall govern... shall share the wealth of the country", it refers to all the above "people" through their representatives.

Recently, at the Dakar conference, the ANC and a mixed bag of whites representing whites who do not

influence enough people to gain meaningful seats in Parliament, agreed that there should be a mixed economy (the same as we have now) and a negotiated settlement.

People are entitled to their views but what galls is when pretence is made by the media, controlled by whites, and sectional interest groups want the world to believe that these are the views that represent blacks as a whole.

Black workers have made significant gains in the worker arena but we are wary of attempts to use the might of the workers to achieve aims which will re-

6 It is instructive to know that the Charter is not the only such document in its own time.

gress the gains.

The same people who run to Dakar, to Lusaka and to London are the same employers who deny workers a living wage and seek a perpetuation of the status quo.

The jet-setting politicians who spend hundreds of thousands of rands to have time with the ANC are not doing so out of the goodness of their hearts. They are doing so to protect their interests.

Their interests are to continue making profits at the

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The growing face of trade union militancy in South Africa.

expense of the workers.

The "adoption" of the charter guarantees the white employers this option.

The result is that we shall have the charter paraded as what the "people" want (why not, after it has been "adopted" so many times?). Change a few faces in Parliament and be damned if you do not like it.

From its inception the charter has been a divisive document. It divided the PAC from the ANC. It divided student organisations. The political feuding between organisations is a result of the charter. Now it is dividing workers in one federation.

The charter has been the cause of much suffering here and abroad. the

Even Chief Albert Luthuli said was not communist loud enough to earn the Nobel Peace Prize.

charter has caused the loss of life and limb. The excruciating thing is that those who chant the charter are intolerant of views that oppose it, particularly if they are black.

It is not strange that Cosatu has decided to plant its roots firmly in the harrowing soil of division by saying that it will co-operate only with charterist organisations. It is also not strange that such views are championed by "kits-politicos", who seek to carve

a dubious niche for themselves in the liberation struggle.

The divisive nature of the charter stems from the fact that black people have both an educated and instinctive suspicion about the document that is everything to everybody.

Even Luthuli mentions that the proposals of the charter were ADOPTED at the Upper Tugela Congress and later ADOPTED at Kliptown. Who then is the real author of the document which everybody seems to be ADOPTING?

One hears so much about "adopting" this or that, that one wonders what ever happened to innovation, inventiveness and originality. In fact, the analogy of an initiation at a bizarre mystic ritual is inescapable.

# FIFTH MAN HIDES IN SA

New twist in anti-ANC kidnap plot

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NEW FACES — PRETTY FACES — ON THE Telly, BUT THERE'S BAD NEWS, TOO

By JEREMY BROOKS: London

**A SINISTER "fifth man" in the ANC kidnap plot — believed to be the leader — has fled Britain, and Scotland Yard says he is hiding in South Africa.**

The man, said to be a South African citizen with "extreme rightwing views", apparently masterminded the abortive scheme to bomb the ANC's London mission and kidnap its hierarchy.

This week the wife of one of his alleged accomplices lashed out at the mystery gang leader, saying he had ruined her life.

Judith Evans, wife of a former SADF officer, now in jail in Britain awaiting trial, told the Sunday Times at her home in Wales: "I'll kill him if I ever see him again."

"He's sitting there in South Africa, probably reading my words. He's the man who got my family into this terrible situation. He knows what he's done."

"I don't know how we'll ever get out of this."

Mrs Evans refused to name the leader, but described him as "probably in his 30s ... not an official".

Her husband, Evan David Evans, 48, was the fourth man to appear in a London court in connection with the alleged kidnap conspiracy against the ANC.

### Searching

Scotland Yard this week confirmed that they were seeking at least two more people involved in the conspiracy, including the key man. However, they refused to say whether proceedings to extradite him had been started.

## Albertini in arms runner 'confession'

By DE WET POTGIETER

THE young French academic who is at the centre of a diplomatic stand-off between Paris and Pretoria is alleged to have confessed to being an arms runner.

The signed, handwritten document — composed, it is alleged, by Pierre Andre Albertini in a Ciskei prison cell — is now circulating in France, its startling contents complicating the already tangled state of French-South African relations.

Nine French MPs who raised a storm in France earlier this month after visiting South Africa, each took home with them a copy of the document.

President Francois Mitterrand himself has become in-

terested, "for consultations". The question is further complicated by France's refusal to recognise Ciskei as a sovereign state.

On these grounds it will not allow its ambassador to Pretoria to accept an invitation from the Ciskei's President Lennox Sebe to discuss the Albertini affair.

### Admission

Albertini was jailed earlier this year in the Ciskei for four years after refusing to give evidence at a terrorism trial.

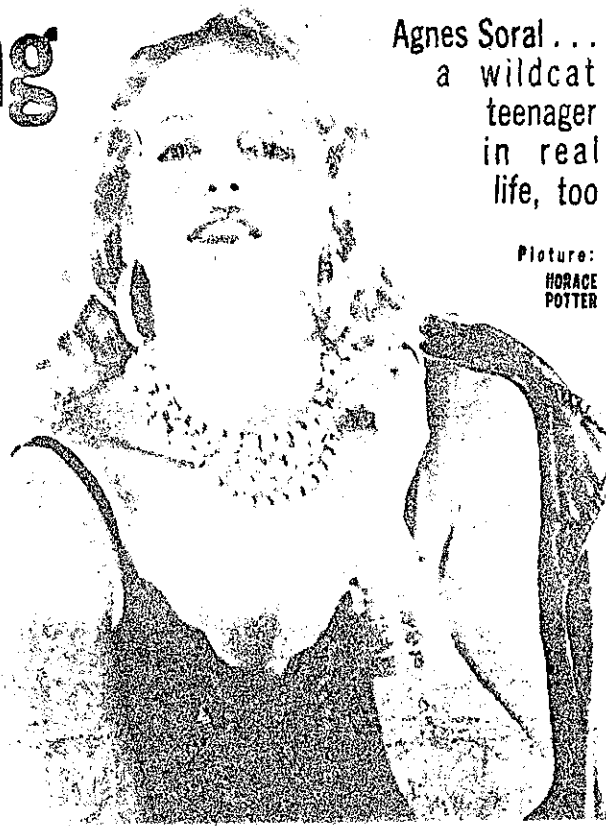
According to the statement — which has not been tested in court and was allegedly made before a magistrate in Zwelitsha, Victoria West —

It's going to cost more to watch TV

By DOUGLAS GORDON  
TV Correspondent

Agnes Soral ... a wildcat teenager in real life, too

Picture: HORACE POTTER



# Fifth man 'hiding in South Africa'

□ From Page 1

the ANC offices in Penton Street, London.

Evans, said his defence lawyer, was wary of the approach.

Subsequently he was visited again by two men "dressed in security force-style uniforms and looking something like the SAS" (Britain's Special Air Services).

It was not specified in court whether the men were Larsen and his son. This time he was asked to take part in a plot to kidnap senior ANC officials in London, but "in the lightest possible way told them to get lost".

In court this week, as his lawyer pleaded unsuccessfully for bail, Evans sat quietly alongside his three co-accused.

They were dressed in standard prison uniform of blue

shirts and grey trousers. Evans, looking drawn and haggard and wearing a brown cardigan, slouched forward as he struggled to hear the proceedings.

Their appearance was marked by an impressive display of security outside London's Lambeth court, traditional venue of terror trials.

## Documents

Police marksmen armed with sniper rifles had staked out all available vantage points, standing silhouetted on rooftops and in office windows.

All traffic and pedestrians were halted as police vans, lights flashing and sirens blaring, came tearing down the street and up to the entrance to offload the accused.

Bystanders were told to "Freeze!" as officers cradling

shotguns and machine-pistols emerged from doorways.

More policemen and dogs patrolled the pavements, cordoned with temporary barricades.

Inside, the court heard that a cache of arms had been found in Evans's house, as well as documents similar to a Ministry of Defence pass found in the home of one of the other accused. A list of ANC officials' names was also found.

The defence argued that the firearms are part of a collection dating back to the 19th century. Included in it are a rare 1913 Luger, an 1896 Mauser, an air-rifle, 19th-century muzzle-loaders and a shotgun.

The defence argued that Evans, in meetings with the two men, had been "gullible" and was pressurised into

writing down the ANC names.

Evans was desperate to be granted bail because he wanted to get back to his heavily mortgaged business, his attorney said.

## Debts

Mrs Evans, who had been left to run it in his absence, was coping as "best she could". The court was told she was suffering from a heart complaint and a suspected cancer condition.

The magistrate refused bail, saying that in the absence of other evidence he had to assume that Evans was deeply involved in the plot.

The court was told that detectives were sifting through nearly 2 000 documents and other items as they pieced together the conspiracy.

The investigations could take another few months before the case is heard. Police continued this week to interview staff at the ANC's London mission, including its head, Solly Smith.

Mr Smith is believed to have been at the top of a hit-list of targets which included the former head of Umkhonto we Sizwe, Joe Slovo.

Back in Maltreath, Mrs Evans is battling to keep their shop going.

"If we don't pay off our debts we're in even more trouble."



# UDF declare July 20 'Goniwe Day'



Matthew Goniwe

By KERRY CULLINAN

ONE YEAR ago, on Monday, over 20 000 people from all over South Africa made their way to Lingilihle township outside Cradock to pay their last respects to murdered community leaders Matthew Goniwe, Fort Calata, Sparrow Mkonto and Sicelo Mhlawuli.

And this week the UDF declared

July 20 "Goniwe Day" in honour of the murdered community leader and teacher.

In a statement released together with the National Education Union of South Africa, to mark the first anniversary of their funeral, the UDF said the men had "paid the ultimate price for their part in the struggle".

The horribly mutilated bodies of the four leaders were found on the road between Cradock and Port Elizabeth some four days after they had disappeared on their way back from a UDF executive meeting.

To date their assassins remain unknown and police have been unable to shed any light on the circumstances leading to their deaths.

# UDF asks for intervention

CP Correspondent

26/7/87  
UPRES

THE Uitenhage branch of the UDF has written a letter to the secretary of the United Nations, Perez de Queller, asking for intervention in the conflict between the Pan Africanist "vigilante" group Ama-Afrika and the United Democratic Front.

UJA

The conflict has claimed 15 lives since the beginning of the year.

The letter, which is also

addressed to a number of other organisations and individuals, including Allan Boesak, Bishop Hurley, Archbishop Tutu, Colin Eglin, Beyers Naude and the Minister of Law and Order, Adriaan Vlok, calls for a "combined effort to bring a lasting solution to this conflict".

"We also demand that an open judicial inquiry be made in connection with the conflict which began

the second week of March 1986 and that police actions be immediately checked," the letter said.

The letter claims that Ama-Afrika, like the *witdoeke* in Crossroads last year, receives support and protection from the police:

"There is a strange phenomenon taking place before or immediately after the conflict or attack. The Ama-Afrika group is always provided with cover

or protection."

The letter also claims that "The Ama-Afrika members act as a hit squad".

Affidavits alleging Ama-Afrika atrocities fill pages and 16 summons are to be served on the Minister of Law and Order and Ama-Afrika members for incidents which occurred on January 4 when Ama-Afrika members allegedly attacked KwaNobuhle residents, said the letter.

# Dads jailed for not reporting ANC man

THREE fathers, who spent almost three months in detention, were this week jailed for a year each for failing to report the presence of a trained ANC member to the police in Cape Town.

Mbuyiselo Samuel Hans, 28, of New Crossroads, Zandisile Mayile, 29, of Gugulethu and Sekelezile Pindani, 33, of Kuils River,

were each sentenced to three years' imprisonment, of which two years were suspended for five years.

The three, who all work at a quarry as drivers of earth-moving machinery, pleaded guilty to Section 54 of the Internal Security Act.

In a statement, Hans said that at the time of his arrest in September last

year, he owned a shop in Nyanga Bush and also worked as a driver.

"A man called Sam came to the shop one day and said his brother, Lungile, needed a place to stay.

"I arranged accommodation at my other house in New Crossroads where my sisters lived.

"He later told me he had received training from the

ANC and if I told the police, I would be in danger."

Mayile said he met Lungile at Hans' house and Lungile had he told him he was a trained ANC member.

Pindani said on the second occasion he met Lungile, the man was drunk and "said he was a trained member of the ANC".

S Desai, for the three,

said they were "victims of situations unfolding in this country".

"On one hand, police informers are punished by people like Lungile and on the other, if a person listens to Lungile, he faces the wrath of the authorities.

"It was more an omission on their part than an action," said Desai. - Sapa

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26/7/87

# Raids, then top UDF officials

Sunday Times Reporter

TOP United Democratic Front officials went underground this week after the detention of three prominent UDF leaders and several anti-Government activists.

The detentions are feared in leftwing circles as the start of a renewed Government blitz on organisations like the UDF and Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu).

The UDF acting publicity secretary Murphy Morobe and acting general secretary Mohammed Valli Moosa were detained in a police raid on a home in Port Elizabeth's Malabar township, on Wednesday.

UDF treasurer and civil rights lawyer Azhar Cachalia was detained at his Johannesburg home on Friday.

According to one of Mr Cachalia's colleagues, the UDF treasurer was involved in a number of urgent cases.

"They searched his house for about two hours and then took him away," Mr Ismail Ayob said.

A spokesman for the police directorate in Pretoria confirmed yesterday that in a

26/7/87  
go into  
hiding

swoop in the Johannesburg area on Friday at least nine "activists" — most them members of the UDF and its affiliates — had been held.

The spokesmen said all of those held had been taken in for questioning and were released before 8pm.

As no charges were brought against the group, he said, in accordance with usual police procedure no names would be released.

## Crackdown

A spokesman for the Detainee Parents Support Committee (DPSC), Daphne Matzile said according to their records among the people detained for questioning were:

University of the Witwatersrand Student Representative Council vice-president Ettiene Marais; DPSC

committee member Gail Elliott; UDF national treasurer Azhar Cachalia; Transvaal Indian Congress member Azhar Bham; executive member of the Federation of Transvaal Women's organisations Jessie Duarte; and Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee member Rena Sherman.

Joint UDF presidents Archie Gumede and Mrs Albertina Sisula are the only top officials still out of prison since the first crackdown on UDF leaders in 1984.

Co-president Oscar Mphetha is serving a five-year sentence in Cape Town.

The UDF has suffered severe blows since its foundation in 1983.

The detention of Mr Morobe and Mr Valli could be the most serious police move against the organisation since the 1984 arrests of Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekota and Mr Popo Molefe, whose publicity and general secretariat roles Mr Morobe and Mr Valli took over.

This week's detentions bring to at least eight the number of UDF national leaders in custody.

**THE** delegation to Dakar was a curious and heterogeneous group, far less representative of mainstream white or Afrikaner opinion than most of the eager Western Press cared to admit.

It was also a confusing group of people, and it has acquired almost as many labels as there have been Press commentators, from "radical chic" and Marxism's "useful idiots" to bridge-builders and the vanguard of the new Afrikaner, from traitors and turncoats to trendsetters for a new SA.

Most of the visitors from SA, however, had at least three views of the ANC in common.

Firstly, that the ANC is a force relevant enough to continue to shape events inside SA and a good deal of world opinion towards us.

### Popular

Secondly, that the ANC, while for some of us not the only black movement of significance, has a very substantial popular following inside SA and inevitable, ongoing contacts and dialogue with local political, civic and labour movements.

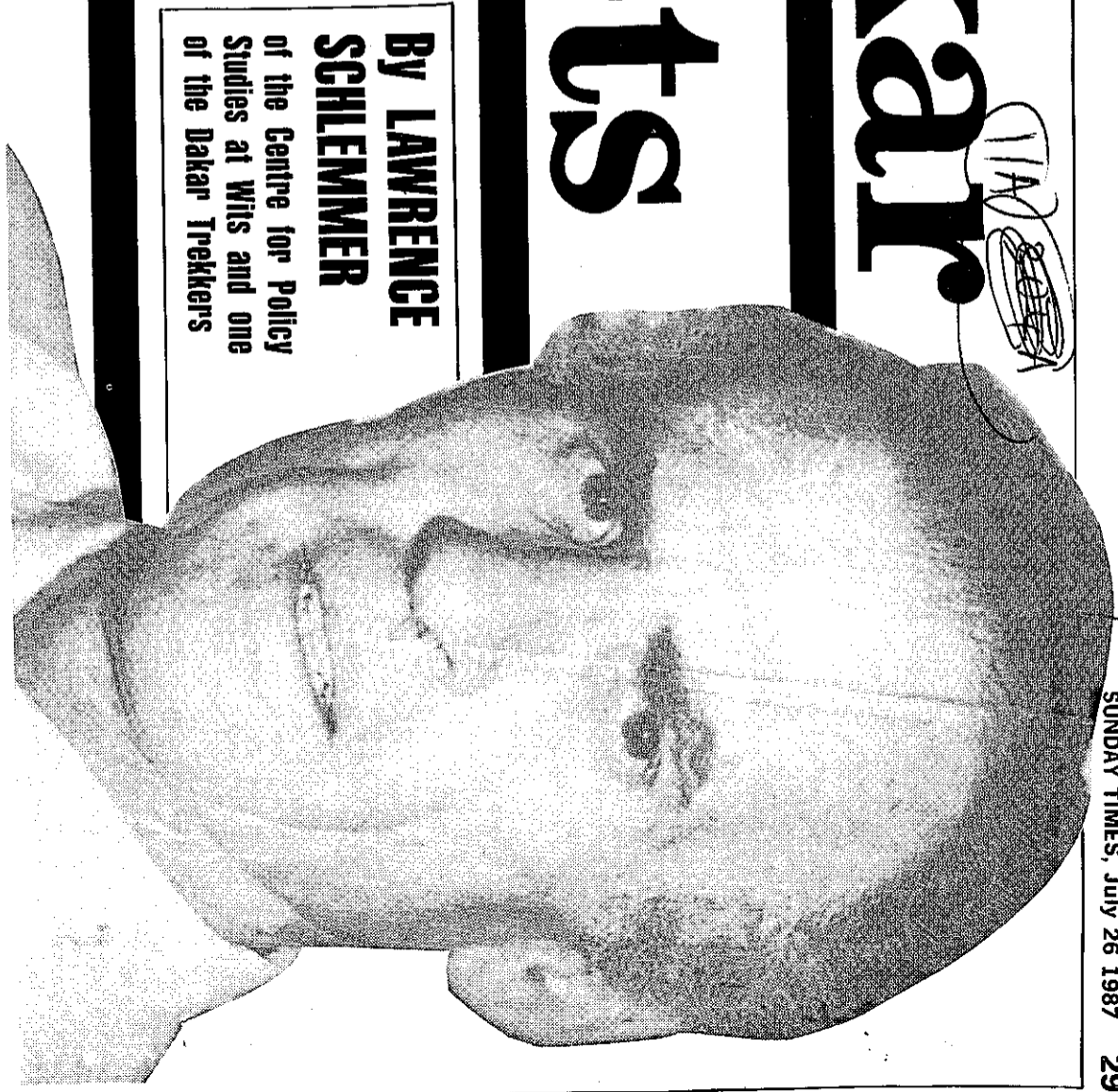
Thirdly, that a negotiated settlement of our fundamental conflict, to which most South Africans, including the Government, subscribe in various ways will probably inevitably have to involve the ANC or parts of it.

Against this set of convictions, the delegation, among all of its undoubtedly disparate aims, had a common intention to explore alternatives to violence and the armed struggle in the difficult road towards negotiations.

While it would be true to say that one or two of the delegates were embarrassingly humbled by white guilt and a few may have been somewhat naively captivated by the urbane diplomacy of the ANC members, peacemongering comes in many guises and the basically good intention was a common thread in

# From Dakar with doubts

The ANC was vague about what would break the stalemate other than the armed struggle . . . they seemed to have an almost mystical belief in the inevitability of the triumph of the majority



By LAWRENCE SCHLEMMER of the Centre for Policy Studies at Wits and one of the Dakar Trekkers

the delegation. By now, numerous Press reports have made it clear that the ANC members made rather a good impression on the delegation.

The two groups were also able jointly to endorse negotiation as the desirable way to resolve the conflict (although there was no consensus on whether violence should be abandoned, suspended or continued up to and even during negotiations, and the terms of negotiation were not explored).

The ANC members were also very convincing in their commitment to non-racism, and almost as convincing in endorsing a multi-party system of government (although the valid point was made from among the local delegation that prior assurances can mean little in the final arena of power-play).

### Impressive

Perhaps what was most impressive was the commanding maturity of language and terminology used by the ANC, particularly when compared with the understandably highly charged and hostile rhetoric used by some spokespeople for the same cause inside SA.

The contrast between the tone adopted by the ANC members at the meeting and that of its journal, *Sechaba*, was very striking. From what I have described it might seem as if the political waters for this little ship of debate were mainly smooth, with no more than the odd lurch.

Not at all. The discussions weaved around some very sharp rocks of controversy. Not all my fellow-delegates may agree with me, but after listening very carefully, I returned with some specific disquiet and problems, particularly the following:

### Crisis

Comments by the ANC in Dakar, however, seemed more attuned to 1985 than to 1987 and the foreseeable future. Street committees were considered to be "developing", and the crisis of

state control deepening. There were no convincing answers given to sober assessments of the balance of power and security control inside SA. Without realistic assessments of the stalemate on both sides, effective negotiations will remain very remote.

Related to this was an impression of vagueness on what strategic steps, aside from the armed struggle and sanctions, could be taken to address the stalemate.

### Bridges

There was a convinced view of a massive groundswell with increasing numbers of whites joining the struggle. Suggestions from the local delegates that transitional, intermediate or local negotiations could at least build bridges to a future were not taken seriously.

While there was caution and ambiguity in some ANC answers, one very clear rejoinder was that if one limited strong central authority, one destroyed the local delegates' gate muttering something about trying pans and fires.

### Racist

There was, at one point in the discussions, rather a great deal of symbolic wordplay on a "two-sided" negotiating table: the Government and its partners versus the collective and allied forces of freedom (which movement was to lead the latter remained

ambiguous). If there are any liberals left when this table is set up, they may have nowhere to sit.

Whatever its mythical, irrational or displaced causes, the type of issue fills every international news-sheet with accounts of Sikh-Hindu, Tamil-Sinhalese, Jewish-Arab, Basque-Spanish or Catholic-Protestant conflict.

The points made, however, were understood by the ANC as implicitly racist or backwardly chauvinistic.

The issue was raised as a problem of some inevitability, to be considered seriously, and to be constructively addressed.

On the contrary, the issues I have mentioned above prove that the Dakar "love-in", as some people feared, "The talk was tough and I am sure that the points made will be thought about."

Furthermore, if the stalemate in our society drags on, many of the issues we raised will begin to seem more relevant. Dakar has sown some useful seeds on both sides, and time will tell whether or not they will grow. The same questions have to be raised among all participants and movements in the debate inside SA as well. The Dakar talks can only help that process.

# Mr Big 'is rich Cape Afrikaner'

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Cue Post  
27/1/83

The Citizen reported today that Britain has been in contact with South Africa in connection with the man — considered the Mr Big in the plot — who returned to the Republic immediately after the co-conspirators were arrested, but there is no chance that he will be extradited.

The extradition treaty between South Africa and Britain lapsed when South Africa left the Commonwealth in 1961.

The name of the South African being sought by Scotland Yard as the fifth member of the group is known to the South African authorities, but is not being released in order not to hamper further investigation by the British police at this stage.

The man being sought by Scotland Yard, said to be in his early 30s, is, contrary to earlier weekend reports, not a well-known right-winger.

He is understood to come from a wealthy and prominent Afrikaans family in the Cape and until about four years ago was a permanent member of the SA Defence Force. He left to concentrate on business.

Apart from considerable business assets in South Africa, the wanted man has business connections in Britain and in Europe.

Speculation on the motive behind the kidnap plot include the possibility that the group intended to kidnap leading members of the ANC, spirit them out of Britain and offer the hostages to South Africa at a price.

their apparent and leading light in the recent Dakar talks, Brian Bunting, an executive member of the South African Communist Party and Solly Smith, head of the ANC mission in London.

Four men allegedly involved in the plot, and now held by Scotland yard were remanded in

**Post Correspondent**  
**JOHANNESBURG** — A fifth man being sought by Scotland Yard in connection with an alleged plot to kidnap leading members of the ANC in London is a wealthy young Afrikaner businessman from the Cape.

Scotland Yard is also seeking a sixth person in connection with the plot, but no details of this person are known at this stage.

Meanwhile, the Post's London correspondent reports that security surrounding those members on the hit list has been tightened. They are said to include Joe Slovo, head of Umkhonto we Sizwe, Oliver Tambo, president of the ANC, Thabo Mbeki, information secretary,

custody at a special hearing in London last Thursday are due to appear court again on Thursday.

They are former Rhodesian and SADF officer Evan Dennis Evans, 48, of Wales, father and son Frank Larsen, 53, and John 27, believed to be Zimbabweans, and Briton John Wheatley, 28.

Mystery man had finger in plot pie

# ANC kidnap case: 'Mr Big' leaves four to face music

Own Correspondent

LONDON — "Mr Big" in the ANC kidnapping case may escape prosecution, for Scotland Yard's anti-terrorist squad believes he is back in SA.

As there is no extradition treaty between Britain and SA, it appears he could escape the net which has landed four others in court here, accused of plotting to kidnap top ANC members and bomb their London office.

The wife of one of the accused, Judith Evans, said yesterday her husband, Evan David Evans was approached by the "mystery man" who tried to involve him in the plot.

Evans, speaking from the Welsh village of Bordorgan, refused to discuss the matter further and put down the phone. She is said to be ill and "upset".

Meanwhile, security surrounding those ANC members on the hit list has been tightened. They are said to include Joe Slovo, head of Umkhonto we Sizwe, ANC president Oliver Tambo, Thabo Mbeki, information secretary, heir apparent and leading light in the recent Dakar talks, Brian Bunting, an SA Com-

munist Party executive member, and Solly Smith, head of the ANC mission in London.

The British Special Branch is "keeping an eye" on those relatives who live in London, such as Adelaide Tambo, and their families.

The four men, who were remanded in custody at a special hearing in London on Thursday, are due to appear in court next Thursday.

They are former Rhodesian and SADF officer Evan Dennis Evans, 48, of Wales, father and son Frank Larsen, 53, and John, 27, believed to be Zimbabweans, and Briton John Wheatley, 28.

Evans admitted to the anti-terrorist squad that an unnamed South African with extreme right-wing views had tried to recruit him to blow up the ANC offices in London.

Yesterday, Scotland Yard spokesmen refused to give more information concerning that man, who appears to have got away, leaving the other four to face the music.

ARGUS 27/7/87 114

# ANC kidnap plot: Welshman a career soldier

By SUE LEEMAN  
The Argus Foreign Service  
Dateline: LONDON

**E**VAN DENNIS EVANS, the mystery Welshman allegedly involved in a conspiracy to kidnap leading ANC members, was a career soldier who spent many years in the Rhodesian and South African forces before returning to his native Anglesey in 1985.

Evans, 48, made a brief appearance with his co-accused, Frank and John Larsen and Jonathan Wheatley, in Lambeth Magis-

trate's Court on Thursday. The four were all remanded in custody.

Evans was arrested after the other three and has stressed that although he had met the Larsens, he turned down all offers to join a kidnap conspiracy.

His counsel told the court that Mr Evans had decided to return home from South Africa when his elder son became eligible for call-up.

While Mr Evans had no objection to the principle of military conscription, because of the current unrest in South Africa he did

not want his son to have to join the South African Defence Force.

His son, now 21, is in the British Army and serving in West Germany.

Mr Evans, his wife and younger son, who is 11, live on the island of Anglesey where they run a post office.

Mrs Evans has a heart condition and suspected cancer — and Mr Evans counsel asked for bail on the grounds that his client was needed at home. This request was turned down.

Mr Evans says he has a passion

for antique firearms, and claims that weapons found at his home by police were part of his collection.

Among those found included an 1836 single barrel muzzle loader, an 1885 Bellinger, a .32 pistol dated 1892, an 1896 Mauzer and a 1913 Luger, a First World War collector's item.

Scotland Yard are remaining tight-lipped about the identity of the "rightwing South African" who Mr Evans alleges approached him about the kidnap plot, confirming only that their investigation is proceeding.



CAPE TIMES 27/7/82

1112

# AWB says LP congress provocative

## Political Staff

THE Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB), criticized for wrecking the Jan Smuts Airport press conference by delegates from the Dakar talks with the ANC, has now threatened a Labour Party congress scheduled to be held in Pretoria.

The congress is due to be held from December 28 to December 30 in Pretoria's Skilpadsaal — the very hall where the Conservative Party was launched in March, 1982.

The AWB leader, Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche, said the Skilpadsaal held "great sentimental value to the Afrikaner" and the invasion of Pretoria and the hall by 2 000 coloured LP supporters would be "provocation".

Mr Terre'Blanche told the Sunday Times: "I don't think it would be very wise of the Labour Party to come to Pretoria — and specially to want to use the Skilpadsaal for their congress. It could be construed as provocation."

But the Labour Party, which has al-

ready booked the hall and paid the R800 deposit, said it would go ahead with the congress.

The party leader, the Rev Alan Hendrickse, told the Sunday Times Mr Terre'Blanche should remember that "the so-called coloured community has more right to be called Afrikaners than Mr Terre'Blanche himself.

"His forefathers are of French origin whereas the forefathers of our (coloured) community are Afrikaners.

"Be that as it may, we are exercising our right as a political party to hold a congress in Pretoria at the invitation of the Transvaal region of the party and the branches in Pretoria in particular," Mr Hendrickse said.

The chief organizer of the congress, Dr Willie Hoods, a member of the Transvaal Provincial Executive Committee, said the more than 2 000 delegates, including 85 MPs and members of the President's Council, would be accommodated in six central city hotels in Pretoria.

Dr Hoods said other venues had been examined but the Labour Party had found them either to be too small or their facilities inadequate.

# Idasa official slain

CAPE TIMES 27/7/87 (119)

~~3000~~  
FBI

By ANDREW DONALDSON  
and CHRIS STEYN

**THE Border co-director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa, Mr Mxolise Eric Mntonga — a seasoned trade unionist and United Democratic Front activist — was brutally murdered in the Ciskei on Friday.**

His body was found in his car with his hands tied behind his back. His wounds included a single stab wound to the heart — and in a bizarre twist, his keys were delivered to his house on Friday afternoon by an unidentified man.

Shocked Idasa officials said last night that Mr Mntonga's car had apparently been forced off the road near Tamara, a town about 20km from King William's Town.

Mr Steve Fourie, fellow Idasa Border director, said that though the car's radio was missing, robbery did not appear to be the motive for the attack, as Mr Mntonga's personal possessions, including his wallet and other items in the car, were not removed.

"Three pairs of shoes were also not taken," he said.

Dr Alex Boraine, executive director and co-founder of Idasa, last night described the murder as "having all the hallmarks of an execution".

The former Food and Allied Workers Union activist was last seen alive about 10am on Friday when he left the office of his lawyer, Mr Hintsu Siwisa, in Mdantsane to visit a friend.

He never arrived.

He was also to have returned to Mdantsane that afternoon to attend a civic meeting.

Mr Fourie said that a more chilling aspect of the killing was that Mr Mntonga's car keys were delivered to his home that afternoon and handed to his housekeeper by an unidentified man.

"This is bizarre," said Mr Fourie.

The body of Mr Mntonga, who was also the current executive member of the South African Railway and Harbour Worker's Union (Sarhwu), was identified by his father at King William's Town police mortuary yesterday morning, he said.

According to a Border police spokesman, a body — identified as Mr Mxolise Mntonga — was taken to the mortuary shortly after noon on Saturday.

The body bore several stab wounds, he said, adding that he believed Ciskei police were investigating the killing. Despite numerous attempts, this could not be confirmed by the Cape Times last night.

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negotiated.

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From page 1

Commenting on the murder, Dr Boraine said: "I'm deeply shocked at the tragic news of Eric Mntonga's murder.

"He was an outstanding and loyal colleague who has been very active in the trade union movement and the UDF before joining Idasa as the Border director earlier this year.

"Though the details are still unclear, his brutal death is reminiscent of the kind of murders which have been taking place in the Eastern Cape and the Border region. It has all the hallmarks of an execution and I hope that this time that those who have killed him will be found and brought to court.



Mr Mntonga

# Info chief message for Crossroads

CAPE TIMES 27/7/87 (11A) (30A) (B)

By CHRIS BATEMAN

A GOVERNMENT entourage headed by the Deputy Minister of Information and Constitutional Planning, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, yesterday attended the launching of the newly-formed Western Cape Council of Churches (WCCC) in Old Crossroads.

Amid low-key security (a handful of special constables and plainclothes police), about 800 followers of Old Crossroads Mayor, Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana, met the government entourage with praise songs and dancing in the courtyard of the Noxolo Primary School.

The meeting formed part of a national day of prayer for "peace and reconciliation in our country" called by the newly-formed church body. It also

served to launch the organization in the township.

Dr Van der Merwe was accompanied Mr Ricky Schelhase, of the Cape Provincial Administration, and the Reverend Erlo Stegan, a Natal Lutheran missionary.

After glowing speeches by ministers of the Zionist Church of South Africa, Mr Ngxobongwana and Mr Mali Hoza (Khayelitsha's Site C leader), Dr Van der Merwe promised residents "not only bread and butter but later also some jam as well".

He was responding to Mr Ngxobongwana's statement that his people were looking beyond "the bread and butter" and wanted "the jam as well".

Dr Van der Merwe, the government's chief negotiator with blacks, told residents he carried "the greetings of the State President to the people of Soweto ... of Crossroads".

## Prays for peace

He assured the meeting's chairman, Archbishop Shadrack Mhambe, that he was not alone in praying for peace in South Africa.

"Also the State President prays for peace ... he not only prays ... but also works for peace in this country day by day," Dr Van der Merwe said.

□ In Bonteheuwel, Sapa-AP reports, the Rev Smangalis Mkhathshwa, Secretary General of the Southern African Catholic Bishops Conference, told a congregation at St Matthew's Church about his experiences in detention. Father Mkhathshwa was released on June 12 after a year in prison.

The Roman Catholic Archbishop of Cape Town, the Rev Stephen Naidoo, said the Catholic church rejects detention without trial because it presumes that the detained person is guilty. He defended the church's role in working for political rights for South Africa's black majority.

## 2 die violently in unrest

PRETORIA. — Two people were violently murdered and a post office was set on fire yesterday during incidents of unrest, police reported.

One man died after he was doused with petrol and set alight at Langa in Uitenhage, the police said in the daily unrest report.

Another man was stoned to death by a mob near the Vaal Reefs Mine hostel No 3, Orkney, when his car broke down. The car was set alight and his body was then thrown onto the smouldering vehicle.

The police also said that the Diepkloof Post Office, Soweto, was set alight by unknown people. Damage was not extensive.

At Veeplaas, in Port Elizabeth, a group of blacks stoned a private car. The driver managed to escape but the vehicle was extensively damaged. — Sapa

# 7 HELD AT

Winnie  
Mandela  
in verbal  
exchange

# ANC

# BURIAL

7 held  
at ANC  
burial

From Page 1

the arrests with her.

During another incident at the graveyard, a police officer warned Pressmen not to take any more pictures. He said this was in terms of the media regulations. However, throughout the funeral police recorded proceedings on a video camera.

There was a heavy police presence in the vicinity of the Motau home during the funeral service. As the cortege proceeded to the cemetery, police formed part of the convoy and others were placed at various points on the route prescribed in the restriction order.

Inside the graveyard, there were at least 24 army and police vehicles. Members of the security forces kept a close watch at the graveyard as some youths sang and chanted slogans. A police helicopter also hovered above the graveyard during the proceedings.

Restrictions pertaining to the manner the funeral had to be conducted in were published in the *Government Gazette* last Thursday.

Mr Motau was the son to Mr David and Mrs Salume Motau. His mother is the sister to Elias Motsoaledi, a Rivonia Treason trialist, now serving a sentence of life imprisonment on Robben Island.

AT LEAST seven youths were arrested and more than 60 mourners refused entry at Avalon Cemetery in Soweto during the funeral of African National Congress member, Mr Peter Motau, yesterday.

Mr Motau was shot dead in Swaziland recently together with Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Mr Cassius Make (42) and a Mozambican citizen, Miss Elizabeth Augusta Ntsile.

They were travelling from Matsapa Airport when their taxi was stopped and fired at.

Three of the youths were arrested at the graveside as mourners were about to get into their vehicles.

The *Sowetan* has established their names as Emily Mbatha (16), a Form 3 pupil at Emdwaleni Secondary School in Orlando West, Clement Thabethe (16), a Form 2 pupil at Matshidiso Secondary also in Orlando West and Bongani Mabaso (17), a Form 2 pupil at Anchor High School in Mzimhlophe.

By SONTI MASEKO  
and NKOPANE  
MAKOBANE

the funeral. He said it was possible that they may have been taken in for questioning and released later.

Asked why were some mourners stopped from entering the graveyard, the major said when restrictions are placed on a funeral, police had the right to limit the number of people attending.

## Drama

There was drama at the cemetery when Mrs Winnie Mandela, wife of imprisoned ANC leader, Mr Nelson Mandela, confronted a senior police officer after the arrests of the youths.

Mrs Mandela said the mourners had complied with all the police restrictions and not a single stone had been thrown.

"What are you doing of this unnecessary thing for? You want to go and say we are the ones who are giving this country a bad name?" she asked.

Another police officer then told Mrs Mandela that the police were not interested in discussing



Mrs WINNIE Mandela comforting Mrs Salume Motau, mother of the slain ANC member, Peter Sello Motau.

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## Permits

The other four youths are reported to have been arrested when some of the mourners were not allowed to enter the graveyard. These mourners were made to wait outside the cemetery because they did not have police permits limiting the number of people at the funeral.

Major N L Hartwell, public relations officer for the Soweto Police at Protea, said according to reports he received, no one had been arrested at

CAPE TOWN — PFP leader Colin Eglin last night came out in support of the three members of his party who took part in the Dakar talks with the ANC.

Eglin said he believed they had made a "positive contribution towards shifting SA away from violence towards negotiation".

He also welcomed the proposal by the CP that Parliament debate the Dakar talks.

CP MP for Brakpan, Frank le Roux, gave notice yesterday he would move today that the ANC indaba be the subject of a snap debate.

National Party MPs indicated privately yesterday the Dakar indaba issue was still "far from over". It is understood President P W Botha is anxious to deal

# Eglin backs PFP

## 3 in Dakar talks

28/7/87  
Own Correspondent

with the matter personally when his vote comes up for debate next month.

In Parliament yesterday the CP urged government to take action against the academics from State-supported universities who visited Dakar.

Speaking in the debate on the National Education vote, S C Jacobs (CP Losberg) asked whether government accepted academics "going to Dakar, talking to

● To Page 2

# Eglin vindicates PFP men in Dakar indaba

the ANC, which is a banned terrorist organisation, and then discussing elements of the meeting in front of a lecture hall".

Certain members of the PFP are also known to be annoyed at the failure of party members who went to Dakar to fully inform the caucus.

Others are disappointed at not having been included on the guest list.

However, Eglin said last night he saw the Dakar mission as an attempt to try to break the "deadlock of violence in SA and shift over to a process of negotia-

tion."

He stressed the PFP was "totally opposed to violence as a political instrument" and was "deeply concerned" by the rising tide of violence in SA.

The party believed efforts had to be made to explore ways of ending violence and finding a basis for negotiations on a new constitution that would ensure the rights and liberties of all South Africans.

"Frank and direct" talking had to occur if there was to be a prospect of peace.

the Clarendon Gardens Shopping Complex, was submitted for approval by the Administrator.

- (a) (i) No final decision has been taken yet.  
 (ii) Falls away in view of the reply to 1 (a) (i).
- (b) The land envisaged for the project is situated within the municipal area of East London and is bounded by Union Avenue to the north, Cheltenham Road to the south, the site of the Clarendon Primary School to the east and Erf 6451 of the SA Transport Services to the west.

- (c) (i) It is an application for the rezoning of the land in question in terms of section 17 of the Land Use Planning Ordinance, 1985 (Ordinance 15 of 1985) in order to make it possible for the land to be developed for business purposes.  
 (ii) It is commonly referred to as the "Clarendon Gardens Development".

- (d) The land belongs to the East London Municipality and the intention is to sell it to Elcorp C C. Other interested parties will, however, be given the opportunity by means of a municipal notice in the press to submit offers in this regard.

- (2) A large number of objections were lodged.

- (a) A large variety of parties have objected.

- (b) The main points of the objections are basically the following:

- (i) Loss of public open space and central recreational facilities.

- (ii) Increased traffic flow and traffic noise.

- (iii) Depreciation of properties in the vicinity.

- (iv) Security problems and danger to scholars.

- (v) The land should be utilised for educational and sporting purposes.

- (vi) The proposed development will detract from existing businesses in the central business district and other businesses being planned.

- (vii) Parking problems will be created for visitors to and staff of the schools and hospital situated nearby.

- (viii) Future expansion of the Frere Hospital will be affected.

- (3) The council concerned does not have the power to approve the project but supports it.

- (a) East London City Council.

- (b) 3 November 1986.

- (4) A statement on the matter will be made after consideration thereof should this be considered expedient.

#### Group Areas Act

\*13. Dr F HARTZENBERG asked the Minister of Justice:†

- (1) Whether the Attorney-General of the Transvaal recently refused to institute a prosecution against certain persons who have allegedly contravened the provisions of the Group Areas Act in Zeerust, Transvaal; if so,

- (2) whether the Attorney-General has since received a request to issue a *nolle prosequi* certificate; if so, when;

- (3) whether this certificate has been or is to be issued; if not, why not; if so, when?

†The MINISTER OF JUSTICE:

- (1) Yes.

- (2) Yes; 25 February 1987.

- (3) Yes; 16 June 1987.

#### Prof de Lange/ANC: discussions

\*14. Mr J M BEYERS asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs:†

- (1) Whether he or his Department (a) has investigated and (b) has been informed of alleged discussions abroad between a representative of the ANC and a certain person, whose name has been furnished to the Minister's Department for the purposes of his reply; if so, (i) what is the name of this person and (ii) what action has he taken or is he contemplating in this regard;

- (2) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

†The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

- (1) (a), (b), (i) and (ii)

According to information confirmed by Professor J P de Lange personally, he did not travel abroad to hold discussions with the ANC. Towards the end of May, 1986, Professor De Lange on invitation of an American institution, attended a conference in New York where he delivered a paper on education in South Africa. Professor De Lange is generally acknowledged as an expert in the field of education.

Without him being aware of the fact beforehand or without him having anything to do with it, the relevant conference was attended by persons who are members of the ANC. During the tea and meal breaks he was introduced to and had conversations with the other conference participants including persons who are members of the ANC and who attended the conference on the invitation of the American hosts. Professor De Lange is of the opinion that if he is asked to state a point of view at an international conference regarding a subject such as education in South Africa which is of importance for South Africa and he can thereby advance South Africa's interests, he does not hesitate to do so.

- (2) Falls away.

#### Government/ANC: discussions

\*15. Mr J M BEYERS asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs:†

- (1) Whether the Government was involved in alleged discussions abroad between a representative of the ANC and a certain person, whose name has been furnished to the Minister's Department for the purposes of his reply; if so, (a) why, (b) what was the nature of this involvement and (c) what is the name of this person;

- (2) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

- (1) No. (a), (b) and (c) fall away.

- (2) No.

#### National monuments/shipwrecks

\*16. Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister of National Education:

- (1) Whether his Department or the National Monuments Council is involved in the drafting of new legislation relating to (a) national monuments and (b) shipwrecks; if so, (i) when is it intended to submit this legislation to Parliament and (ii) what bodies were or are to be consulted in drafting this legislation;

- (2) whether the National Monuments Council and/or his Department has received submissions on new legislation relating to the protection of shipwrecks; if so, (a) from what bodies, (b) on what dates and (c) with what result;

- (3) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

†The MINISTER OF CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND PLANNING (for the Minister of National Education):

- (1) (a) No.

- (b) No.

- (i) Falls away.

- (ii) Falls away.

11/6/68 28/7/68

# Mandela the 'crucial fella' causes counter-demo outside SA Embassy

**T**OURISTS stopped feeding the pigeons and gaped as protesters from the right and the left took up their megaphones in Trafalgar Square and exchanged abrasive rhetoric over apartheid and the African National Congress.

It was history of sorts. For the first time the City of London Anti-Apartheid Movement's non-stop free-Mandela picketers outside the South African Embassy faced a challenge.

It came from Peace Now in South Africa, a new

rightwing group composed mostly of Young Conservatives, who want peace in South Africa without apartheid and without the ANC. And they also want the ANC out of Britain.

Lord Nelson, trussed to the neck with hoardings while his column is spruced up, turned a blind eye to the goings-on, but camera-decked tourists craned their necks, cupped their ears and wondered why the man in the Ollie North T-shirt was waving a placard saying "Victory to Unita".



Dateline: LONDON

Passers-by were exhorted on one hand to sign a petition backing Mandela's release, and then, across the road on the steps of St Martin in the Fields, to sign another urging the British government to expel the ANC.

A cacophany of chants had the pigeons swirling

From  
MICHAEL MORRIS  
The Argus Foreign Service

anxiously around the square. Peace Now protesters bellowed: "ANC, IRA, who're you gonna kill today?" The City of London group responded as loudly: "One struggle, one fight".

It was, said a man from the embassy, "a helluva racket".

The police looked on, looking bored.

The City of London picketers, whose dictum is summed up in one of their songs, "Release Mandela 'cos he's a crucial fella", were highly suspicious of "that other crowd".

"We don't know who they are. This is the first time we've seen them here," one said.

They weren't the only ones who were doubtful. Some tourists were, too.

"Who's that man with Gaddafi?" queried a middle-aged American woman,

pointing to an anti-ANC poster. "He's a Russian," the man at her side drawled with laconic authority.

It was actually the veteran South African communist Joe Slovo, Lithuanian-born

it is true, but by no means a Russian. And he wasn't pictured with Gaddafi, but Yasser Arafat of the Palestine Liberation Organisation.

But nobody quibbled — they'd got the general drift.

# Slabbert briefs Sir Geoffrey on Dakar talks

11A

By TOS WENTZEL  
Political Correspondent

DR Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, head of the Institute for Democratic Alternatives in South Africa, is meeting Sir Geoffrey Howe, the British Foreign Secretary, in London today.

Dr Slabbert has been on holiday in Spain after the Dakar talks between South Africans and the African National Congress.

He will return to South Africa on Friday.

His talks with Sir Geoffrey take place amid controversy in South Africa over the Dakar conference.

The Conservative Party has raised the matter in Parliament and is seeking a formal debate on it.

## "Common concern"

The Progressive Federal Party caucus has also discussed it and the Government's view will be given when the President's budget vote is discussed in Parliament the week after next.

A statement issued by Dr Slabbert's office says he and Sir Geoffrey are to discuss "matters of common concern".

The statement said the discussions were expected to include a briefing on the Dakar meeting.

The Conservative Party's chief whip, Mr Frank le Roux, yesterday gave notice in the Assembly that he would today call for a snap debate on the Dakar conference.

It is thought unlikely that the Speaker will allow such a debate on the grounds that there will be other opportunities to discuss the matter.

## Call for action

In such a case the Conservatives, keen to embarrass the Government over the issue, are likely to propose a motion expressing displeasure about the conference, the Government's lack of reaction and the failure to prevent publication of ANC views.

In the debate on the national education vote in the Assembly yesterday a Conservative MP called on the Government to take action against academics who took part.

● The Department of Home Affairs has attacked the African National Congress in a newsletter.

Referring to the Dakar talks, it said there should never be a desire to talk with or legitimise the outlawed organisation.

In an editorial entitled *Murderous Leeches*, the writer attacks the ANC as an organisation of "bloodsuckers and power-madness".

## "Anti-Christ"

The article says: "We must never accept anti-Christ Tambo, or anyone from the ANC for that matter, as a negotiator for the future dispensation of blacks or anyone in South Africa. What incredible hysteria on the international front."

The newsletter emphasises that opinions expressed in it do not necessarily reflect the views of the department.

The attendance at the conference of two PFP MPs, Mr Peter Gastrow and Mr Pieter Cronje, was discussed at a PFP meeting yesterday.

While there was agreement on the need for dialogue, some misgivings were expressed about the tactics of the two MPs and a member of the President's Council, Mr Pieter Schoeman, who did not consult the caucus on the implications for the party. He had informed the party leadership of the trip just before it took place.

In a statement after the caucus meeting, Mr Colin Eglin, the leader of the party, said frank and direct talking must take place if there was to be a prospect of peace.

Against this background he was satisfied that the PFP members — who stated to the ANC the party's attitude both on violence and on constitutional alternatives — had made a positive contribution to the well-being of the country and its people.

● See page 8.





African National Congress president Oliver Tambo at a Press conference in Africa Hall, Addis Ababa. The Organisation of African Unity is meeting in Ethiopia.

## Tambo speaks on Dakar white unity

Argus Africa News Service

ADDIS ABABA. — The President of the African National Congress, Mr Oliver Tambo, has addressed a Press conference here during which he spoke about the Dakar talks.

Mr Tambo spoke yesterday about white unity in South Africa, President Botha's offer for blacks to join a national council and his movement's relations with the United States.

Mr Tambo, in the Ethiopian capital for the Organisation of African Unity summit, is banned and cannot be quoted in South Africa.

Swapo leader Mr Sam Nujoma told newsmen his movement intended to intensify the armed struggle in SWA/Namibia.

"The puppet regime will certainly collapse," he said referring to the territory's government.

Mr Nujoma held talks with Zimbabwe's Prime Minister, Mr Robert Mugabe, but no details were released.

At the OAU session President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia blamed South Africa for the tense situation in Southern Africa, accusing Pretoria of aggression and destabilisation.

Dr Kaunda, elected chairman of the OAU, denounced US

support for Unita rebels in Angola.

Gabon's President Omar Bongo, chairman of the ad hoc committee set up by the OAU to mediate between Libya and Chad, accused Libya of trying to destroy the committee.

Mr Bongo asked to be relieved of the chairmanship of the committee.

He said he had been humiliated and "dragged in the mud" by the Libyan government.

He added: "Our ministers were treated like donkeys in Libya. They were received in off-handed manner and led back to their aircraft."

Eighteen heads of state and three prime ministers are attending the 23-nation summit.

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# Slabbert meets 'friendly' Howe

From MIKE ROBERTSON

LONDON. — The British government yesterday told Dr Van Zyl Slabbert it welcomed the Dakar talks with the ANC for the opportunity they provided for dialogue between blacks and whites.

Dr Slabbert, head of the Institute for Democratic Alternatives in South Africa (Idasa), spoke to Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe for 40 minutes.

The Foreign Office said the talks had been friendly.

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**THE University of Cape Town is to go ahead with a planned Institute for Democratic Alternatives for South Africa (Idasa) report-back meeting today.**

**The UCT Students' Representative Council and Dr Alex Boraine have received death threats.**

**An SRC spokesperson said yesterday that Jameson Hall, the venue for the meeting, would be thoroughly searched beforehand and members of the UCT community might be asked to produce identification.**

**Dr Boraine, Mr Phillip Verster and Professor Andre Odendaal, all of whom met with the ANC in Dakar, will report back to the campus community.**

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The British government welcomed the talks as being in line with its general policy of encouraging dialogue between black and white.

Dr Slabbert said the meeting with Sir Geoffrey had been arranged by Sir Laurens van der Post.

He said he had briefed Sir Geoffrey on the Dakar talks and the subsequent visit to Ghana and Burkino Faso.

"They were certainly very interested in how it went. Their was a very positive attitude," he said.

"They asked questions about Eric Mntonga, the Idasa man who was murdered, but I wasn't able to help them because I've not been there. They were also interested in the response in South Africa to the Dakar talks."

Dr Slabbert, who returns to SA tomorrow, said he would most certainly co-operate with any police investigation into the threats made against delegates to the Dakar talks by members of the AWB.

# Slabbert 'dismayed' by ANC radio call

The Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert said today he was "dismayed" to hear that the ANC's Radio Freedom had urged attacks on white residential areas.

He said in a BBC interview that this "kind of extravagant language and the kind of rhetoric that appears in the ANC's broadcasts as well as in their magazine" was specifically raised at Dakar.

## MEETING WITH HOWE

"There is no way in which one can persuade anybody that compromise is possible if this kind of attitude prevails. So this was not an issue that was ducked at Dakar, certainly not. We talked about it, we discussed it at length, and particularly this point was an issue that was raised there."

In talks described as "friendly", Dr Slabbert and Sir Geoffrey Howe, Britain's Foreign Secretary, yesterday discussed prospects for dialogue between the races.

Dr Slabbert said Sir Geoffrey was positive about the Dakar initiative and very interested in it, but the Foreign Secretary did not over-evaluate it.

Dr Slabbert said today he was pleased about this attitude. "I don't think one should see the Dakar initiative as an example of negotiation. It simply is a preliminary step that is necessary if the political will is there to start looking for compromises away from violence and confronta-

● The Argus Africa News Service reports from Lusaka that an ANC spokesman said today the call did not imply the ANC now approved the killing of white civilians.

"When we first called for the struggle to be taken to the white areas we explained that we meant attacks on the police, officers, troops and representatives of the minority govern-



All hands on the ANC flag ... at the funeral of ANC member Ashley Kriel in Cape Town last week, a brief tug-of-war over a flag. Police soon relented and allowed the family to bury the flag with the coffin. See PAGE 3  
 Picture: ROGER MEINTJIES, Atrapix

## Kriel shot in back, says pathologist

ASHLEY Kriel was shot in the back at point-blank range, according to an autopsy report by a private pathologist.

The Kriel family asked for a private post-mortem hoping it would help answer questions surrounding the death of the African National Congress guerrilla, who was shot in an Athlone, Cape Town home two weeks ago.

The pathologist, who cannot be named for ethical reasons, said deposits of powder deep in the bullet wound in the small of Kriel's back was "proof positive" that he was shot from behind at point-blank range. He also found what could have been an

By GAYE DAVIS, Cape Town  
 imprint of the muzzle circling the wound.

The bullet travelled along a horizontal, slightly downwards path before exiting from the left-hand side of Kriel's chest.

He said a 3cm laceration on Kriel's forehead could have been caused by a blunt instrument, such as a truncheon or revolver. The right side of his head was bruised and abrasions on his right upper arm and left shoulder were consistent with "someone being gripped in a struggle of some kind".

He found no marks on Kriel's wrists. A witness who saw the body

soon after the shooting claimed that Kriel was handcuffed. However, the pathologist did not specifically look for any bruises and said it was possible any marks might have faded before he examined the body, five days after the shooting.

An abrasion on Kriel's chin could have been caused by his falling on to his face, possibly as a result of the force of the bullet entering his back.

Police have said Kriel died from a bullet fired by his own weapon during a struggle with police who were trying to disarm and arrest him.

Lawyers acting for the Kriel family said no date for an inquest had yet been set.

24-20781 (11A) William

CA/15 9/7/81 30/7/81

# Squatters oppose 'witdoek' mayor

Supreme Court Reporter

LEADERS of some of the 70 000 squatters deprived of their homes last year in a "witdoek" attack, launched a Supreme Court application yesterday to declare the delegation of "witdoek" leader Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana as mayor of Crossroads invalid.

The applicants also seek an order declaring the Administrator of the Cape's appointment of Mr Ngxobongwana and six "councillors" to the Town Committee of Old Crossroads invalid, and preventing them from exercising the rights and duties of councillors.

According to papers before court, at least two show houses and a community centre have

been built on land cleared and "upgraded" after at least 60 people were killed in the destruction of the Portland Cement, Nyanga Extension and Nyanga Bush squatter camps, and parts of KTC.

At least 200 tents have also been erected recently, according to leader of the dispersed Nyanga Extension community Mr Alfred Siphika.

Both he and Portland Cement leader Mr Christopher Toise say attempts to discuss with the authorities the return of people to land they used to occupy, have been fruitless.

Mr Siphika said that soon after the "witdoek" attack the authorities announced that all people driven out of the area

would have to move to Khayelitsha and the destroyed area would be available only to people still in Crossroads.

He said this approach not only deprived people with legitimate claims of their right to return to the area, "it also shows the authorities are prepared to reward armed violence and arson".

Fellow applicant Mr Simon Mgedle said "great prejudice" could be caused to thousands of people by "irrevocable steps" taken by the Administrator and Mr Ngxobongwana.

He said the matter was urgent because Mr Ngxobongwana could begin allocating houses "at any moment" in an area where tension is acute.

Mr Mgedle said none of the

regulations relating to the election of members of local authorities have been complied with and Mr Ngxobongwana and his "council" therefore have no valid authority.

Former caretaker of the Noxolo School in Old Crossroads Mr Vuyisile Ntsewu disputed the claim of Mr Ngxobongwana and his "council" that they were elected.

On the purported election day there were no nominations and no voting at the meeting, he said.

The case was postponed till September 9.

Mr Justice C T Howle presided. Mr J J Gauntlett, with Mr W Duminy and instructed by the Legal Resources Centre, appeared for the applicants. Mr W G Burger SC, with Mr H M Carstens and instructed by the State Attorney, appeared for the Administrator.

PRETORIA — The ANC's Radio Freedom broadcasts are "emotive, rhetorical and imprecise" and "should be taken with a pinch of salt", ANC expert Tom Lodge of Wits University said yesterday.

He was reacting to a report in a Johannesburg newspaper yesterday which quoted Radio Freedom as having said the "struggle should be extended to white (residential) areas".

The report was based on a transcript of a July 13 broadcast, and was juxtaposed against the recent Dakar talks.

The transcript said: "The white minority is the cause of all our sorrow and suffering... The time has arrived for an eye for an eye, a tooth

for a tooth, a life for a life. History lies in the assault of the bastions of white power.

"The workers must show their muscle and, through industrial action and sabotage, force the economy of apartheid to a halt.

"The revolution must triumph, rather today than tomorrow... make South Africa ungovernable."

Radio Freedom comprises tape-recorded ANC messages, which are broadcast on Frontline states' radio services.

# Expert reflects on ANC radio broadcast

Said Lodge: "It's not the first time such a broadcast has occurred.

"Radio Freedom broadcasts don't always reflect carefully thought out ANC positions, and for that reason the language is emotive, rhetorical and imprecise."

Lodge added: "It's not the first time that ANC radio propaganda has called for the struggle to be carried into white areas. Such calls have been made from time to time over the last couple of years.

"The ANC has not spelt out what

the implications of such calls are, though from time to time they have denied that they advocate attacks specifically aimed at hurting white civilians."

He said the broadcasts should be taken with a pinch of salt, as they were a reflection of the inconsistency inside the ANC — as one found in any such organisation.

Lodge added that selective quotation of ANC material should be treated with caution.

"Because the direct quotation of the ANC is so restricted in this coun-

try, and so governed by censorship, when the authorities allow the ANC to be quoted then I think one has to treat any quoted material with great caution.

"Clearly the authorities are only going to allow quotations to be made selectively.

"They are only going to allow the newspapers to quote what suits them.

"Therefore one cannot make accurate judgments about the ANC on the basis of the information provided by the government." — Sapa.

11A B/Oay 3d/7/87



All hands on the ANC flag ... at the funeral of ANC member Ashley Kriel in Cape Town last week, a brief tug-of-war over a flag. Police soon relented and allowed the family to bury the flag with the coffin. See PAGE 3

Picture: ROGER MEINTJIES, Afrapix

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**By GAYE DAVIS, Cape Town**

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24-30/7/87 (JIA) W/Mail

# 'We started riding a donkey and ended on a tiger'

— SAYS SLABBERT OF THE DAKAR TRIP

"DO you really trust these whites?" the young reporter from Ghana's *Daily Graphic* snapped aggressively at Thabo Mbeki, African National Congress information chief, glancing at the 52 white delegates sitting around the VIP lounge at Accra airport, who had just arrived on the last leg of their West African tour.

Since Mbeki — an ANC executive member and head of the ANC's delegation to Dakar — is banned in South Africa, his unhesitating response cannot be quoted here. But his words instantly silenced the packed airport room and reinforced what some of the Afrikaners had begun to express, as they and six ANC delegates went on safari last week through Burkina Faso and Ghana — that the ANC might be their best hope of acceptance in a hostile world.

The airport interview was not the only occasion for the ANC to jump to the defence of their white fellow travellers. Sometimes they pushed their principle of non-racialism in the face of great skepticism, in two of Africa's most radical countries and in a milieu from which white South Africans had been excluded.

Last Thursday morning, about 600 people packed a public forum in a round conference hall in Accra, built for the 1965 Organisation of African Unity summit. A Liberian student accused Frederik van Zyl Slabbert's group of "playing up liberalism as opposed to revolution". A Ghanaian actor declared that the whites' journey was simply "a big trick to make our militant comrades relax in their struggle".

ANC arts and culture secretary Barbara Masekela responded with gentle firmness. "We cannot over-emphasise the fallacy of concluding that there is a right colour and a wrong colour," she said, sitting on the platform between Slabbert and Alex Boraine, under a portrait of Kwame Nkrumah, Ghana's first president. "We are not fighting white people. As South Africans together, we would like to come together to destroy the apartheid system."

Slabbert, executive director for the Institute for a Democratic Alternative in South Africa, pleaded for "tolerance in the struggle". The Dakar delegates, he said, had "become aware very clearly that such tolerance exists in the ANC. They say, 'all we ask you is to show us what you are prepared to do'." And with a hint of humility, Slabbert told the audience in Accra, "Those of us who are going back, go back as changed people."

The next weeks and months will reveal just how changed the delegates are, and what they are prepared to do. Many have been engaged only marginally in political activities. As the return trip neared, delegates began talking with more urgency about

Ghana: A group of touring white South Africans are criticised by a local reporter. Instantly, another South African comes to their assistance ... a black leader of the banned ANC

By VIVIENNE WALT  
SOUTHERN AFRICAN CORRESPONDENT  
FOR NEWSDAY, NEW YORK

their political futures, brainstorming ideas among themselves and worrying about the reported threats against them from the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging.

Some delegates still have strong links to the Afrikaner establishment, through conservative universities like Pretoria and Potchefstroom, and through their families and churches. The ANC hopes the Dakar veterans might convince others of the need to confer with the exiled leaders.

In the end, said one of the Afrikaans delegates from Pretoria, hostility towards them from Afrikaners back home might decide their political futures for them. "The Afrikaners like to push one out of the laager," he said. Then, drawing on a rugby analogy, he added: "Sometimes, you just have to play on a different field." He admitted too that his mere presence in West Africa would "make it easier to talk to black militants at home".

The trip had suddenly assumed the proportions of an international incident, with saturation media coverage in Dakar. "We started out riding a donkey and ended up on a tiger," said a slightly astonished Slabbert, in Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso's dusty little capital.

Once the talks in Dakar had ended, an extended, less formal dialogue continued between those from home and those in exile. Leaving behind the green-felt conference table at Dakar's Novotel, the delegates were thrust into the reality of Ouagadougou and Accra, with concrete African backdrops against which to consider the issues of South Africa's future.

Perhaps more important, they began to speak together to other Africans, with Slabbert and Mbeki teaming up as an impressive diplomatic pair at the many official occasions. Besides the impact of the trip on the delegates, they have undoubtedly left their mark on the capitals they visited, their journey filling several pages of the local newspapers.

When the delegates' Air Afrique plane touched down in Ouagadougou, about 10 000 people lined the streets between the airport and the hotel. Six bands played West African high-life music along the route; others held banners urging, "victory to the struggle in South Africa", while the group were escorted through the city by a



A search for roots? Frederik van Zyl Slabbert plants a tree in Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso

Pictures: VIVIENNE WALT, Newsday

"down with racism".

In a trip which is sure to make government supporters here feel increasingly isolated, the Afrikaner delegates were welcomed as heroes, largely thanks to the ANC's strong credentials on the continent. And they had done so, it seemed, merely by having rejected apartheid.

Despite the slight uneasiness of both Idasa and ANC delegates about the hooplah surrounding their arrival in Ouagadougou, everyone warmed to Captain Thomas Sankara, the 39-year-old revolutionary and military ruler who seized power in a coup four years ago.

Out in the garden of his president palace, Sankara sat one night entertaining the group with his irrepressible energy. He astutely likened their journey to "going from Johannesburg to Soweto", a township which many delegates admitted was equally unfamiliar territory to them. At one point, he made everyone clap rhythmically, to stop themselves from dropping off to sleep in the intense nighttime heat.

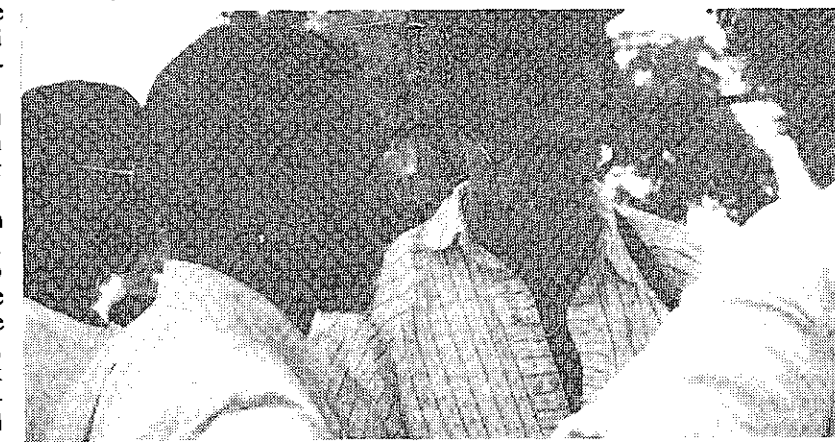
"You must smile, you must be happy in your struggle," he said to the weary delegates. "You should sing a song". And in what remained one of the trip's most dislocating moments, the group responded with a rousing Afrikaans version of "For he's a jolly good fellow", complete with hip-hip- hoorays.

By the time the six ANC members flew out of Accra last Friday, a few Idasa delegates were fighting back the tears. The night before, a Ghanaian military band had played a sombre version of *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika*.

As it ended, one of the Afrikaner delegates said tearfully, "I feel deprived. This damned National Party government has deprived us of contact with Africa for 20 years." — Southern African correspondent for Newsday, New York



Delegates read about themselves in the local press. From left, Idasa delegates Grethe Fox, Trudie de Ridder and Hardy Botha, and the ANC's Aziz Pahad and Tony Trew



The talks continue ... ANC leader Thabo Mbeki and Idasa delegate Christo Nel in Burkina Faso

motorcade with flashing lights, led by red-suited women on motorbikes.

Later that day, the Idasa group were treated as guests of honour at a revolutionary tribunal on Nelson Mandela Avenue, where one judge and a dozen commoners were trying officials

for having embezzled millions of West African francs from an army-run supermarket. At one stage, one of the accused interrupted his testimony to "welcome the white liberals", and the hundreds of civilians who had come to watch the trial chanted



Friday, when some  
wage clerks at the mine offices.

*ANC Times 30/7/87*  
**No to Buthelezi request**

LUSAKA — The ANC rejected a request for discussions on the future of South Africa by Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, an ANC spokesman said. Chief Buthelezi is said to have asked for a meeting after a group of white businessmen met ANC leaders in Zambia in 1985.

RRSAS 30/7/87

# Court move to oust new mayor of Crossroads

**Supreme Court Reporter**  
SQUATTER camp leaders have taken court action in a bid to oust the new mayor of Old Crossroads and six of his councillors.

Former Nyanga Extension squatter camp leader Mr Alfred Siphika, his Portland Cement camp counterpart Mr Christopher Toise and two others have asked the Supreme Court to declare invalid the Administrator's appointment of Mr Johnson Nxobongwana as "mayor" of the town committee of Old Crossroads and six other people as his councillors.

Mr Simon Mgedle, Mr Shadrack Ludidi, Mr Siphika and Mr Toise have also asked the court to stop the seven exercising rights, powers or duties conferred by the Administrator.

Mr Vuyisile Ntsewu, 62, a Crossroads school caretaker, told the court in an affidavit that he saw three white men, including the Assistant Director of Housing, Mr Ricky Schel-

hase, in traditional Xhosa dress, attend a meeting of Crossroads residents at the Noxolo School in the township.

Mr Ntsewu said he saw the three men in April. They included a Mr du Toit and Mr Schelhase, in women's traditional clothing, walking from Mr Nxobongwana's house to the Noxolo School, accompanied by women and children.

He said they attended a meeting at the school at which Mr Nxobongwana praised the white men, saying they had slept on straw mattresses at his home and eaten out of the same dish with him.

"He told them he would take a higher position. His assistant would be Mr Geli and they, Mr Pupu, Mr Nozungu and three women would work together."

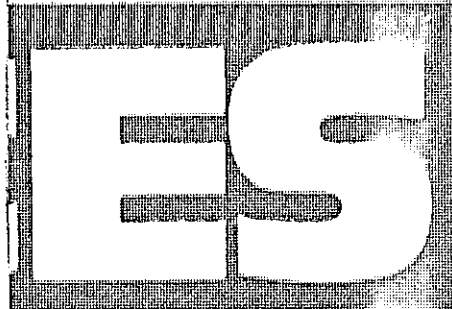
Mr Ntsewu said Mr Schelhase had promised Crossroads would be improved, with amenities like pools, soccer fields, a market and houses with water and electricity.

"He stated that special constables would be housed first along the road to stop people who had previously lived there from attacking the new residents."

Mr Ntsewu added that there were no nominations or voting at the meeting.

"Mr Nxobongwana merely told the audience who was going to look after Crossroads affairs."

The hearing was postponed to September 9.



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CRS-Trip

30/7/87

# Dakar talks: Hendrickse has no objections

Political Staff

THE leader of the Labour Party, Mr Alan Hendrickse, who is the only "coloured" member of the cabinet, said yesterday that he had no problems with the recent talks in Dakar between the ANC and 61 South Africans.

His statement comes in the wake of bitter attacks on the Dakar talks by CP MPs and critical comments by NP MPs.

It is expected that President P W Botha will outline the government's approach to the Dakar talks when the debate on his vote begins in the House of Assembly on August 13.

In his statement yesterday, Mr Hendrickse said: "The future of SA depends on whether people are prepared to sit down and talk to each other across the political spectrum."

"I therefore have no problem with the talks at Dakar or further planned talks on condition that 'how to achieve peaceful change' is on the agenda."

"I have had the experience of talking to people of different persuasions at conferences arranged by interested groups."

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"radical organisations such as the UDF."

The detention of at least 18 UDF members late last week — two of them top (acting) officials — comes after ministers Chris Heunis and Stoffel van der Merwe appeared to broaden the range of people government is prepared to engage in "talks about talks" to break the constitutional logjam over black political rights. However, UDF acting publicity secretary Murphy Morobe told the Cosatu congress a week before his detention in Port Elizabeth last Wednesday, that if the government seriously wanted to talk to black leaders, "they know where the ANC is."

Although other UDF and extra-parliamentary activists appear to have gone into hiding after the arrests, black trade union leaders this week denied reports claiming that this applied to them.



**Mellet**

The UDF's acting general secretary, Mohammed Valli, was detained together with Morobe at a house in PE's Malabar township. Another top UDF official, national treasurer and civil rights lawyer Azhar Cachalia, has since been released. He tells the *FM* he believes government detained

him in the hope that he would provide information on Morobe and Valli.

According to Cachalia, the detentions will be a short-term blow to the UDF's national executive committee, but he says the organisation will continue functioning through its regional offices and affiliates such as the SA Youth Congress.

UDF lawyers have not been able to contact Morobe and Valli.

Cachalia maintains the recent actions against the UDF prove that government is not really interested in resolving SA's problems peacefully. He adds that the UDF's policy is still one of non-violence and peaceful opposition to apartheid.

According to a Detainees' Parents Support Committee (DPSC) report there are still about 3 000 people in detention under the emergency regulations. But the report says it must be noted that "there have been new detentions in most areas, the exact number and circumstances of which are not yet

**UDF ARRESTS**

**Only personal**

The latest wave of detentions of United Democratic Front (UDF) activists does not constitute an onslaught on the UDF, says Brigadier Leon Mellet, spokesman for Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok.

People are detained purely for their "personal activities," explains Mellet, and it is "merely coincidence" that they all belong to

Handwritten notes: *11A*, *FM*, *3/17/87*, *P.T.O.*, and the page number *43*.

**The *FM* brings its readers the most news, comment and interpretation possible under the new regulations restricting publication of certain matters.**

**It does not believe that the restrictions are necessary or in the public interest, but will obey the law.**

known to us.”

The DPSC's Max Coleman says 75% of the detainees are members of the UDF or its affiliates.

About the same time West German Ambassador Immo Stabreit was delivering a demarche concerning security detainees to Foreign Minister Pik Botha on behalf of the 12-member European Community. In his response, Botha regretted that the Europeans had failed to realise that certain elements in SA wished to undermine and destroy the “democratic basis” of government.

At the weekend, meanwhile, the co-director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for SA (Idasa) in the Border area, Mxolise Eric Mntonga, was found stabbed to death in a car near King William's Town. Mntonga was also a former SA Allied Workers' Union organiser and UDF official.

Expressing shock at the murder, Idasa co-

director Alex Boraine said it was “the most recent in a number of apparently unsolved deaths of activists in the eastern Cape.” ■

# 'Plot to smuggle' ANC members

CAPE TIMES 31/7/87 114

## Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Four white men who appeared yesterday in a tight-security court here had plotted to smuggle senior members of the ANC back to South Africa, according to the prosecutor.

The London Anti-terrorist Squad, which is in charge of the case, alleges that a fifth white man, who was described as a "South African with strong right-wing connections", was involved in the plot and had also wanted to acquire explosives to blow up members of the ANC, prosecutor Mr Michael Biddy told the court.

Mr Biddy said that among the 2 000 documents found at the four's premises were detailed plans to kidnap members of the ANC and smuggle them out of Britain and back to SA.

Listed was Mr Solly Smith, the head of the London mission.

Mr Biddy told Mr Justice Roger Connor the identities and nationalities of two of the men were not yet known. The two had been previously identified as Mr Frank Lynge Larsen, 53, and his 27-year-old son Mr John Terence Larsen.

The other two were Mr John Richard Wheatley, 28, and Mr Evan Denis Evans, a 49-year-old Welshman and former solicitor.

"A document was found on which was a list of prominent names. All are members of the ANC living in this city. The plan to kidnap members of the ANC was in some detail," he said.

He said Mr Evans had been a member of the former Rhodesian and then the SA security forces. He was also at one time a flight lieutenant in the British services in Zambia.

While in SA he had met a South African with right-wing connections. After he moved to Wales this man had contacted him by telephone and had talked about "acquiring explosives to blow up members of the ANC". Mr Evans claimed he had told the South African he was not interested.

Mr Biddy objected to bail on the grounds that Mr Evans may abscond and may also interfere with witnesses.

Judge Connor said he did not think there was a strong case against Mr Evans but he would not grant him bail.

Mr Evans was remanded to appear on August 27 and the rest are due to appear again on August 13.

# Concern for country led to Dakar meeting

Cape Times 3/7/87 IIA

**Q. Why did you meet the ANC in Dakar?**

A. Our initiative arose out of deep concern for our country which is hopelessly divided and the victim of escalating violence. At present there exists a stalemate. The state cannot govern without a state of emergency and all the state apparatus which is so visible, particularly in the townships. On the other hand, the black majority cannot overthrow the state by force.

The second reason we went to Dakar arises from our experience in talking with leaders of the black community and with organizations in those communities. It is quite clear that the ANC is the largest single political party in South Africa. We are committed to the politics of negotiation and as the national executive of the ANC are forbidden from returning to South Africa, we arranged to meet with them in Senegal.

**Q. But don't you give the ANC what the government terms "credibility" by meeting with its leaders?**

A. We met with them because they have credibility! They have been in existence for 75 years; they have missions in 33 countries; they have met with leaders, foreign secretaries, heads of state in numerous countries; they have given evidence before the House of Commons and are generally well known in most parts of the world. Furthermore, they cannot be isolated to Lusaka or London. Their real base is in South Africa, and their support is growing.

**Q. And what has the trip achieved?**

A. We stressed from the outset that we were in no position to negotiate. We have neither the power nor the mandate to do so. But we were able to enter into serious discussions on many of the crucial issues facing South Africa. And we have demonstrated that discussions can be constructive.

It is possible to meet around the table with the ANC rather than on the battlefield where there are no winners. Secondly, we showed that Africa is open to South Africans, black and white, who have abandoned apartheid and are genuinely searching for a non-racial democracy. Thirdly, the assistance afforded us by Madame Mitterrand clearly indicates that the West wants to assist and that the only onslaught which exists is the onslaught



THE recent meeting between a group of mainly white and mainly Afrikaner South Africans and a delegation of the ANC in the Senegalese capital of Dakar has put the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa — which organized the meeting — on the map. It has also catapulted Idasa into the centre of controversy over whether South Africans should speak to the ANC at all. CHRIS ERASMUS spoke to Idasa co-director Dr ALEX BORAINÉ about the Dakar meeting and Idasa's role in SA politics.



against apartheid, not against South Africa.

But we have also struck a blow for negotiation politics. In the course of the last year, the government has mounted an intensive campaign against the ANC, depicting them as a terrorist group living in Lusaka with no consistency and a commitment to violence at all costs. We have tried to break the cycle and to point towards the possibility of a negotiated settlement which will end the violence which has become endemic.

**Q. That may be so, but the government will argue that you have achieved little except improving the image of the ANC.**

A. They undoubtedly would not have met with us unless there was something in it for them. But this is a two-way process. We were out to raise key issues which were of concern to any thinking South African, black or white. I have no doubt they too had their own agenda and wishes but that's normal and is like any bargaining process. It's like management and unions, to use an analogy, which go in there with their own interests. If they can both come out having gained something, I've no problem because that's what it's all about.

So yes, I suppose, they felt it was important enough to send 18 people half way around the world to meet with us, and not only for those three days but for six of them to travel with us to other parts of West Africa.

If it has improved their image, it's done so to the extent that they are now seen as willing to talk, and that's not a bad thing.

**Q. Is the government willing to talk?**

A. At the moment no. . . .

**Q. The government says that the ANC has little and dwindling support in South Africa, that the unrest is orchestrated by agents of Moscow and that the ANC is not a broadly-based popular organization.**

A. I think the government may have a public and a private view. Their public view is to say the ANC has no support, that it is a small Moscow-dominated terror group which is killing and intimidating. I think their private view must be, or may be, very different. I base that on our experience in the townships across the land which is that there is not only considerable support for the ANC but that it is growing rather than diminishing.



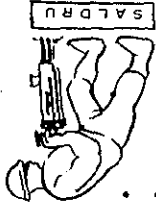
Flashback to the meeting on July 9 in Dakar between Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, head of the South African delegation and Mr Thabo Mbeki, head of the ANC delegation.

who admitted that the problem was not being solved, only contained. The real problem is dissatisfaction and hence the answer is a political one not a police or military one. Any answer therefore has to involve credible leaders in the black community . . .

**Q. So what is Idasa's role in all this?**

A. There is a reality which white South Africans have got to come to terms with and that is that if there were free and fair elections with everyone enjoying the vote, the vast majority of people in the government would be black. I think whites will find that extraordinarily difficult to concede and I understand that people prefer to say "rather the devil we know than that we don't know". Part of Idasa's function, apart from arranging trips to Dakar, is to try and help white South Africans who know that apartheid is not going to work — there are a whole lot of whites who for the first time are recognizing that morality aside, apartheid is not going to afford them security — and who don't see any other system taking its place. Our job is to help them to see that there is another way and that way is democratic and non-racial.

continued



# Southern Africa Labour & Development Research Unit

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Private Bag, Rondebosch 7700  
Telephone 69-8531 Ext. 440

November 1985

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN



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You know that in Rhodesia, as it was, the government there said Mugabe and Nkomo were merely pawns of China and Russia and had no support. But when the test came, the support for them was overwhelming.

I have no doubt that if such a test were forthcoming here, and I would welcome it as would the ANC, I have no doubt that the ANC would be right up in front and their leaders would be among those that the people would put their trust in. The government with its intelligence sources and informers must know that and I think they are trying to counter that. That's why they are trying to use public opinion, but it's so counter-productive. The day may come when the government wants to start talks, or talks about talks, with the ANC and their major opposition will be from whites who have swallowed their propaganda. It's self-defeating. Maybe our initiative can counter that. In the end the government may want to thank us...

**Q. Is it not true that the state of emergency, the national security management system and the other apparatuses available to the government are in fact working to reduce the level of unrest?**

A. Yes, but the government knows exactly what will happen if the state of emergency is lifted. I put this to a senior minister

...can talk to whites until I'm blue in the face, but the only way to convince them is to bring blacks and whites together. Not to improve race relations, which is a nice by-product if it happens, but deal with the future of this country. Whites need to see that black South Africans don't hate them and don't want to drive them into the sea. Blacks want what whites want — security, progress, prosperity and a say in their own land, control over their own lives.

That's why I think Idasa has an important role to play and we will continue to do that.

**Q. Where does Idasa's funding come from?**

A. Almost all from overseas organizations, like the Naumann Foundation in Germany and the Ford Foundation in the US, as well as groups like the Norwegian and Danish councils of churches. We are, however, about to embark on a major fund-raising drive inside South Africa. We feel we have established our credentials and are not seen as being in the pocket of anyone...

**Q. Where to now for Idasa, particularly in the wake of Mr Mntonga's murder?**

A. Eric's death will affect us a lot in that he was an extremely valuable member of the organization. He was very experienced through his work as a trade unionist and was accustomed to negotiation. He had close links with the workers and was a brilliant organizer. So it will be virtually impossible to replace him. His death has certainly had a sobering effect on our staff. No one has thought of leaving us but it has brought everyone up short. Strangely enough, some of the blacks who have contacted us have said that now Idasa is on the firing line, they have far greater respect for us. It's cost us, as it has cost blacks for years.

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# Fortified suburbs after ANC threat?

31/7/87

C. Thomas

~~31/7/87~~

11A

By CHRIS STEYN

STEPS to fortify white suburbs against attacks by the African National Congress (ANC) would be taken if the banned organization shifted its focus from hard targets to soft targets, police said yesterday.

Police said the ANC's terror strategy would be studied for tactical changes following the organization's call on Radio Freedom to extend the armed struggle to South Africa's white suburbs.

Commenting on the call, a spokesman for the Police Public Relations Directorate in Pretoria said: "We will study the pattern of ANC attacks for any changes.

"If there are any, the necessary steps will be taken to protect white suburbs from attacks by the ANC."

But ANC expert Dr Tom Lodge,

of the University of the Witwatersrand, said the ANC's Radio Freedom broadcasts were "emotive, rhetorical and imprecise" and "should be taken with a pinch of salt".

A transcript of the July 13 broadcast quoted the radio announcer as saying that "the white minority is the cause of all our sorrow and suffering... the time has arrived for an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, a life for a life. History lies in the assault of the bastions of white power".

The transcript continued: "The workers must show their muscle and, through industrial action and sabotage, force the economy of apartheid to a halt."

And, according to reports from Lusaka, this week the ANC pinpointed targets in white areas. Those on the hit-list included police officers, soldiers and re-

presentatives of the "white minority regime".

Earlier yesterday, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, said that about half of those injured in yesterday's bomb blast in Johannesburg were black. This exposed the ANC's claims that its onslaught was aimed at the white minority as a lie.

"The ANC use unbridled violence to further its objectives, regardless of innocent and defenceless people being maimed," Mr Vlok said.

A Peninsula police spokesman said residents of white suburbs could help the police prevent terrorist attacks in civilian areas by participating in neighbourhood "crimewatch" schemes.

"Seen in the light of the ANC's threat, the public can help the police to keep suspect elements out of the community by phoning us with information."

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Audio- Right-wing SA man a 'mystery conspirator'

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# Court is told of plot against ANC

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SME  
3/17/87

By Sue Leeman  
The Star Bureau

LONDON — The Lambeth Magistrate's Court heard yesterday of five men's alleged involvement in an extremely detailed plan to kidnap leading members of the ANC in Britain, possibly with the idea of smuggling them abroad.

With four of the alleged conspirators in the dock, the court also heard more about the mystery "fifth man", a right-wing South African who, the prosecution claims, first started putting out feelers about the kidnap idea in South Africa.

Mr Evan Dennis Evans (49) of Anglesey, Mr Frank Lyng Larsen (53) and Mr John Terence Larsen (27) of Aldershot and Mr Jonathan Wheatley (28) of Guildford in Surrey had no charges put to them and were not asked to plead.

The Larsens and Mr Wheatley were remanded until August 6, when they will probably again be remanded until August 13. Mr Evans, who had a second bail application turned down, will probably only appear again on August 27, when the trial starts.

Mr Evans's bail was refused by Mr Roger Connor on the

grounds that there were "obviously substantial resources behind this plot... and these could be made available to Evans so that he does not have to answer to the charge".

Mr Connor said he believed the case against Mr Evans was not a strong one — but the charges were so serious he might abscond.

Prosecutor Mr Michael Bippy said the kidnap plot had been worked out in fine detail, "including surveillance, how to detain those kidnapped and how the kidnapping was to be carried out. We believe the ultimate plan may have been to smuggle them abroad".

The identity and nationality of the Larsens, he said, was still in doubt.

## ACTIVE PART

Mr Evans, Mr Bippy said, had played an active part — "he was telling the Larsens and Mr Wheatley what to do".

The unnamed South African, "who held extreme right-wing views", first made contact with Mr Evans while he was still in South Africa. A native Welshman, Mr Evans was in the SADF between 1980 and 1985.

The prosecution said Mr

Evans had been approached again later by the South African in Britain "with a view to acquiring explosives for blowing up members of the ANC".

Mr Evans had said he was not prepared to go along with this, but had introduced the man to the Larsens, whom he initially understood to be members of the British security forces.

Mr Evans attended a number of meetings where kidnap was suggested but said he would not take part.

Mr Evans's counsel, Mr Peter Moore, said his client had become "disenchanted with the South African regime" in 1985 when asked to take part in an SADF exercise to blow up American oil pipelines in Angola.

There was, he said, no direct proof that his client had agreed to take part in the kidnap plot, or that he had met the Larsens in London when they were allegedly forming the conspiracy.

He said the name of the ANC's chief London representative, Mr Solly Smith — found on a piece of paper at Mr Evans's home — had been written down at the South African's request.

# Dakar talks showed that alternatives exist

The experience of the Dakar conference, the meeting with the ANC and the reception by the heads of state of Senegal, Burkino Faso and Ghana was aptly summarised by one of the delegates when he was asked whether his expectations had been fulfilled. He replied: "The experience has been so overwhelming I can't even remember what my expectations were".

The experience was above all else a human one, in which myths had to give way to reality. No one ever entertained any illusions about the capacity for this meeting to cause major change, or even initiate real negotiation. The objective was to meet — and it became a meeting of the minds and emotions of people who share a common land and are bound by a common future, but who are forcibly separated by an inhuman and unjust system.

The crisis that our country is facing became the common concern, as previously-held misconceptions and prejudices engineered through misinformation, biased reporting and often blatant lies, were slowly stripped away. Ultimately it served to demythologise the ANC, in the minds of the internal delegation.

## Serious concern

This in no manner suggests that there was not serious concern, and even disagreement, regarding strategy and tactics. The internal South African delegation was at no stage an acquiescing and apologetic group. Nor was the external South African delegation willing to be anything other than forthright and to the point. If anything, it was the internal delegation that initially had to spend time becoming acquainted with a group of people that were so fundamentally different to any image of them portrayed in South Africa.

One can almost hear the cynical and perhaps fearful accusation that the internal delegation has clearly been cleverly manipulated by the diabolical and sinister forces mustered by the ANC. Two facts make this claim ridiculous.

The internal delegation contained individuals with exceptional talent and experience with the ability to assess the situation dispassionately and objectively.

Second, no group of people is capable of sustaining a subterfuge of

such consistent sincerity, willingness for intense debate, consistency of policy and compassion as that displayed by the ANC delegation over a period of 10 days.

The fact is that the ANC is still committed to the need for true negotiation.

It has an astounding commitment to non-racialism and democracy. It rejects any suggestion of retribution or punishment of whites who are willing to support this core principle. This is even more significant when viewed against the many decades of peaceful approach by the ANC that were rejected by the white government.

The ANC's commitment to negotiated solutions and the acknowledgement of the right of existence for other parties supporting the principles of non-racial democracy are absolute and engrained in its philosophy and policies.

The tragedy is that all of this has been overshadowed by the armed struggle which was eventually initiated in response to the violence of apartheid.

The Dakar conference showed that there are very real alternatives.

In every instance there were differences of opinion that need to be analysed further — but of much greater importance were the commonalities of purpose that emerged.

There was concern regarding the potential for uncontrolled or random violence and its contribution to creating a radicalised image of the ANC, in particular and generally of supporters of the non-racial democratic movements.

There was general acceptance of the need for multi-faceted strategies aimed at minimising the potential for conflict, while achieving a non-racial democratic society as rapidly as possible.

Above all else there was acknowledgement of the need for all South Africans to determine their future

together, as peers, and that the discussions need to continue.

If we, as reasonable men and women, are incapable of building upon such fundamental common interest, then we deserve the gutting of our land which will be the result of our own intrasigence. If we are unwilling to start acknowledging the reality, but choose to rather support and believe in the biased opinions and propaganda creating and supporting the myths surrounding the ANC, then we will have succumbed to the forces of polarisation and alienation afflicting our country.

The time for identifying common ground is rapidly disappearing. This does not suggest that the violent overthrow of the government is imminent or even possible. The danger is that we will remain caught in an irreversible trap of conflict and violence that would lay our economy in ruins. It will force the need for an ultimate victor, but that victor will be a ruler over desolation.

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BLACK POLITICS

1987

AUGUST

# Slabbert condemns blast

# Talks with ANC defended

Cape Times  
18/87  
112

By TONY WEAVER

**A DEFIANT** Dr Van Zyl Slabbert yesterday stood firmly by his decision to talk to the African National Congress in Dakar and said the conference had shown South Africa could "still negotiate itself out of this crisis".

He jetted into Cape Town amid super-tight security and immediately condemned Thursday's Johannesburg car bomb "without reservation" and dismissed government attempts to link the Dakar talks to the car bomb.

Dr Slabbert moved straight from the airport to the Idasa offices in Mowbray to address a packed press conference.

The head of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for SA (Idasa) made it clear he regarded the Dakar talks as a



**RETURN FROM DAKAR...** Dr Van Zyl Slabbert fields questions at yesterday's press conference. With him is the Idasa national coordinator, Mr Wayne Mitchell.

Picture: RICHARD BELL

success for many reasons. People ranging politically from "conservative to radical" had exchanged frank views with the ANC; they had access to first-hand information on the movement and not cen-

sored news, and "serious academic papers" were sent in advance for the ANC to study and to lay the grounds for discussion.

"This was not a one-day safari or a picnic in the bush. It

was a serious debate.

"The government says it is serious about a negotiated settlement and Dakar is in agreement that it is possible. Therefore if the government is sincere it must at least be tolerant of Idasa's initiatives."

It was his belief there had never before been as extensive an in-depth exchange of views between South Africans and the ANC.

Dr Slabbert stressed that the group was in no way a representative group trying to negotiate with the movement. "We had no power to negotiate, we had no mandate to meet with the ANC."

Dr Slabbert said he rejected the argument forwarded in some quarters that the Dakar talks had "given the ANC credibility". "The ANC is a fact, has been since 1912, to argue that we gave them credibility is to miss the point that they have an enormous amount of support inside this country."

To page 2

Cape Times 1987 (112) (112)  
From page 1

An important effect of the talks had been to "demystify the image that people have of whites, of Afrikaners. In Accra (Ghana) people met with Afrikaners for the first time, they were amazed that all whites are not dyed-in-the-wool fascists".

The press conference was dominated by the twin issues of left- and right-wing violence, and Dr Slabbert spoke out forcefully against terrorism.

"I condemn the car bomb without reservation, whoever is responsible. It was an act of terror. If the ANC were responsible, then I must express my deepest disappointment."

If the bomb was timed to coincide with his homecoming from the Dakar talks then it is a "macabre deed... an extremely cynical act".

At the press conference, Dr Slabbert said:

□ "The death of (Border Idasa co-director) Eric Mntonga really shattered me, I was deeply distressed. If the time has been reached where death squads can move around and eliminate people, then we are in very serious trouble."

### Wasteland

□ "I reject all forms of terrorism — from whichever quarter — with revulsion. I have said so to the government, I have said so to the ANC. I will explore all means to end it."

□ "The ongoing use of violence on all sides is a certain formula to reduce our country to a wasteland."

□ "I do not simply dismiss (the ANC) as a terrorist organization. Elements of the ANC use terror. A terrorist organization is one which only uses terror, and it would be a distortion to say that is all the ANC does. It is a multi-faceted organization. But I reject unconditionally that part of their operation which uses terrorism, and I made that point in Dakar."

### Armed struggle

□ "The ANC said (to us) that they do not support arbitrary violence."

□ "One area of controversy which exercised our minds (in Dakar) was the question of violence and the armed struggle. The ANC drew a clear distinction between their commitment to armed struggle and the use of uncontrolled violence."

□ "Political terror is the use of indiscriminate violence on innocent civilians for political purposes. Organizations which use this tactic only are terrorist organizations, like the Baader Meinhof or the Red Brigade. Both the ANC and the SADF have committed acts of violence of this nature, both have condemned it, innocent civilians have died through violence on both sides."

CANC 117 P 1/8/87

# Amampondo gets green light

Own Correspondent  
LONDON. — The ANC has given the Guguletu musical group Amampondo the all-clear to perform overseas.

Recently the group cancelled an appearance in Jerusalem claiming the ANC had put pressure on them not to appear, but later reversed their decision.

However, in the past few days the group has been meeting with the ANC.

According to a statement re-

leased by the ANC here, "they have shown how they support the mass democratic movement".

The statement added that Amampondo was discussing with the South African Musicians' Alliance ways in which it could further contribute "in the struggle for an undivided and democratic South Africa.

"Their actions speak loud, the ANC supports their given opportunities to expose the culture of our people," the ANC statement

concluded.

The ANC has recently softened its position on the cultural boycott.

It no longer opposes tours by artists who are given the backing of organizations such as the Musicians' Alliance which the ANC sees as part of "the broad democratic alliance".

Amampondo is the second group to be given the backing of the ANC to tour abroad. The first was Johnny Clegg's Savuka.

# VAN ZYL SLABBERT In the eye of the storm

by ROBERT HOUWING  
Weekend Argus Reporter

THE Dakar talks with the African National Congress and the huge Johannesburg bomb blast have ignited the South African political scene.

Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, the main convener of the talks in Senegal and leader of Idasa (the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa), who is in the eye of the storm, returned to Cape Town yesterday. He denounced the blast "without reservation", as well as the "hysterical" reaction in some quarters to the Dakar talks.

"If the pattern is going to be one of escalating terror and violence, our society will be torn apart," he said.

### Peace-seeking

The Dakar initiative had been a peace-seeking mission from the outset, he said.

It had been shown that in spite of increasing violence talking was still possible. The visit had been a start to "opening up Africa to South Africa".

On terrorism he said: "I reject all forms of terrorism with unambiguous revulsion. I have said so to the Government and to the ANC."

He rejected arguments that by going to Dakar the delegation had enhanced the credibility of the ANC.

Nobody had given the ANC more credibility than the Government itself, he said.

Meanwhile, the ANC has still not accepted or denied responsibility for the Johannesburg bombing. A spokesman said from Lusaka last night: "The ANC has absolutely no comment to make at this stage."

Delegates to Dakar who have been under severe attack since their return are being treated as outcasts in some circles.

Progressive Federal Party MP Mr Peter Gastrow last night defended his presence there. "In spite of the bombing, which filled me with deep shock and depression, I am

still persuaded that contacts like that are essential.

"Not only was I depressed at the incident, but also the prospect of resolving the political and violent deadlock.

"Future political compromise has been made more difficult, and the bombing has played into the hands of those who believe the deadlock can be resolved only by military means."

### "Petty"

Mr Gastrow said a possible clampdown by President Botha on the ANC, or contact with it, would "simply escalate the whole situation further into military conflict".

He described as a "petty, knee-jerk reaction" a Johannesburg City Council decision to boycott conferences at which Dakar delegates spoke.

On a possible split in the PFP over the Dakar mission, he said: "That is a party issue which the party itself will address. I don't want to get involved".

Another Dakar delegate, Professor Michael Savage, of the University of Cape Town sociology department, attacked the Government as "extremely short-sighted in linking delegates with the blast".

"This is a cheap propaganda stunt, aimed against initiatives of the Dakar kind."

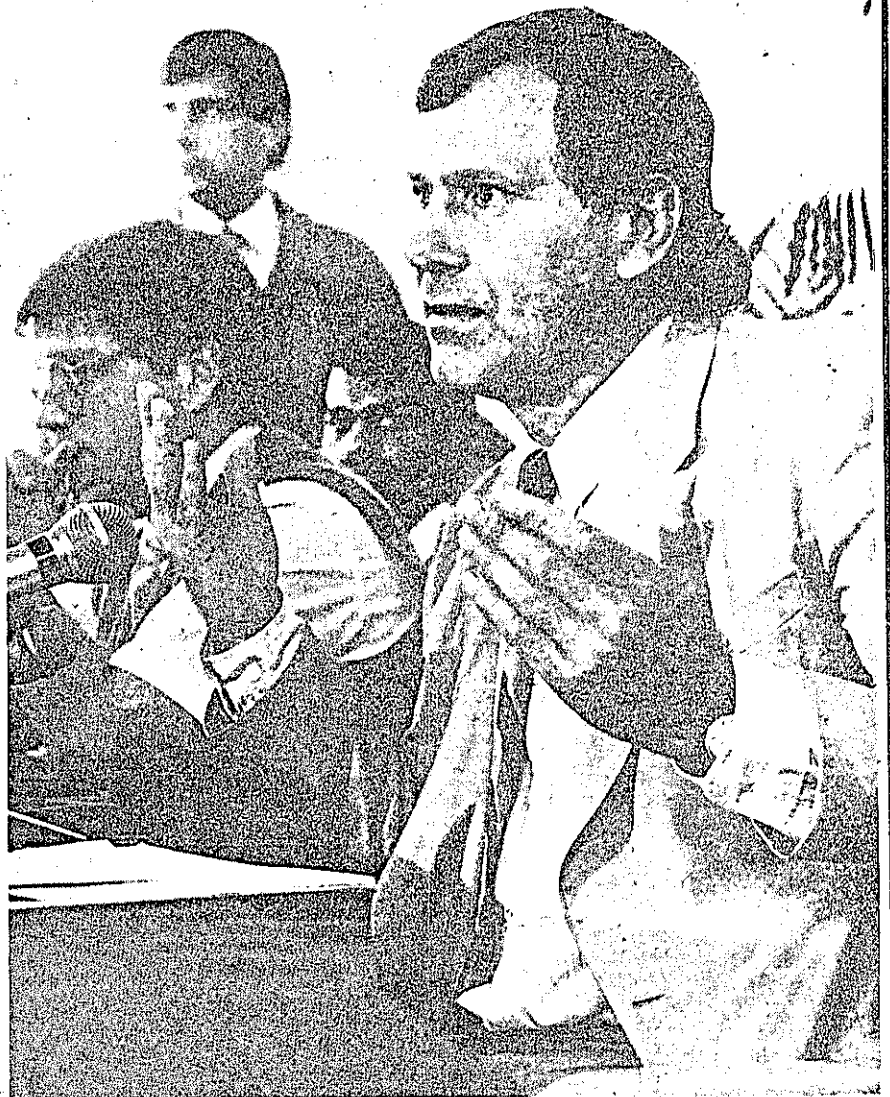
He said the reprisal threat could not be ignored. "In an undemocratic society you will always find those who do not stick to democratic principles."

### Independents

The independent movement has joined others in condemning the bombing.

A statement on behalf of Mr Wynand Malan, independent MP for Randburg, and Dr Denis Worrall and Dr Esther Lategan, said the blast and the "accompanying horror and suffering" could in no way be justified.

"The acrimony between the various political parties, threats of violence and the apportionment of guilt will not contribute to solving



Dr Van Zyl Slabbert at his press conference in Cape Town.

South Africa's problems.

"Now is the time to reject the powers dividing us as well as all violence and intimidation — only then can we seek a genuine middle ground solution based on respect and dignity."

In further reaction the gen-

eral secretary of the South

African Council of Churches,

the Rev Frank Chikane, said:

"The blast has come as a

tragic reminder to all peace-

loving South Africans that the

war between the minority re-

gime and the majority of the

voiceless people has to be

brought to a quick end."

Public statements on the

bombing were "not encourag-

ing at all".

"The SACC believes that

the only way to stop this war

is to bring together the war-

ring parties to discuss the

real causes," he said.

cf press 2/8/87



### **Birthday party for Rivonia man**

RIVONIA treason trialist and one of eight ANC leaders sentenced to life imprisonment in 1964, Elias Motsoaledi, celebrated his 63rd birthday on Sunday – a week after ANC leader Nelson Mandela celebrated his 67th birthday.

Motsoaledi, like Mandela and other Rivonia trialists, has been in prison for more than 20 years.

However, the trialists' families and the community has not forgotten about them and this week the Soweto Youth Congress and the Federation of Transvaal Women threw a huge party for Motsoaledi at his Mzimhlophe house.

His wife, Caroline, (left) was there to share the joy, together with Mrs. Mkawayi (second from left), whose husband is also serving a life sentence.

11A





A house allegedly damaged by Ama-Afrika members.

# Five die in 'black on black' violence

2/8/87 C/Item (344) 11A

## CP Correspondent

THE Uitenhage township of KwaNobuhle was tense this week after five residents, sympathetic to the UDF, were killed in what is claimed to be on-going clashes between the UDF and Ama-Afrika.

Police Press liaison officer for the Eastern Cape Captain Piet Grobler confirmed that five people were killed in what he described as "black on black violence".

Grobler said the deaths were not unrest-related and were being investigated

"as straight murder cases". The deceased had died from knife wounds and some were hacked to death.

He said he did not think Ama-Afrika members were involved in the attacks, "but it was too soon to tell".

Ama-Afrika has also denied its involvement in the fightings.

Since January this year, over 16 UDF members and six Ama-Afrikans have died in violent clashes.

Residents of Kwano-buhle township who are members of the UDF have blamed Ama-Afrika members for the attacks.

They said a group of 20 armed men abducted a Std 4 pupil from his KwaNobuhle home on Sunday. His hacked body was found on Monday lying in the Uitenhage shack area of "Tyoksville".

Last Friday, John Maneli, a member of the Uitenhage Youth Congress, was confirmed dead on arrival at the Uitenhage Provincial Hospital after he was hacked by axes, pangas and assegais.

A shack belonging to a street committee member, Eric Thembani, was attacked with stones and furniture was broken following an attack by a group of men last Friday afternoon.

Joseph Maliwa, a spokesman for Ama-Afrika, said his organisation had no knowledge of the violence in Uitenhage.

"Since the funeral service for our three members who were killed two weeks ago, we have not been involved in any fighting," said Maliwa.

"All we know is that three men who had visited Khayelitsha (an area where Soweto residents are being moved to and which is controlled by Ama-Afrika) were last week attacked by a group of people in 'Tyoksville'.

"One of the men escaped. The man said he did not know what happened to the other two abducted men.

"If residents have complaints, they must come forward and point out to us who has been attacking them.

"Our people are controlled at all times. It is not true that we have a group of people who are not interested in holding talks with the UDF," he said.

The UDF was unavailable for comment.

# Launch of OFS youth congress

By SELLO SERIPE

TREASON trialist and UDF national publicity secretary "Terror" Lekota and community leader Winnie Mandela have been elected co-presidents of the newly launched Free State Youth Congress.

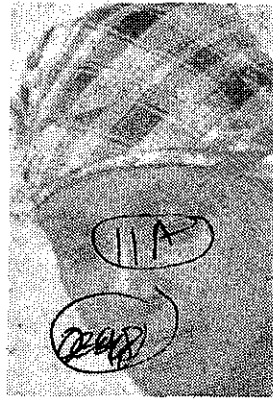
The launch was held in Durban at the weekend and was attended by 800 delegates from youth congress members in the OFS, as well as representatives from Cosatu, the SA Youth Congress, National Education Union of SA, Federation of SA Women and the National Education and Health Workers' Union.

Smangaish Mahlakazela was elected president of Fryco, the largest youth congress in the province, with 42 Free State congresses affiliated to it.

Fryco has already opted to affiliate to Sayco, which boasts 500 000 members and 700 000 active supporters.

As Fryco claims to have 23 000 members and 50 000 active supporters, it is possibly also the largest Sayco affiliate.

Fryco president Mahlakazela said that, in its program of action, the congress would commit itself to opposing the intended incorporation of Botsha-



**Winnie Mandela**

belo location into Qwaqwa.

Fryco also resolved to back all campaigns undertaken by "democratic organisations" and wholeheartedly pledged its support for the "Save the 32 compatriots from the hangman's noose" campaign initiated by Sayco.



In Dakar ... Breyten Breytenbach meets African Lawyers' Association president Benolt Ngoma.

# Lecturer's house is vandalised

CP Correspondent

A RHODES University politics lecturer, who lectured her students on the Dakar talks, this week had her house in Grahamstown vandalised.

Marion Lacey, 45, said she was sitting in her room near the window on the first floor with her hearing aid turned down when unknown vandals defaced her front door.

Dangling from the door-frame was a mutilated and burnt effigy.

Also daubed in red paint were the words: "Your wall won't help."

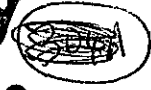
Lacey said she was not intimidated.

# 'Dakar is only the beginning'

city press

11A

2/8/87



THE meeting in Dakar, Senegal, was only the beginning. The majority of the 71 delegates were shaken to their roots by the visit and many have a new commitment for a new South Africa in which negotiation politics must triumph over mindless violence.

In the first report-back meeting after the visit, Dr Alex Boraine, executive director of the Institute for Democratic Alternatives in South Africa, said the meeting, held under strict security measures at the University of Cape Town, was a victory over the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging.

"We proved them wrong. They said we

would not be allowed to hold meetings, but here we are.

"The meeting is an important gesture of defiance - a clear statement that we will not be intimidated with threats to shut up," he said.

The UCT SRC said death threats had been made against Boraine and council members and all bags were searched before students could enter the hall.

Boraine said Idasa was concerned about the direction the government was leading the country, a direction that could destroy "all of us".

An analysis of the forces opposed to the government showed that the ANC was not an organisation resident in Lusaka, New York or London but that "it is as close to you as where you are sitting now".

The ANC was in the townships and in the cities, and "this major, growing force cannot be ignored and that is why the meeting was held", he said.

He said strategies for change were discussed, as well as a system for a non-racial government, a liberated South African economy and a post-apartheid South Africa.

Andre du Toit, of the department of political studies at UCT, who also attended the Dakar talks, said that "Dakar explored and addressed the whole range of the armed struggle".

He said that the ANC was not committed to political terrorism and condemned the Amanzimtoti bombings as its primary targets were either military or official, and had instructed its agents to limit civilian casualties.

The ANC was not prepared to take a stronger line on necklacing, he added. - Sapa.

Wealthy Cape man named in London case says: Ridiculous! I've been set up

# KIDNAP PLOT SENSATION

STimes  
2/8/87  
11A

By JEREMY BROOKS and SYBRAND MOSTERT

THE mystery "fifth man", claimed to be the mastermind of a bizarre London plot to snatch top ANC operatives, was yesterday traced by the Sunday Times to the small Northern Cape town of Upington.

He is Mr Johann Niemoller, a young, wealthy businessman with a distinguished military record.

But yesterday Mr Niemoller — although admitting he knew one of the key figures in the London plot — rejected charges that he was the mastermind, or even involved. He claimed he had been set up.

The new twist to the drama came after the Sunday Times confirmed that one of the four accused in the London case had given Mr Niemoller's name to the British anti-terrorist squad.

Mr Evan "Dennis" Evans, charged with three other men with plotting to kidnap top ANC men in London and spirit them out of the country, told investigators Mr Niemoller was behind the plot.

Further details of Mr Niemoller's alleged involvement could surface in the continuing court action, which has riveted public interest.

## Hit-list

The four — Evans, Frank Larsen, his son John, and Jonathan Wheatley — are arraigned in a London court.

The conspirators were found with a "hit-list" of ANC leaders and numerous expertly forged official documents.

British authorities have confirmed they are searching for a mysterious "fifth man" who was allegedly the mastermind behind the plot.

Reports in SA earlier this week indicated that the British authorities had

## Exposed: The best little whorehouse in Jo'burg!

By HILTON HAMANN

A LUXURY "guest-house" in Johannesburg's millionaire belt has been revealed as a high-class brothel, popular among top businessmen from all over South Africa.

Since it opened in November, an estimated 5 000 men have visited the double-storey mansion, according to a girl who works there.

It is an exclusive address — 105 Jan Smuts Avenue, Saxonwold. A next-door neighbour is the French Consul General, which has led to the house being dubbed "The Er...ssy" by its patrons.

The sophisticated sex-for-racket was outlined this week in an article in the society magazine, Style, which dubbed it "The Best

## Shock Bok moves for pro rugby

By TED PARTRIDGE

MANY Springbok rugby stars are planning to turn professional. And they will do so with the regretful support of Dr Danie Craven, president of the SA Rugby Board.

The shock swing to paid rugby is designed to beat the ban on touring teams visiting this country.

The Bok professionals — who will play the union code, not league — will link up with other countries to get



## Hit-list

The four — Evans, Frank Larsen, his son John, and Jonathan Wheatley — are arraigned in a London court.

The conspirators were found with a "hit-list" of ANC leaders and numerous expertly forged official documents.

British authorities have confirmed they are searching for a mysterious "fifth man" who was allegedly the mastermind behind the plot.

Reports in SA earlier this week indicated that the British authorities had given the man's name to the SA Government, but no confirmation could be obtained this week.

Yesterday, the Sunday Times confronted Mr Niemoller at his Upington home with the allegation.

The young father of two children at first denied that he was Johann Niemoller, but then invited a reporter and photographer into his home.

"I am just a young, hardworking businessman who has been set up," he said.

He said the allegations were "ridiculous" and would damage his international business interests — although he confirmed he knew one of the alleged conspirators.

The Upington businessman said he met Evans for the first time in SA two years ago when Evans wanted to buy some clothing from his factory.

He refused to give him an agency and saw him in Britain last year.

Mr Niemoller claimed Evans and his co-accused had "shifted the blame on to me because it is convenient as I have extensive contacts with the SADF through my business and have served in the operational area".

He added: "It is also easy for them to blame SA for anything."

Mr Niemoller owns a clothing factory, Adder, in Upington. He has extensive business interests in Britain, Japan and the US, and is also contracted to supply clothing and webbing to the SADF.

Mr Niemoller is one of two sons of a multi-millionaire farmer in the Pella district of the Northern Cape, Mr Gertjie Niemoller.

## Link

The family own the sprawling Klein Pella farm near Pofadder and also run a transport business in the town.

Mr Niemoller said he had served with a crack SA military unit, but refused to disclose further details of his military career.

Statements in the hands of the Anti-Terrorist Squad — it is understood — claim a link between Mr Niemoller and the alleged conspirators.

The sudden arrest of Mr Evans, a sub-postmaster in the village of Mallstreath on the Isle of Anglesy, has galvanised this little community consisting of the shop, a pub and 10 houses.

The Evans family — they have three sons — arrived a year ago and, according to neighbours, "never really fitted into the community".

● Another man has been detained by British police investigating the kidnap conspiracy. Scotland Yard said last night the man had been picked up for questioning by its Anti Terrorist Squad.

No charges had been laid against the man whose nationality was not known.

## Bombl

THE MAN behind the Johannesburg bomb, the biggest car bomb in South Africa since the 1983 "Black Friday" Street blast, has been identified by South African sources.

He is the ANC's B special operations commander, Johannes Mnisi.

Intelligence sources believe that he was responsible for selecting the Witrand Command head as the target for the explosion.

They also believe other ANC activist identikit pictures were published in the Sunda after the May 20 Johannesburg magistrates' court

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## Third PAC

*Star*  
member

(11A)

## identified

*2/18/87*  
The third man among the Pan Africanist Congress trio shot dead by Brixton murder and robbery squad detectives in Bramley, Johannesburg, during a car chase in Corlett Drive on August 4 has been identified as Mr Thabang Fana Sabela (30) of Alexandra.

He was shot together with two men, identified by the PAC as members of its military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army. The two were named by Mr Ahmed Ebrahim, the PAC's secretary for foreign affairs and information, as Mr Neo Khoza and Mr Tshepo Lilele.

# Eglin in move to defuse PFP tensions over Dakar talks

PROGRESSIVE Federal Party leader Colin Eglin moved at the weekend to defuse tensions building up over the participation of two of the party's MPs in the Dakar visit to the ANC.

He said the PFP ruled out final negotiations with a party that "brought a gun to the table".

The PFP has faced a week of storms on two fronts over the Dakar journeys of Mr Peter Gastrow and Mr Pierre Cronje.

Party members are divided over the wisdom of the talks in the country's present political climate -- and the failure of the two MPs to consult the party.

At the same time the Government and the official opposition in Parliament launched blistering attacks on the PFP, saying after Thursday's bomb blast in Johannesburg that the PFP owed SA an explanation.

## Contempt

Mr Eglin said he viewed "with contempt" bids to link the PFP with the explosion that injured 68 people.

His internal problem, though, seemed as real.

Divisions surfaced on Friday when Mr Eglin and Mr Harry Schwarz spoke on the issue in Parliament -- and each took a different stand.

Mr Eglin repeated his earlier support for the Dakar undertaking and his approval of Gastrow and Cronje's part in it.

But Mr Schwarz, speaking against the background of the previous day's bomb blast, delivered a fiery denouncement of the ANC and implicitly condemned talks with perpetrators of violence.

By LESTER VENTER  
Political Correspondent

Mr Schwarz said he "would not talk to any person carrying an AK-47 rifle". But he stopped short of a flat contradiction of PFP policy favouring negotiations with all groups.

Mr Eglin admitted yesterday there were strains over the Dakar visit. But he said he and Mr Schwarz had discussed their speeches beforehand.

The Eglin-Schwarz division is seen in Parliamentary circles as the tip of an iceberg of discord in the former official opposition.

Beneath the surface there are two strongly opposing factions -- the idealists and the pragmatists.

## Idealists

The idealists believe the party should be the voice and vigilance of liberal thought in SA and should make no compromises to conservative voters.

The pragmatists aver that politics is about power, and power is obtained through votes.

The idealists are identified largely with Claremont MP Jan van Eck, and the pragmatists with Mr Schwarz.

A third group, rallying round Mr Eglin, tries to straddle both strains of thought.

2/8/87

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## Labour tosses out a 'soldier of the Lord'

DURBAN. — Police ejected the Natal leader of the People's Congress Party, Mr Morris Fynn, from a meeting of the Labour Party in Wentworth.

Mr Fynn confirmed that he was ordered out of the meeting in the Clinic Road community hall last night after walking in with his supporters and singing "We're going to be the soldiers in the army of the Lord, glory, glory Hallelulah".

The chairman and Natal leader of the LP, Mr Albie Stowman, condemned Mr Fynn's behaviour as "irresponsible and unleadership-like".

Mr Fynn said the police had tried to stop him distributing handbills containing a cartoon of the Labour Party leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, kneeling in front of President Botha and apologising for swimming at a whites-only beach in Port Elizabeth.

"I was standing on the pavement in front of the hall and I challenged the policeman to state which law prevented me from distributing the handbills.

"The policeman then left me alone. But as I walked into the hall, the chairman and Natal leader of the Labour Party, Mr Albie Stowman, and Mr Clyde Pierce objected to my presence at the meeting and went outside to call the police to throw me out.

"Meantime, my supporters appealed to me to leave rather than face the risk of going to jail. I then left the meeting," Mr Fynn said. — Sapa.

When



# ANC kidnap 'mastermind' to write book

By CHRIS STEYN

THE "fifth man" in the sensational African National Congress kidnap plot has decided to tell "the truth" — in a book.

Mr Johann Niemoller, a wealthy Upington businessman, who allegedly masterminded the plot to kidnap top ANC operatives, yesterday said he had decided to write a book.

He told the Cape Times that the facts about his alleged involvement in the bizarre plot to kidnap ANC men in London and spirit them out of the country, would be contained in the book.

But he also expressed fears for the lives of his wife and two small children when told that he had been named in London as the mysterious "fifth man".

Mr Niemoller, who boasts an impressive military record, was named as the brain behind the planned covert operation by one of four Britons arrested in the past ten days by the crack British Anti-

Terrorist Squad.

But, he told the Cape Times, newspapers had done him an "injustice" by naming him as the "fifth man". "Now I'm stuck with the problem. And my family is in danger."

The kidnap plan was allegedly backed by a group of wealthy South Africans with extreme right-wing views.

Police sources in London said plans for the operation, in which top ANC officials including Mr Oliver Tambo, Mr Joe Slovo and Mr Thabo Mbeki were to have been flown back to South Africa, had reached an advanced stage.

Transcripts of meetings were found in the home of one of those arrested. Police passes and false passports had already been procured, and a small group of Britons and ex-Zimbabweans had been approached to act as agents in the operation.

Mr Niemoller, who owns a clothing fac-

tory in Upington and has contracts to supply the SADF with clothing and webbing, also has extensive business interests in Japan, the UK and the US.

His father is a multi-millionaire farmer of Pella, in the Pofadder district.

Mr Niemoller appeared aghast and bewildered when reporters told him he had been named as the "fifth man".

Dressed in khaki military-style pants and a khaki top, the rugged, dark-haired businessman — who is in his early 30s — initially denied any part in the plot and said he had been "set up".

In a separate interview with the Sunday Times yesterday, Mr Niemoller said he knew only one of the accused, Mr Evans Dennis Evans.

He said it was easy for Evans to shift the blame on to him because of his (Niemoller's) distinguished service record in a crack South African military unit and his business contacts with the SADF.

When told of the allegations made against him in Britain, a nervous and agitated Mr Niemoller was concerned with how the publicity would affect his business interests — and whether the ANC would retaliate against his family.

Despite repeated requests for him to refute the allegations with facts from his side, he refused to do this.

He also said the reporters "did not know what they were getting into" as this was an "explosive situation".

While he implied that other people were involved in the plot, it was clear that Mr Niemoller never expected to be traced, or implicated in the plot.

Reports in South Africa earlier this week indicated that the British authorities had conveyed the man's name to the South African government, but no confirmation could be obtained.

Further details of Mr Niemoller's alleged involvement could surface in the

continuing court action, which has riveted public interest.

Meanwhile, the Scotland Yard anti-terrorist squad confirmed yesterday that a "sixth" man had been detained under the Prevention of Terrorism Act.

The spokesman declined to give the man's name or nationality till he is charged. He is currently being interrogated and, if he is charged, will appear with the four others in Lambeth court.

Another Briton believed to be connected with the case is still being sought by the squad.

On Thursday three of the accused, previously identified as Mr Frank Lyngge Larsen, aged 53, his 27-year-old son, Mr John Terence Larsen, and Briton Mr John Richard Wheatley, aged 28, will again appear in court.

The fourth accused, Mr Evan Dennis Evans, a 49-year-old Welshman, is due to appear in court again on August 27.

# Don't blame me for blast, says Kaunda

*Capt Times 3/10/87* *11A* *SEA*

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, newly elected chairman of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), yesterday said that he could not be held responsible, even indirectly, for acts such as the recent bomb blast in Johannesburg.

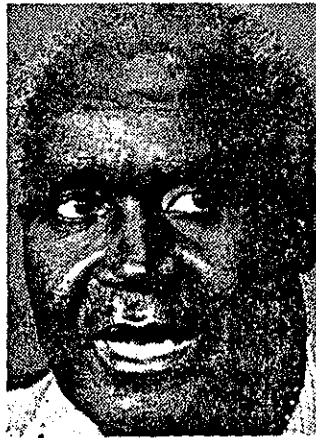
He could not tell the African National Congress (ANC) "what to do".

But he admitted that most of the ANC's leaders lived in the capital of his country, Lusaka.

Speaking from State House in Lusaka, President Kaunda was speaking in an exclusive interview with a BBC reporter. The interview was broadcast on the main daytime radio news bulletin yesterday, World at One.

President Kaunda was questioned about his reaction to the warning from the Defence Minister, General Magnus Malan, that he held Zambia and Mozambique directly responsible for the latest car bomb, because of their support for the ANC.

President Kaunda said: "The threats are



President Kaunda

completely uncalled for. South Africa has been doing this sort of thing for some time."

He said he was taking the threats very, very seriously.

"It is true that we have the ANC offices here. Their principal leaders also live in Zambia.

"We have no training camps, none at all, and South Africa knows it. Last time they came they killed four innocent Zambians. These are the people they call terrorists."

President Kaunda said: "Let them go ahead. We will defend ourselves as best we know how."

He added: "But I call on the international community to take note of this. It is provocation of the worst order."

Asked if he accepted the fact that, if not directly responsible, he was indirectly responsible for acts of terrorism inside South Africa because he allowed an ANC presence inside Zambia, President Kaunda replied: "I reject that, totally. Zambia has been looking after refugees for ages, and it has a duty to look after those unhappy people."

He added: "Therefore I make no apologies and I will continue to look after refugees from any country."

It was put to him that he was as keen as anybody to see the opening up of dialogue between the ANC and South Africans. He had chaired a meeting in Lusaka two years ago when white businessmen came from South Africa.

Did he not think that the latest bombing in South Africa and acts of terrorism like that undermined the efforts at dialogue? He was asked in particular about the effect on the conference in Dakar between Dr Van Zyl Slabbert and the ANC.

President Kaunda replied: "Who am I to judge the people of South Africa and tell them what to do?"

# 'No' to tricameral system

By JOSHUA RABOROKO

THE Indian and coloured communities yesterday reaffirmed their rejection of the tricameral parliamentary system and called on the Government to unban the African National Congress and other organisations and demanded the release of political prisoners.

At a protest meeting held at the Patidar Hall, Lenasia in Johannesburg more than 1 100 residents resolved to join forces with democratic organisations, civic associations and street committees in fighting the forthcoming tricameral by-elections in the area.

The meeting also focused on issues which deprived blacks of "opportunities in political, economic and social terrain".

Addressing the meeting the general secretary of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), Mr Jay Naidoo, said the working class was growing powerful and resisted apartheid laws in South Africa.

He said the Government should unban organisations such as the ANC and release political leaders such as Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu.

He said workers were becoming aware of their political rights and would in future spill hot political potatoes on the shop-floor.

The assistant secretary of the Transvaal Indian Congress, Mr Fuad Cassim, said the tricameral parliament had failed the oppressed people in South Africa.

3/8/87  
Sawefan (11A)

# ANC blames Govt

THE African National Congress this week blamed the Government and the "official media" for the violence in South Africa and warned that unless the organisation was allowed to contribute to the creation of a democratic society the "downward spiral of violence" would continue.

"If whites accept that there must be change in South Africa then they have to demand to hear the other side of the story from the ANC and other democratic organisations," a spokesman for the ANC said just hours before the car-bomb explosion outside military headquarters at Wtwatersrand Command.

At the time of going to Press the ANC had neither confirmed nor denied that its units were responsible for the blast which left 68 people injured.

## *Sowetan* More violence

"The official media must give time and space to the voices and opinions of those who speak on behalf of blacks in South Africa. Otherwise we will all — black and white — continue on the downward spiral of worsening crisis and more violence," the ANC spokesman added.

According to the spokesman the Government now found itself bound in its rhetoric of "reform" and "change" with no evidence of any tangible move towards radical or substantial change in the country's socio-economic or political structures.

"White South Africans can only come to know and understand the ANC and what it thinks and proposes if it is allowed to address them directly.

"It is the duty and the right of white South Africans to know that what we think and propose could make a significant contribution towards a democratic society in South Africa," the spokesman added.

"White South Africans have nothing to fear from the ANC."

The ANC spokesman said that the South African Government and its allies in the official media had undertaken an "orchestrated campaign" to vilify and discredit the organisation and that this had contributed to the cycle of violence.

"There is no doubt that this campaign is aimed at scaring those whites (such as the Dakar delegates and their supporters) who are prepared to seek a change away from the apartheid system to a democratic process," the ANC spokesman said.

In a separate general statement the ANC confirmed it had ordered its units to take the guerilla war into white areas but added that this did not represent a policy shift.

Extra-parliamentary sources in South Africa said the actions of the ANC and other organisations involved in acts of violence were understandable.

"Violence is almost always the result of other — and peaceful — avenues being denied. There are many historical precedents for the use of violence to achieve or protect a democratic society and the use of violence as part of an overall strategy does not represent an inconsistency," an informed extra-parliamentary source said. This did not mean that violent actions could be condoned, however, he said.

Case Files 3/8/87

# Book on breakout by ANC escapees

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Timothy Jenkin, one of the three white prisoners who escaped from Pretoria Prison in December 1979, today has a book published detailing the breakout.

The two other prisoners — all were members of the African National Congress — were Alexandre Moumbaris and Stephen Lee.

Jenkin, who grew up in South Africa, became a Marxist after a trip to Britain in 1970 and joined the ANC in Europe.

In March 1978 he was arrested, with Stephen Lee, tried on subversion charges and sentenced to 12 years' imprisonment. Lee received an eight-year sentence.

## Lengthy extract

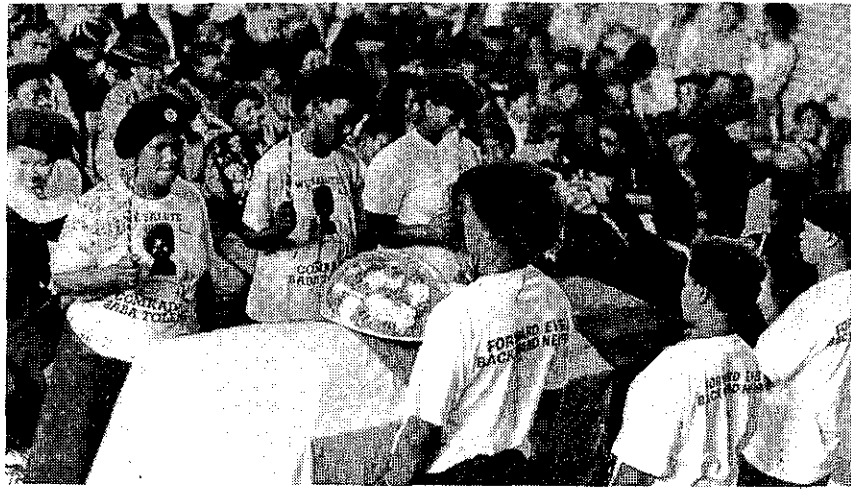
After escaping from Pretoria Prison, Jenkin reached the Swaziland border by train, hitchhiking and on foot. All three escapees eventually reached London, where Jenkin now lives.

The Observer yesterday carried a lengthy extract from the prison escape story.

Moumbaris was born in Egypt of Greek parents and grew up in Australia.

He lived in France and Britain, where he became involved with the ANC. He was arrested in 1972 while trying to cross into South Africa from Botswana and sentenced to 12 years for "conspiring with the ANC to instigate violent revolution in South Africa".

His French wife was arrested with him but was deported because she was pregnant. They live today in Paris.



**HAMBA KAKUHLE . . .** United Women's Congress members form a guard of honour during the funeral service on Saturday for "Mama" Norah Baba Toleni — member of the ANC and the SACP before they were banned and an UWCO and Release Mandela Campaign activist at the time of her death.

Picture: FANIE JASON

*Cape Times 3/8/87 11A*

## Police at Toleni funeral

**Staff Reporter**

POLICE were watchful but kept a low profile in Langa on Saturday at the funeral of veteran activist "Mama" Norah Baba Toleni, where about 2 000 people came to pay their last respects.

Born in Ndabeni in Cape Town on December 19, 1919, Ms Toleni was a member of the now banned ANC and the SACP and an active member of the Women's Federation.

She was a prime mover in the Defiance Campaign of 1950 — a Gandhian civil disobedience campaign in which thousands of volunteers deliberately flouted racist laws to draw attention

to their injustice.

She took an active role in other civil disobedience strategies.

More recently, she was among women who led a march to the Western Cape Development Board offices during the rent boycott of 1986.

She died an active member of the Release Mandela Campaign and a member of the United Women's Congress and Western Cape Civic Association. Speakers from these organizations and from Cosatu, the UDF and the National Education Crisis Committee paid tribute to her at the service.

(17A) DO 4/8/87.

Dispatch Correspondent

**LONDON — A fifth man detained for questioning in connection with an alleged South African conspiracy to kidnap African National Congress (ANC) leaders here has been unconditionally released.**

The man, believed to be British, was detained last Wednesday without announcement and held under the provisions of Britain's Prevention of Terrorism Act in Paddington Green maximum security police cells, a fortress in central London used to hold terrorist suspects.

The man, who was not named, had been released after extensive interrogation and would not be charged, said an official spokesman for Scotland Yard's Anti-Terrorist Squad (ATS) yesterday.

It is understood that the ATS is still hunting for at least one other man in England.

Sources close to the investigation claim that the Anti-Terrorist branch is considering seeking permission to fly detectives to South Africa to interview a wealthy Upington farmer, Mr Johann Nie-

moller, and others.

Asked to comment, a Scotland Yard spokesman said they did not have plans at this stage to fly to South Africa and declined to comment on Mr Niemoller.

However, written statements made to ATS detectives and due to be heard in court here soon allege that Mr Niemoller and his Cape Town business partner, Mr Gherard Dreyer, had been leading figures in the alleged kidnap plot.

Sworn statements, to be presented as court evidence, allege that Mr Niemoller flew to Britain to activate the alleged plot.

Four men, arrested last month, have been charged with conspiracy to kidnap the ANC executive members, including the ANC's president, Oliver Tambo, and the military wing's chief, Joe Slovo, and fly them

# Police free mystery man in ANC plot

## UK anti-terror squad to quiz Upington farmer?

back to South Africa in a private aeroplane.

They are Mr Evan Dennis Evans, 49, a former senior officer in the Rhodesian and South African defence forces, who returned to Anglesey in Wales in 1985, a Briton named as Mr John Wheatley 28, of Guildford, Surrey and two men who have given their names as Mr Frank Larsen, 53, and his son John, 27, living at the army headquarters town of Aldershot, Hampshire.

All four were in possession of false police or Defence Ministry warrant cards when arrested in co-ordinated ATS raids last month after being kept under surveillance for long periods.

Scotland Yard sources confirmed that they are not yet certain of the identity of the men who gave their names as Larsen, or if they are even father and son, as they claim.

They are believed to

be former Rhodesians who had lived in South Africa. They have not applied for bail.

Mr Evans, a former solicitor, disassociated himself from the other three accused and denied involvement in a kidnap conspiracy.

In a remand hearing statement, appealing without success for bail, Mr Evans claimed two men flew from South Africa and tried to implicate him in a conspiracy, but he told them to "get lost."

11A (circled) Star 4/8/87

The Star Bureau

LONDON — The story of a sensational South African prison escape — when three white members of the African National Congress serving long terms broke out of Pretoria's maximum security prison in 1979 — is told by one of them, Tim Jenkin, in a book published yesterday.

In an excerpt in the *Observer* newspaper on Sunday, Tim Jenkin recounts the tense moment of escape. He, Alex Moumbaris and Stephen Lee simply walked out of the main door after unlocking their cells and 10 other doors.

Over the previous 17 months they had planned the break-out meticulously, becoming expert locksmiths and making their own keys.

They hid their escape equipment and civilian clothes in the shower room.

Their plan was put into operation with precision.

## ANC member tells of dramatic 1979 escape from Pretoria jail

They arranged their cells to appear as if they had gone to bed as normal. Overalls stuffed with towels, books and clothing were made up as dummies on their beds.

They soaked their prison clothes and washed other items so these could not be given to dogs to get their scent.

A crucial part of the plan, after they got out of their own cells following the 4.30 pm lock-up, was switching off the power supply to the maximum security floor.

The shouts of other prisoners prompted a warder to come to their section to check the switchboard, leaving open a vital door.

After they had worked their

way through a number of doors, Jenkins recalls: "It was just past 5 pm, according to our calculations, and there we were standing in front of the last fetter to our freedom: Door 10. We strained our ears to listen for noises of the street gate opening and the voices of the guards. But there was nothing. Although it was what our surveillance had told us we would find, we could hardly believe it. It meant that if we opened the front door we could just walk out..."

Then came a bitter blow: they could not shift the bolt of the last lock. They gouged out the wooden door frame to force the door. After about 30 minutes, they made it.

"With a heave, Alex pulled

the door, swung it wide open and stepped out on to the small roofless porch between the front door and the yard wall. We glanced quickly up and down the street. As casually as possible, we stepped out into the bright sunshine, turned right and made our way towards Potgieter Street. We were out, not yet away, but out. The sudden relief from the constraints of captivity released in us an explosion of emotion, a feeling of the most sublime elation."

The three walked past two prison warders chatting in Potgieter Street and a third waiting for a lift, but were not noticed.

They boarded a taxi at Pretoria station and were taken to

Jan Smuts Airport. From the airport, they took a bus into central Johannesburg. Here they split up, Jenkin and Moumbaris setting out for Swaziland and Stephen Lee remaining in Johannesburg for a short while before joining them. All three eventually reached London.

● A spokesman for the Prison Services said yesterday:

"As is the case with the escape in question, all escapers from prisons are seen in a very serious light and after each incident a full departmental investigation is held to establish whether the escape was facilitated in any way and what made it possible so as to make the necessary security adjustments and take the further administrative and other steps that seem to be applicable. For obvious security reasons it is general policy not to make public the contents of such an investigation."



# I WAS ABDUCTED - TIC MAN

*Soweto*

*11A*

*4/8/87*

A MEMBER of the Transvaal Indian Congress, Mr Basheer Lorgat (33), claims he was abducted and threatened with violence by men known to be supporters of candidates in the House of Delegates by-elections.

**By NAT  
DISEKO**

Mr Lorgat, who is monitoring special votes on behalf of the TIC yesterday said other members of his organisation had been similarly intimidated. He said a member of the TIC Youth League, - Mr Giresh Magan, had been beaten up.

As a result, lawyers

acting on behalf of Mr Lorgat had served a letter on two people warning them to refrain from interfering with TIC members.

The TIC organised a meeting in Lenasia at the weekend in protest against the tricameral parliamentary system and dared the candidates in the by-elections to attend the meeting. They did not turn up.

### Statement

Yesterday the organisation issued a statement saying the candidates did not have the "guts" to attend because they knew they would incur the wrath of the majority of the people in Lenasia.



Bye,  
bye,  
Ma'am

FOUR-year-old Nkululeko Mabuza presents Mrs Faith Nala with a bouquet of flowers at the Gander Creche in Soweto. This was during a farewell function held in honour of Mrs Nala who worked at the creche. She was also presented with a lot of gifts.

## Tombstone

A CEREMONY to unveil the tombstones of the late Mr and Mrs Phiri will be held in Motlatta, near Ventersdorp on Sunday morning. Buses will leave 1813 Letsie Street, Mapetla Extension at 8.30pm on Saturday.

The fare to Motlatta is R12.

1 dead

# 'ANC WANTS TALKS'

THE outlawed African National Congress is seriously committed to negotiation in solving South Africa's racial strife, providing certain conditions are met, a leading white South African politician said.

In an interview published on Sunday in *Newsweek* magazine, Dr Frederick van Zyl Slabbert, former leader of the opposition Progressive Federal Party, said: "I think there's a serious commitment on the part of the ANC to negotiate provided certain very clearly stated conditions are met — namely, unban banned organisations, release political prisoners, commit yourselves to the

dismantling of apartheid.

"And those conditions can be brought about only by the Government, nobody else can do it," he said.

Dr Slabbert last month led a group of mostly Afrikaner academics, church leaders and businessmen to Dakar, Senegal, for talks with the black nationalist ANC.

Dr Slabbert said a bomb blast injuring 68 people in downtown Johannesburg on the eve of his return, blamed by Pretoria on ANC guerillas, "highlighted the need for alternatives" in solving the conflict.

He said if the bomb was planted intentionally by the ANC as a comment on the Dakar meetings "then obviously what's the point of continuing."

But he added: "If the ANC wants to talk, then we have to talk."

Dr Slabbert said some supporters of the ruling National Party claim that those who attended the meetings in Dakar were "the wrong team at the wrong time in the wrong place. But once they've picked up the political courage to find the right team to go . . . they might find there's nobody to talk to." - *Sapa-Reuter*.

4/8/87

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Sawet fan

# Students in anti-SA resolution

By Sue Leeman,  
The Star Bureau

LONDON — The Internal Student Conference, at its three-day meeting, has reaffirmed its support for universal sanctions against South Africa and compiled a plan of action to oppose apartheid.

The movement again pledged support for the African National Congress and Swapo and threw its weight behind the new South African Youth Congress.

In a document issued at the end of the conference, the ISC said it would:

- Ensure all students were "educated about the realities of apartheid and the liberation struggles in South Africa and Namibia".
- Organise events to publicise the struggle, and push for the release of Nelson Mandela.
- Campaign for the unbanning of the Congress of South African Students and promote the academic boycott.
- Expose the role of western collaboration with South Africa.
- Organise international campaigns against key companies involved in South Africa, including Shell, Standard Chartered and IBM.

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# 5th suspect in 'ANC kidnap plot' is freed

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — A fifth man detained for questioning in connection with an alleged South African conspiracy to kidnap ANC leaders here has been unconditionally released.

The man, believed to be British, was detained last Wednesday and held under Britain's Prevention of Terrorism Act in Paddington Green maximum security police cells, a fortress in central London used to hold terrorist suspects.

He was released after extensive interrogation and will not be charged, an official spokesman for Scotland Yard's Anti-Terrorist Squad (ATS) said yesterday. He will not be named.

It is understood the ATS is still hunting for at least one other man in England.

Meanwhile, sources close to the investigation claim the ATS is considering seeking permission to fly detectives to South Africa, hoping to interview a wealthy Uppington farmer, Mr Johann Niemoller, and others who have not been named.

A Scotland Yard spokesman said they did not have plans at this stage to fly to SA and declined to make any comment on Mr Niemoller.

However, written statements made to ATS detectives and due to be heard soon in court in London allege Mr Niemoller and his Cape Town business partner, Mr Gerhard Dreyer, were leading figures in the alleged kidnap plot.

Sworn statements to be presented as court evidence allege Mr Niemoller flew to Britain to activate the alleged plot.



**YOUTHS** milling around the polling booths in Lenasia yesterday.

# Protests as Lenasia residents trickle to polls

**H**IGH school pupils in Lenasia again boycotted classes and some people were taken away by police near the polling station as voters trickled to the polls amid massive security in the Lenasia Central House of Delegates by-election yesterday.

And as the row over special votes mounted, the Transvaal Indian Congress' attorney, Mr Krish Naidoo, said the Director-General of Home Affairs had referred allegations of irregularities to the State Attorney.

The five high schools in Lenasia reported that up to 50 percent of pupils boycotted classes in protest against the election, which was contested by Mr M S Shah (National People's Party), Mrs Rashida Fbrahim (Solidarity), Mr Harry Beharie (Progressive Reform Party) and independent Mr Mahdi Naidoo.

Police said some people were taken away for questioning but later released.

## Intimidation

The TIC had asked the Director-General of Home Affairs to set aside the special votes cast in the election, or to investigate each one of them, following last week's Rand Supreme Court decision to set aside six special votes allegedly cast irregularly.

Mr Naidoo said the TIC had also asked the director-general to refer the matter to the Attorney-General for possible prosecution.

"We received a letter from the director-general saying the matter had been referred to the State Attorney."

The Department of Home Affairs has been asked to comment.

So far, it is understood that more than 1000 special votes have been cast in the constituency of about 10 000 voters.

Parties contesting the election as well as extraparlimentary organisations have made claims of intimidation against one another.

At the weekend, another TIC attorney, Mrs Priscilla Jana, sent letters to two candidates alleging "assaults, intimidation, harassment, kidnapping and invasions of property," by candidates' supporters against anti-election activists.

Mrs Jana claimed that Mr Krish Naidoo was assaulted by a family

## SOWETAN CORRESPONDENT

member of one of the candidates at the Supreme Court last week.

"A dossier is already being prepared by our client (TIC) against those persons who have behaved unlawfully in the past and our client is considering bringing actions for damages arising out of such incidents against such persons.

"Be rest assured that we know the perpetrators of such acts," Mrs Jana's letter said.

Staff members of the *Indicator* newspaper have received numerous threats since its last issue, published last week, focused on the election.

Editor Ameen Akhahlwaya, said that from the tone of the contents of the threats, it appeared that they were being made by House of Delegates supporters.

"They are too cowardly to engage us in public debate. We invited all four candidates to

submit articles on 'the case for participation', but none responded.

"We have reported the threats to the police."

## Rally

Last week, the TIC published a list of people who had allegedly cast special votes and asked them to contact it if they had been misled into voting.

Mr Naidoo said several people had come forward saying that although their names appeared on the list, they had not voted.

A TIC spokesman said legal advice was being sought, and it was likely that further court action would be taken within the next few days.

At the weekend, more than 1000 people attended a United Democratic Front rally in Lenasia to protest against the election. None of the candidates who had been invited to "face the public" turned up.



MRS PRISCILLA Jana ... TIC attorney.

OUR cartoonist who does the daily political drawings is in Britain. He will resume his drawings when he returns.

# London backing for death row politicians

From MOIRA LEVY in London. THE African National Congress, the Anti-Apartheid Movement and SATIS (SA-The Imprisoned Society) have taken up the campaign launched in Johannesburg last month to save the lives of political prisoners on Pretoria's death row.

The campaign, launched by the South African Youth Congress (Sayco) and backed by the United Democratic Front, the National Union of Mineworkers, the SA National Students Congress and several other organisations, called for prisoner-of-war status for the 31 men and one woman sentenced to death for political offences.

That demand is now being made in London in a "No Apartheid Execution" campaign coordinated by SATIS.

Pamphlets are being circulated in the post and through organisations urging the British public to send letters of protest to PW Botha and UK Premier Margaret Thatcher.

The ANC Political Prisoners Committee has issued a brochure calling on people to write to Botha and the leaders of America, Britain and the West demanding a reprieve for the 32.

A SATIS "Save the Sharpeville Six" meeting will be held in September in the Westminster Cathedral Conference Centre.

The Sharpeville six were sentenced to death in December 1986 for their involvement in the death of a community councillor during the rent boycott.

The protest meeting is to coincide with the Bloemfontein Appeal Court hearing.

It is also being held on the first anniversary of the execution of ANC guerrillas Clarence Payl, Siphon Xulu and Andrew Zondo.

A petition is being circulated in London declaring that the death of the six "can only exacerbate the growing conflict."

It will be sent to the British government and the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

South Africa will also come under the spotlight in London this weekend at an international students conference on "Action against Apartheid".

The conference has been authorised by the UN special committee on Apartheid with the British National Union of Students and the Anti-Apartheid Movement.

The conference is expected to draw about 150 delegates from all over the world.

An organiser said students were expected from the Frontline States, Gambia, Ghana, Tanzania, Europe, the US and Australia.

Representatives were also expected from the Pan African Youth Movement based in Algiers.

The prisoners known to be on death row at Pretoria Central Prison are:

- Ajaleza Reginald Sengiso, 30, Reid Malebo
- Mokone, 22, Oupa Rietz Dikiso, 20, Theresa Ramashemola, 24, Duma Joshua Khumalo, 26, Francis Dun Mokhele, 29, who are all known as the "Sharpeville Six".
- Solomon Mankopane Maowasha, 20, Alex Matshaba Matsipane, 23, both of Tzaneen
- Patrick Manglisa, 23, Desmond Majola, 27, Dickson Madikane, 26, all of Oudtshoorn
- Joseph Tsawane, 29, Daniel Maleke, 19, both of Nshobeng, Veraniging.
- Ella Webber, of Jansenville in the Cape.
- Moses Mnyanda Jantjies, 21, Miamli Wellington Meller, 22, both of Kwanshulu, near Uitenhage and Paul Tefo Setlaba, 22, of Colesburg.
- Mkweselo Christopher Makuleli, 22, Makhetwana Ntseze, 43, Ndumiso Sifo Siphenuka, 26, Similo Lennox Wonei, 22, all of Addo and Robert McIlrath, 23, of Durban
- Tyeluvuyo Mgedzi 28, Solomon Mangaliso Nongwali, 38, Paulos Tlhalis Tshilana, 38, all three members of the National Union of Mineworkers.
- Mzwandile Gqeba, 22, Mzwandile Mnjazi, 27, Thembinkosi Pressfel, 30, all of Queenstown in the Eastern Cape.
- Wanda Silinga, 27, Mando Tingwa, 23, Lundi Wana, 20, and Bakhtizwe Ngidi, 19, of Swazilo.

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# Thousands at ANC woman's funeral

By VUYO BAVUMA

A VETERAN United Women's Congress (UWCO) activist and a former ANC member, Mrs Priscilla Mngeni, was buried at Guguletu at the weekend. "Comrade Mam'Ndaba", as she was affectionately known, died recently after a long illness.

At the funeral service, attended by more than a thousand people, speakers from various community organisations praised the role she had played. Mngeni was buried with the ANC flag draped over her coffin.

She was described by UWCO members as one of the most dedicated "women in the struggle".

"Mam'Ndaba was an activist in the true sense of the word. She operated at grassroots level. When organising she used to make sure that the comrades honoured their role in organisations," an UWCO member said.

Born in Port Elizabeth in 1926, Mngeni came to in Cape Town in 1945.

She lived in Kensington, where she later joined the local branch of the ANC and became active in protest actions against issues such as rent increases, pass laws and forced removals.

Later Mngeni, a mother of four, joined the Federation of South Africa Women (Fedsaw).

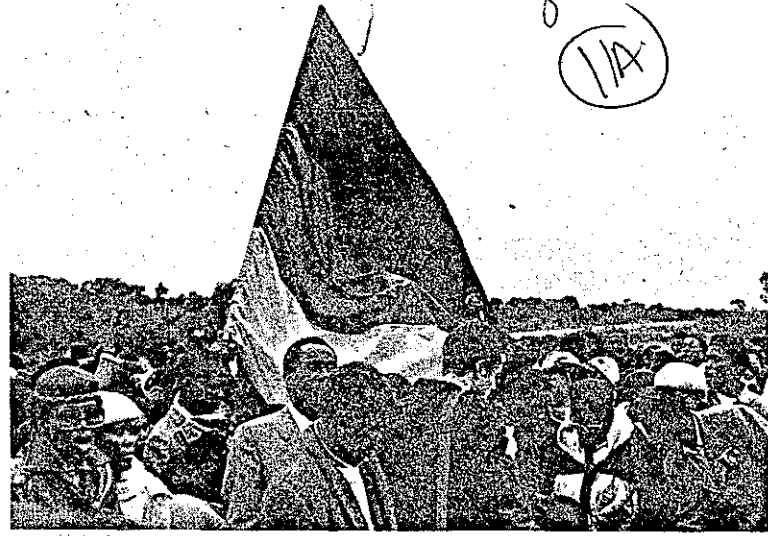
She was one of the founder members of the Women's Front which later merged with the United Womens' Organisation to form UWCO. Mngeni also helped to organise local youth groups.

In 1983 Mngeni suffered a stroke and was confined to a wheelchair.

"She continued to display total commitment to the struggle for freedom and justice despite this handicap. Meetings and other UWCO activities used to be held at her home," her daughter Shula said.

In a tribute to Mngeni, UWCO said: "We deeply mourn the death of our fallen comrade who despite her major frustration as a mother, sacrificed her family commitments and devoted herself to the struggle for the emancipation of this country."

"Comrade Mam'Ndaba has taught us the struggle is for everybody, male and female. She has protested against women being kept in the kitchen and her ideas are evident that there can never be total liberation when women are not liberated," the statement said.



Top: Part of the crowd of mourners who attended the funeral of former ANC activist Mrs Priscilla Mngeni. Left: Veteran activist Norah Toleni who will be buried on Saturday.

## Hamba kahle, Sis Baba

VETERAN political activist and United Women's Congress member Norah Baba Toleni died at her Langa home last week.

Sis Baba, as she was affectionately known, will be buried on Saturday after a service at St Francis Centre in Langa at 10.30am.

Sis Baba, 68, was born in Ndabeni on December 19, 1919 and joined the Women's League of the African National Congress' at an early age. She was also a member of the Langa branch of the South African Communist Party.

## Hendrickse supports Group Areas probe

By MBULELO LINDA  
PORT ELIZABETH — The leader of the Labour Party the Rev Allan Hendrickse has lent his support to a Group Areas investigation that could lead to part of Kleinskool being declared "coloured".

And an uneasiness about the possible declaration of a section of Kleinskool as "coloured" by the Group Areas Board is mounting.

In a statement released last week, the Rev Allan Hendrickse said that although he was not in favour of the area being proclaimed coloured, he wanted "to see expropriated ground returned to its original owners".

Hendrickse said he supported the appeal by the Northern Areas Management Committee to declare the area coloured.

One of the few remaining "grey" areas in Port Elizabeth, Kleinskool has had black and "coloured" residents for over 60 years.

Last week the Port Eliza-

beth Anti-Removals Committee (PARC) and the Kleinskool Action Committee (KAC) strongly condemned Hendrickse. KAC expressed disappointment at Hendrickse's in a statement released earlier this week. "We are astounded that Hendrickse, who has publicly called the Group Areas Act an ungodly, unChristian and immoral law, has come out strongly in favour of this same law being enforced in his own constituency".

A PARC statement said: "By finally coming out into the open about his views, he has placed himself firmly on the side of those who wish to divide a community and instigate the forced removal of the African people from the area."

Hendrickse said he could not comment on the outcome of the investigation and the possible eviction of Africans from the area. He said he did not believe this would happen.

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# Full story behind the killing of ....

# MK's No 2 in W Cape

30/7-5/8/87 (1/A) South

By VUYO BAVUMA

THE circumstances of the killing of Zola Dubani — the ANC guerilla said to have assumed the Western Cape command of Umkhonto weSizwe after the arrest of Lizo Ngqungwana — were revealed this week.

An inquest hearing held this week found nobody could be held criminally responsible for the death of Dubani.

Zola Micheal Dubani of Transkei was shot dead on March 15 near Faure.

At the time of his killing, police said Dubani was shot in the stomach when he tried to throw a hand grenade after digging up an arms cache in a bush.

The inquest found he also had a gun-shot wound on the right side of his face.

Zola alias Temba was mentioned in a terrorism trial as having assumed command of Western Cape's Umkhonto weSizwe, the ANC's military wing.

The SAP Directorate of Public Relations referred SOUTH's queries to the security police who refused to comment.

The shooting incident took place two days after he was arrested in a church in Nyanga on March 13.

A State pathologist said he found Dubani's skull "completely disintegrated".

"He had a fire-arm wound on the right side of the face which disintegrated the skull. The base of the brain was almost fluid. Many pellets were recovered from this area.

"He had a contusion above the right ear. In the anterior part of the body there were also smaller bullet wounds. Another fire-arm wound was in the abdomen.

Turn to page 3



Zola Dubani



The Ipi Tombi Group of Mitchells Plain was one of more than a hundred groups or individuals which sought fame when the Road to Fame auditions were held in Cape Town recently. For page of pictures turn to page 16.

P.T.O



**From page 1**

The exit wound was in the back left to the midline," the report said.

Two Cape Town Security Branch policemen, J H Nel and W R Bellingan, explained the circumstances of Dubani's death.

Nel said on March 14 Dubani took them and policemen to a forest near Faure to show them an arms cache.

"He walked us about 30 metres into thick forest and he pointed at a slope. The two members and I stood about five metres

away as he was digging. I asked him to uncover the cache and thereafter Warrant Officer Theron would remove the material," Nel said.

"Dubani started digging but later he dropped the spade. He took out a plastic packet from which he produced a hand-grenade. He turned around and I saw the hand-grenade in his hand.

"I shouted to other members to take cover and I fired a shot with my shotgun in Dubani's direction. I also heard shots at the same time," he said.

Dubani fell and there was blood on his head. The

hand-grenade was near him, Nel said.

"I ordered other members not to come out in the open. I did not know whether Dubani was injured or whether the hand-grenade would detonate.

"After five minutes I ordered Theron to approach Dubani carefully. He later told me that Dubani had been fatally injured," Nel said.

Dubani would have thrown the hand-grenade, possibly with fatal consequences, had they not fired at him. "He could have escaped as well."

Bellingan earlier told the inquest that he fired five shots.

On instructions from Nel, and while on the way to Faure, he had handcuffed Dubani's hands in front of him. His legs were in leg irons.

Nel said he radioed Lieutenant W R Liebenberg at Cape Town security branch to come to the scene of the shooting. Later the arms cache was removed.

Liebenberg claimed Dubani admitted undergoing military training in Lesotho and Angola in 1980.

"He showed me an AK 47 rifle at a church mission at Zwelitsha Drive and Terminus Road, Nyanga. He also pointed out three magazines full of ammunition. Later he took me to a house in Nyanga where he showed me a handgrenade," he said.

According to Liebenberg, Dubani also admitted that he:

- Infiltrated Transkei in the middle of 1985 as a "commander of Transkei machinery". His duties were to select targets and commit terrorist activities. He was also had to recruit and train local people in

the use of arms.

- Placed two limpet mines near two petrol depots in Transkei which later exploded.

- Shot and killed a Transkei policeman with an AK 47 when he was trapped in a house. He then escaped to Lesotho.

- Was transferred to the Western Cape machinery and infiltrated Cape Town on February 19 1986.

- Placed a limpet mine at the Mowbray police station on July 3 last year.

Dubani was under the command of a trained ANC terrorist killed on March 11 at New

Crossroads.

Captain Andre Louis Du Toit, an explosive expert, said he found three hand-grenades next to Dubane's body.

"There was blood on the ground next to his head. and he appeared dead. He wore a green jacket, blue trousers and was barefoot. His hands and feet were handcuffed. His hands were tied in front of his body, he said.

A representative of the family at the inquest argued there was negligence on the part of those present at the death.

11A) Smith 30/7 - 5/8/87

# New death squad fears

From ELNEWS

FEARS of a death squad operating in the Eastern Cape have been raised once again with the murder last weekend of Eric Mntonga, a senior official of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa.

The killing of Mntonga, the co-director of Idasa in the Border, carried all the marks of a political

execution.

When he was found near his car on a lonely Ciskei road last Saturday, his hands and feet were tied, and he had been stabbed in the heart.

Evidence subsequently unearthed has shown he was abducted by his killers from Mdantsane on Friday at about 10 am, and must have been held the whole day.

A post mortem examination has shown that he was severely assaulted before his death. His body was found to bear extensive bruises, as well as signs of strangulation.

It was also established that the single stab wound he suffered was not the cause of death, as first believed, but was inflicted when he was already dead.

His death was found to have been due to a subdural haemorrhage caused by a blow to the head. Mr Mntonga was last seen about 10.30 am on Friday at the office of a prominent Mdantsane lawyer and UDF leader Hinsa Siwisa.

Siwisa, a close friend of Mntonga, said Mntonga had left his office to see a friend elsewhere in

Mdantsane but never arrived there.

Now questions are being asked about who would have been able to abduct Mntonga in broad daylight in Mdantsane.

Whoever abducted him must have held him somewhere for several hours. Staff at the Sittingbourne Hotel, near where his body was found the next day, were adamant it must have been dumped late on Friday night probably more than 12 hours after he disappeared.

Staff said nobody had noticed his car being pushed off the road. The lonely rural hotel stands alone between Tamara and Mount Coke, about 60 km from Mdantsane.

Meanwhile, arrangements for his funeral are getting underway.

Mr Mntonga's mother, Mrs Rose Mntonga, said the family planned the burial for August 8. She expressed fears that the Ciskei authorities might restrict the burial.

If it is allowed to go ahead, it might be one of the biggest funerals the Eastern Cape has seen since the beginning of the emergency.

Mntonga was not only a senior Idasa official, but also a prominent and popular community leader in Mdantsane.

He was previously the branch chairman of the South African Allied Workers Union and a member of the United Democratic Front's fieldwork committee.

At the time of his death, he was still the chairman of the Committee of Ten, which represented Mdantsane bus commuters during their almost two-year boycott of the CTC Bus Company.

Friends and colleagues this week paid tribute to him.

Siwisa said Mntonga had been firmly committed to the ideal of a non-racial, democratic South Africa.

"He was very honest and upright. He was a kind-hearted human being but he wouldn't flinch in his stand," Siwisa said.

And Idasa co-director Dr Alex Boraine expressed his shock and concern at the murder - another in a series of unsolved deaths of activists in the Eastern Cape and Border



Police kept a close watch on the funeral in Soweto last week of slain ANC member Peter Motau, also known as Paul Dikeledi who was assassinated with ANC executive member Cassius Make in Swaziland recently. Flanking Mrs Salumi Motau, mother of Peter, on the right, is Mrs Winnie Mandela

# Offer to release Mpetha but ...

397-586-9472 NIA

AN OFFER of parole has been made to veteran trade unionist Oscar Mpetha but on condition he renounces violence.

It was also established this week that Mpetha, currently serving a five-year sentence for terrorism, has been permanently hospitalised.

Mpetha, a former United Democratic Front president, has been in Groote Schuur Hospital since April last year, a hospital spokesman has confirmed.

Mpetha, a diabetic, had been "in and out of hospital" since he started serving his sentence two years ago,

his son Nkululeko said.

"He was barely in prison a few months when he had to be admitted to hospital because his condition had deteriorated. He has spent more time in hospital than in prison," Nkululeko said.

Mpetha still has three more years to serve. To mark his 78th birthday on Monday, his family and the Release Mandela Campaign, of which he is national president, have again called for his immediate release.

"When he was at home, he was alright. He lost his right leg the last time he was in prison, now his left

leg is also starting to be affected by the diabetes. Our family lawyer and many prominent people have made countless appeals for him to be released on humanitarian grounds but to no avail," Nkululeko said.

He said his father was under police guard but that the family could see him twice a week with permission from the authorities at Pollsmoor Prison. Mpetha passed the time in hospital by knitting, typing and reading.

Turn to page 3

From page 1

Mpetha's grandson Mbabala said the family and the community were "very concerned about the old man and want him to be freed immediately". "The people have not forgotten him. We still receive a lot of moral support."

"Just outside our house, a squatter camp has been named Mpetha Square and a football club has been named Oscar Mpetha. Eleven in his honour," Mbabala said.

He said the family had tried to get permission for Mpetha to attend his wife's funeral in October last year, but this had been refused.

A spokesperson for the SA Prisons Services in Pretoria said it was the policy to discuss medical treatment of individual prisoners.

"It can, however, be confirmed that Mpetha is still hospitalised as prescribed by doctors," the spokesperson said.

She said in a previous statement by the Minister of Justice, Mr. Kobie Coetsee, it was indicated that early parole for Mpetha could be considered on "humanitarian grounds provided the prisoner's cooperation with regard to parole conditions could be obtained".

"In this process the possible denouncement of the propagation of violence could be a factor."

"The prisoner is aware of this but has not yet responded positively," she said.

Mpetha was convicted under the old Terrorism Act in 1983 and released on one year's bail pending appeal. His appeal failed in 1985 and he was taken into custody in August that year.

He has four children: Esther, 40, Tembzi, 30, and Thembeke, 27, and eight grandchildren.

Mongezi Mngqese, general secretary of the RMC, said: "Oscar is too old to be kept in prison. He is very ill. If justice is to be done he should be released immediately."

"Oscar loves all the people of South Africa. He has spent all his life struggling for freedom. At the time of his arrest he was at the forefront of the campaign to demand the release of all political prisoners, under the banner of the RMC."

"We call on all people to mark Oscar's birthday on Monday August 3 with calls for his release," Mngqese said.

# EID MUBARAK

397-586-9472

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Schools empty as pupils attend Manenberg rally

Education Reporter

SEVERAL Athlone high schools were empty yesterday as thousands of pupils attended a rally at Silverstream High School in Manenberg in support of treason trialist Mr Quinton Michaels.

Mr Michaels, a Silverstream teacher, had been in detention for over a year. He is being charged with 12 others in the Supreme Court in a trial that reconvened yesterday.

Schools which participated in the rally yesterday were Bonteheuwel (renamed Ashley Kriel High by pu-

pils), Arcadia and Modderdam high schools in Bonteheuwel, and Sinton, Belgravia, Rylands and Spes Bona high schools in Athlone.

And at Langa High School yesterday students attended classes, but conducted their own education programmes in protest at the lack of stationery and text books.

A National Education Crisis Committee executive member said last night schooling had been "abnormal" in Bonteheuwel, Athlone, Mitchells Plain, Elsie's River, Bellville, the southern suburbs of Retreat and

Grassy Park, and at Vista and Trafalgar High Schools in Cape Town, since the death of ANC member, Ashley Kriel, on July 9.

He said schools in the Mbekweni township of Paarl and the "coloured" Paarl township had also been hit by stayaways.

Stayaways at various Cape Flats schools have also resulted from a spate of suspensions and expulsions at Vista High, Bridgetown, Ned Doman and Portlands, in Mitchells Plain. At Spine Road and Glendale High Schools pupils have not been attending classes.

ARGUS 5/8/87

CITY/NATIONAL

# Alleged ANC man 'lawfully arrested'

## The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — An alleged key figure in the African National Congress, who says he was abducted from Swaziland by agents of the South African Government, was lawfully arrested when handed over in Pretoria and he should therefore stand trial for treason, the State has argued.

Mr W Prinsloo, for the State, said the complicity of the South African Police in the kidnapping of Mr Ebrahim Ismail Ebrahim in Swaziland last December had been denied properly.

Therefore Mr Ebrahim's arrest in Pretoria, his subsequent detention under security laws and his appearance in a court of law were all quite lawful, Mr Prinsloo submitted.

Mr Prinsloo was responding yesterday to submissions made earlier to the Circuit Court in Piet Retief where Mr Ebrahim is applying for an order preventing any South African court from trying him.

Mr Ebrahim is one of four accused of treason. Should his application fail he will stand trial in Piet Retief before Mr Justice W Daniels along with Mr Acton Mandla Maseko, Mr Simon Dladla and Mr Vusumuzi Vivian Nene.

Judgment on his application will be given tomorrow.

Counsel for Mr Ebrahim, Mr Ismail Mahomed SC, has argued that the facts of his client's abduction point to involvement of the SAP or some other agent of the South African Government.

Kidnapping was always an offence and, in this case, also a breach of international law because it threatened good relations with neighbouring states, Mr Mahomed submitted.

Because Mr Ebrahim was being held unlawfully at the time the police arrested him in Pretoria. The arrest itself was not valid and neither were any acts flowing from this arrest.

"You cannot benefit from the fruits of a poisoned tree," Mr Mahomed argued.

He argued that it was the State's responsibility to prove the arrest was lawful, stating that the "philosophical temper of a society governed by the rule of law" was that "whoever takes away a man's freedom must justify it".

AKGAS 5/8/87

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# Intimidation case: '3 just questioned'

Staff Reporter

THREE Khayelitsha women who told police they narrowly escaped being necklaced after refusing to denounce a community leader, had merely been questioned about their support for a deposed leader who had stolen residents' funds, a Mitchell's Plain magistrate heard.

Mr J Krige, who appears for six of 10 men charged with intimidating the women, told the court the women had been questioned about secret meetings they had held against the wishes of leaders who replaced the ousted official.

Earlier in the trial, a Mrs Luzy Mazula said she and two other women were about to be necklaced when their attackers were disturbed by a group of youths playing soccer.

The State alleged that the men, who have pleaded not guilty, threatened the women with assault, injury, and necklacing if they refused to denounce a Crossroads leader, a Mr Maqula who had moved to Khayelitsha. The alleged incident took place on Easter Sunday.

The accused, all of A Section, Khayelitsha are: Mr Thomas

Ngwane, 35, Mr William Moleleki, 38, Mr Ndakuziva Bokova, 31, Mr Alfred Matunzi, 43, Mr Bonisile Jonga, 52, Mr James Bumile, 42, Mr Shadrack Nontaza, 34, Mr Nelson Konana, 41, Mr Jackson Jack, 49, and Mr Dickson Makemene, 45.

The defence said evidence would be produced to show that Mr Maqula had been deposed as leader of Khayelitsha's A section after he had stolen money belonging to the committee elected by residents.

After this, Mr Thomas Ngwane had been elected as leader and the women had continued to back Mr Maqula. This had given rise to the April 19 meeting which had been convened to question the women about their support for the ousted leader and not to threaten them with injury.

Mrs Mazula said that on the morning of April 19 she, Ms Daisy Nomfulana and Ms Beauty Noyokela were summoned to a meeting on an open field in the A section where they were questioned about their support for Mr Maqula.

They replied that they wanted Mr Maqula, who had often negotiated with the authorities, to acquire a creche.

Mrs Mazula said Mr Ngwane had told her that his group did not work with Mr Maqula because he had worked with "white people". Mr Ngwane had said that his group worked with the UDF.

Mrs Mazula said she and the other women were then called witches and one of the accused, Mr Konana, said "these people should be murdered". Mr Konana brought a tyre and another man produced a can of petrol, she said.

The trial was postponed to October 5.

## Tankers move in spite of 'Martyrdom' threat

ABU DHABI. — Oil tankers continued to move — although cautiously — in the Persian Gulf today in spite of heightened rhetoric in Iran's war of words with its US-backed neighbours and its warning to shipping to keep its distance.

Shipping sources said two loaded Japanese tankers sailed out of the Gulf overnight through the tense Strait of Hormuz where vessels were keeping as far away as possible from the Iranian coast.

Iran's Revolutionary Guards yesterday launched a three-day naval exercise in the the Gulf, the strait and the Gulf of Oman amid repeated warnings they would confront any ships which entered their territorial waters.

The manoeuvres, code-named Martyrdom, have been widely portrayed in Iran as proof of the country's readiness to confront its enemies.

They come in the wake of Friday's Mecca violence in which hundreds died in clashes between pro and anti-Iranian pilgrims and police which Iran has blamed on the United States and Saudi Arabia. The Saudis blamed the violence on Iranian pilgrims.

Two American warships which sailed out of the Gulf yesterday escorting the Kuwaiti tanker Gas Prince, sailing under the American flag, have anchored off the United Arab Emirates port of Khor Fakkan, ready to make the return passage with more re-flagged Kuwaiti tankers.

The Iranian manoeuvres had not produced any incidents so far, although Washington reported yesterday that US aircraft jammed Iranian radar across the Gulf in a false alarm about an Iranian missile attack, shipping sources said. — Sapa-Reuter.

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ARGUS 5/8/87

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# ANC objectives legal — security police colonel

## Supreme Court Reporter

A SECURITY police colonel called as a "knowledgeable witness" on the African National Congress and the South African Communist Party has told the Supreme Court that the ANC's aims and objectives are perfectly legal.

Colonel Johannes Griebenauw, head of the Border security police, was giving evidence yesterday at the resumption of the trial of 13 men convicted under the Internal Security Act of terrorism or aiding terrorists.

He said in cross-examination by Mr Denis Kuy, SC, for the defence that the methods used by the ANC in reaching these goals presented a problem.

## TEACHING ROLE

Colonel Griebenauw, who described himself as knowledgeable on ANC and SACP affairs and not an expert, said his knowledge was based on experience gained during many investigations and from studying newsletters and pamphlets apparently published and distributed by the organisations.

He read into the record a 40-page history of the ANC he had prepared. A collection of books, pamphlets and magazines confiscated from Cecil Esau, one of the accused, was handed in as an exhibit.

In reply to a question by Mr W Viljoen, for the State, Colonel Grieben-

auw said: "I would say that someone who had so much literature was probably teaching people about joining the ANC or SACP."

Mr Kuy: A number of books were handed in. Have you read any of them?

Colonel Griebenauw: No. I haven't read those before court, but I have read others which may be the same.

Colonel Griebenauw said he had not read *Why Revolutionaries Need Marxism, Lenin (on the Paris Commune)* or a book by Amilcar Cabral which were handed in as evidence.

He denied a suggestion by Mr Kuy that he had earlier advised Mr Viljoen how to cross-examine Professor Colin Bundy, who gave evidence on the ANC for the defence.

Mr Kuy: Professor Bundy made the point that the ANC and SACP were totally separate organisations with different aims.

Colonel Griebenauw: I would agree, but it is a general occurrence that there is dual membership of the organisations.

Mr Kuy: Is it possible to be a high-ranking member of the ANC and not be a member of the SACP?

Colonel Griebenauw: Yes, I have admitted that.

The hearing continues.

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(AGA 18 146)

# Suspects shot in high-speed chase

JOHANNESBURG

— Three suspected ANC insurgents were shot and killed last night after police opened fire during a high speed car chase on the M1 North motorway just outside the central city area of Johannesburg, police said.

The chase started when an alert detective of the Brixton Murder and Robbery Unit noticed a vehicle that had been reported stolen on July 27 when four black men armed with Soviet-made Scorpion machine pistols hijacked a car here.

Instructions to the occupants of the suspect car to pull over were ignored by the driver and a high speed chase on the M1 followed.

Close to an off-ramp, the driver of the police car attempted to force the suspects' car to a stop.

"One of the passengers pulled out a firearm whereupon detectives in the police car opened fire," said Lieut Pierre Louw, SAP liaison officer for the Witwatersrand.

Mortally wounded, but still determined to escape the tightening police dragnet, the driver of the fleeing car took the off-ramp and crashed into a tree.

When detectives reached the vehicle, the driver and his two passengers were dead, Lieut Louw said.

It is believed the three also took part in an armed robbery of a cafe in Louis Botha Ave yesterday.

After threatening the owner with a Scorpion machine pistol, the men fled with about R700 in cash.

A resident near the scene of the crash said she heard the impact and gunfire.

Other residents said the area near the scene of the crash was cordoned off as a thorough search was made.

Police found four loaded Scorpion machine pistols and four loaded magazines. — Sapa.

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# Sensational story of daring ANC prison escape

The Argus Foreign Service

Dateline: LONDON

**T**HE story of South Africa's most sensational prison escape — when three white members of the ANC serving long terms broke out from Pretoria's maximum security prison in 1979 — is told by one of them, Tim Jenkin, in a book being published this week.

In an excerpt in the Observer newspaper on Sunday, Tim Jenkin recounts the tense and exciting moment of escape. He, Alex Moumbaris and Stephen Lee simply walked out of the main door after unlocking their cells and 10 further doors.

Over the previous 17 months they had planned the breakout meticulously, becoming expert locksmiths and making their own wooden and metal keys.

## Precision planning

Their escape equipment and civilian clothes were stored behind a geyser in the shower room. On their last day in prison, their plan was put into operation with precision. They arranged their cells in such a way that it appeared they had gone to bed as normal. Overalls stuffed with towels, books and clothing were made up as dummies on their beds. They left half-eaten sandwiches on plates in their cells.

And they soaked their prison clothes and washed other items so that they could not be given to dogs to get their scent later.

A crucial part of the plan, after getting out of their own cells following the 4.30pm lock-up, was switching off the power supply to the maximum security floor. The shouts of their fellow-prisoners prompted the warden to come through to their section to check the switchboard... leaving open a vital door.

They worked their way through doors four, five and six. Then followed doors seven, eight and nine.

## "Fetter to freedom"

Jenkin recalls: "It was just past 5pm, according to our calculations, and there we were standing in front of the last fetter to our freedom: door 10. We strained our ears to listen for noises of the street gate opening and the voices of the guards. But there was nothing. Although it was what our surveillance had told us we would find, we could hardly believe it. It meant that if we opened the front door we could

just walk out, totally unseen and unheard and no one would ever know how we had done it."

Then came a bitter blow. The keys they had counted on would not shift the bolt of the last lock.

"Our impatience to get out was building to explosive pitch and at any moment a sentry would come on duty outside." They resorted to gouging out the wooden door frame to force the door. Finally, after about half-an-hour, they made it.

## "Explosion of emotion"

"With a heave, Alex pulled the door, swung it wide open and stepped out on to the small roofless porch between the front door and the yard wall. We glanced quickly up and down the street. As casually as possible, we stepped out into the bright sunshine, turned right and made our way towards Potgieter Street. We were out, not yet away, but out. The sudden relief from the constraints of captivity released in us an explosion of emotion, a feeling of the most sublime elation."

The three men actually walked right past two prison warders chatting near traffic lights in Potgieter Street and a third waiting for a lift, but they were not noticed.

Jenkin describes how they then caught a taxi at Pretoria railway station, asked to be taken to Kempston Park, but changed their mind halfway there and were taken to Jan Smuts. From the airport, they took a bus into central Johannesburg. Here they split up... Jenkin and Moumbaris setting out for Swaziland and Stephen Lee remaining in Johannesburg for a short while before joining them. All three eventually reached London.

## Prison services comment

Asked to comment a spokesman for the Prison Services said today: "As is the case with the escape in question all escapees from prisons are seen in a very serious light and after each incident a full departmental investigation is held to establish whether the escape was facilitated in any way and what made it possible so as to make the necessary security adjustments and take the further administrative and other steps that seemed to be applicable.

"For obvious security reasons it is general policy not to make public the contents of such an investigation."

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5/8/87

# 'Nothing unlawful' about ANC aims

CAPL Times 5/8/87 114

By SHAUNA WESTCOTT  
Supreme Court Reporter

A SECURITY police colonel called by the state to give evidence in aggravation in the ANC trial which resumed yesterday, admitted under cross-examination that there was "nothing unlawful" about the aims of the ANC.

Earlier, Colonel Johannes Griebenauw was led by prosecutor Mr W C Viljoen through a lengthy document purporting to be "a very brief picture of the history of the ANC".

The document consisted of the colonel's comments placed in between extracts from banned ANC and SACP literature in the police library.

Under cross-examination by Mr D A Kuny SC, the colonel admitted that the aims of the ANC — as set out in its constitution of 1958 and quoted by him in his document — had not changed as far as he knew.

Those aims, as quoted by the colonel, are: "To unite the African people in a powerful and effective instrument to secure their complete liberation from all forms of discrimination and national oppression;

"To promote and protect the interests of the African people in all matters affecting them;

"To strive for the attainment of universal adult suffrage and the creation of a united demo-

cratic South Africa on the principles outlined in the Freedom Charter;

"To support the cause of national liberation and the right to independence of nations in Africa and the rest of the world."

There was "nothing unlawful" about those aims, the colonel admitted.

He also admitted that he was not an expert on either the ANC or the SACP. He said, however, that "to a reasonable level" he was "knowledgeable" because of more than 20 years of experience in ANC cases.

He said he had not read any of the large number of books — among documentary exhibits — shown to him by the prosecutor.

"You just looked at the titles and said they appeared to be about communism. Anybody could have done that?" Mr Kuny asked.

"Yes," the colonel agreed, admitting he did not have much knowledge about the books.

He said he could not elaborate on who Trotsky was beyond saying he was "a well-known figure in communism".

The trial continues.

Mr Justice H C Nel presided with Mr L P Francis and Mr W R Vivier as assessors. Mr M Stowe appeared with Mr Viljoen. Mr J R Whitehead and Mr A M Omar appeared with Mr Kuny, instructed by E Moosa and Associates and R Vassen and Co.

Cape Times 5/8/87 (117)

# 'Patriotic' threats: Slabbert slams Malan

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

## Idasa 'to continue' ANC dialogue

THE Institute for Democratic Alternatives for South Africa (Idasa) was committed to holding further meetings with the African National Congress, Dr Alex Boraine told a meeting on the Dakar talks last night.

Speaking at the Claremont Civic Centre, he said it was of vital importance that the contacts which were established in Dakar should be continued.

"It is also important that such contacts should involve more and wider sections of the South African people," he said.

According to his prepared speech, Dr Boraine, a co-director of Idasa with Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, said Idasa was "totally committed" to the politics of negotiation and believed that the only choice facing South Africans was whether negotiations took place before or after a war.

"We will do all in our power to prevent the present inconclusive violence from deteriorating into a civil war where there will be no winners. The casualty rate will be frightening and the country will resemble a wasteland."

The Johannesburg bomb blast had brought into sharp focus the violence which was endemic in the South African conflict.

Dr Boraine singled out what he described as the "inflammatory statement" by the Min-

ister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, implying that the Dakar group was, in some way, responsible for the bomb and that, because of the explosion, the talks had been a total failure and any further possibility of talks should be abandoned.

"I dismiss with contempt the smear tactics of Minister Malan and others who have insinuated that we either had prior knowledge of the bomb or that we had actually planned this act while in Dakar," he said.

He said the Dakar conference was a serious attempt to address the political stalemate in this country.

"We were, and we remain, a group of deeply concerned South Africans who are trying to keep alive the possibility of a negotiated solution rather than mindless violence."

Minimum requirements for negotiations laid down by the ANC were that their leaders had to be released and unbanned and that they should have the normal freedom to organize and mobilize their support so that they could obtain a mandate.

"I think these demands are reasonable," Dr Boraine said, "Particularly when we bear in mind that the source of violence in South Africa derives from the fact that the use of force is fundamental to the existence and practice of racial domination." — Sapa

THE Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, was creating a climate in South Africa in which AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche "thinks he is doing his patriotic duty when he wants to eliminate me," Dr F Van Zyl Slabbert said yesterday.

Speaking at the Cape Town Press Club yesterday, Dr Slabbert slammed General Malan for saying he (Slabbert) would have to account to South Africa for the Johannesburg bomb blast following his meeting with the ANC.

"Why? What for? I did not speak on his behalf and did not compromise him once."

Dr Slabbert said General Malan had used the media "at length" to present a negative picture of the Idasa-sponsored Dakar mission, which had been greeted with "hysteria" and "distortion" by the government-supporting media.

Dr Slabbert proposed that he and General Malan "have a Network together and let the people make up their own minds".

### 'Infantile logic'

The Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa) executive director warned that the government was creating a right wing reaction which it "bemoaned" but then could not control.

Dr Slabbert said it was "infantile logic" to suggest that he could have stopped the Johannesburg bomb blast.

The government-supporting media had "pumped up" the Dakar talks as an effort to negotiate or mediate in a bid to show it up as a failure but the participants had no mandate to do this.

Expectations generated that the talks could achieve "peace in our time" and an end to bombing were deliberately exaggerated by the Nationalist press.

The Dakar mission was merely a "very small step — an exploration — to find what is necessary if we want to talk and find a way away from violence," he said.

"Do we talk or fight? Do we kill or find a way out of it? This is what Dakar was all about."

The "hysterical" reaction of the government-supporting media to the venture demonstrated how polarized South Africa had become.

"For every attempt at rubbishing the ANC exactly the opposite effect takes place in the townships," Dr Slabbert said.

TODAY'S  
WOMAN

Social worker and founder member of Women Against Repression, Rozena Maart, believes that women's liberation is part of the broader struggle and aims to get political organisations to address women's oppression as part of their mainstream political activity. Yesterday marked War's first anniversary.



AKG 45 5/18/87 11A

# A place for women in the struggle

MARCELLE KATZ

ROZENA zooms up the road in a brightly painted mini, wild hair, and doesn't let up on an impressive stream of stirring ideals.

She bustles me into her small kitchen and I sit. But she can't seem to be still for too long. She charges around her Observatory flat collecting stickers and literature, brews coffee, warms a roll and talks undeterred.

Rozena Maart has a cause and people *will* listen.

Preparing a research programme before she flies off to York University in England to complete a Masters degree in Women's Studies, she is already fully active in the education of women (so to speak).

## Needed

A year ago she formed with four others an outspoken group called Women Against Repression which aims to mobilise women to oppose repressive structures.

"An organisation like this is needed because liberation cannot succeed in any country or society that does not address itself to women's oppression specifically," she says.

"Our main goal is to promote feminism at an academic and grassroots level."

She points out that the group is not just lobbying for female liberation but is also politically based, fighting for the rights of citizens who fall foul of racist and sexist attitudes.

Previously involved in other organisations, Rozena became frustrated at the role women played in them — arranging flowers and making tea while male members hogged important positions.

## A choice

She says: "I became aware that there was a lot more to oppression than just fighting apartheid. We cannot afford to ignore any facet of oppression in the struggle for social and political change."

Rozena, a qualified social worker, feels that people do not have to fit into their prescribed roles because they've been led to believe there is no alternative. She says it's essential to show them that there is a choice.

Women Against Repression (War) and its offshoot Organisation Of People Against Sexism (Opas) with Rozena as a spokesperson is there to challenge the status quo.

And with an accompanying determination that tends to jolt you into awareness. Her message is spread through protest marches and talks with various communities amongst other activities.

With church groups, she analyses sexist language in the Bible and feminist theology. In schools, she promotes non-sexist education and looks at the oppressive aspects of gender, sexism in textbooks and sexual harassment.

## "Startled"

The plight of women as mothers and workers is also exposed in the family situation and legal system.

The struggle to stir people's consciences, though, is slow, because "they're startled when confronted with the idea that this doesn't have to be their lot in life."

Her definition of feminism is the liberation from the system of male domination. She qualifies this by commenting: "Our fight is against the system of patriarchy — not men, and against the system of apartheid — not whites."

It is difficult to ignore someone like Rozena Maart. Her conviction and strength to rally for change is so strong.

She laughs off the attempt to stereotype feminists and says: "Look at me, with make-up and everything. We certainly aren't a bunch of lonely and bitter women who are anti-men."

She wasn't too happy about appearing on the Women's Page because that in itself is a sexist statement, but at this stage the chance to air her views from any platform suffices.

It is a means to an end and the end spells liberation.

# Anti election march

SECURITY forces arrested several people in the Lenasia Central Business District yesterday afternoon after an anti-election march by about 300 youths, mainly students.

Traffic in Rose Avenue came to a virtual standstill as crowds witnessed the march. Because of the emer-

By NAT  
DISEKO

gency regulations we cannot give more details.

Late last night residents of Lenasia claimed groups of men asked people if they had voted. Those who said they had not had their names taken down.

A member of the

Transvaal Indian Congress, Mr Sayed Gani of Lenasia was yesterday shot at outside the polling station where voting for candidates taking part in the tri-cameral by-elections is being held.

The shooting occurred during a protest against the elections by supporters and members of the

TIC.

Yesterday's incident is the latest in a recent spate of violent attacks and threats against TIC members. Another TIC member, Mr Basheer Lorgat (33), said he was abducted and threatened with violence this week.

After Mr Gani was shot at, some TIC members said they went to complain to the police at Lenasia but that the police did not or would not take any action against the gunman.

A spokesman for the SAP Directorate for Public Relations in Pretoria said the police

R1 000 bail  
for 'Oupa'  
Motlana

— Page 2

## March

### • From Page 1

had no knowledge of any shooting. He said if any person had a complaint against the police he should lay a formal charge.

Attorneys acting for Mr Gani said yesterday a telex had been sent to the Commissioner of Police reporting the shooting incident and asking him to intervene and restrain the gunman "before any death results from his unlawful acts".

The TIC yesterday said: "The TIC deplors and condemns in the strongest terms the violent attacks by supporters of the apartheid regime on people staging a peaceful protest against the by-elections in the Lenasia central constituency."

An incident occurred at Lenasia High School yesterday but has not been included in this report in order to comply with existing media restrictions.

### • To Page 2

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# PFP to finalise Dakar impasse

CAPE TOWN — The PFP caucus meets today in what is a final attempt to resolve the impasse created as a result of two MPs travelling to Dakar with the Idasa-backed group for talks with the ANC.

And MPs are far from optimistic that the party is going to be able to reconcile the deep divisions which have been exposed as a result of the Dakar visit.

It is understood that the two MPs, the national chairman of the Party, Peter Gastrow and the MP for Greytown, Pierre Cronje have been asked to apologise for going on the junket without consulting the caucus, having only informed the PFP Leader Colin Eglin one hour before he was due to leave for overseas.

A public apology has been demand-

Own Correspondent

ed from the two MPs.

Dakar, however, is only the surface issue.

A number of MPs are bitter that the two MPs and a member of the President's Council, Pieter Schoeman, went to Dakar with a group lead by the former leader of the PFP Frederick van Zyl Slabbert.

Older members of the Party are still bitter about Slabbert's sudden resignation at the beginning of last year, and regard it as little less than an act of treachery.

The other issue concerns relations with the ANC.

Harry Schwarz threw down the gauntlet when he spoke in the House

of Assembly last week stating that he was not prepared to talk to anyone who had an AK47 in his hand.

This statement runs counter to a resolution taken at the PFP's Federal Congress last year when the leadership was applauded for initiating contacts with the ANC and urged to continue this contact.

One member of the caucus even went as far as to state that it would be little short of a miracle if the Party was still intact after the showdown.

It is reliably understood that if Gastrow and Cronje are forced to apologise they may opt to leave the Party rather than do so, and one source stated that at least three other MPs would follow, one of whom is considering resigning as an MP.

this article + (11A) # 3117-6/18/87  
w/Neil

W. H. Page

ON the same night that Idasa official Eric Mntonga was murdered last weekend, a leader of the troubled community of Potsdam, in Ciskei, was stabbed to death by rightwing vigilantes.

The incidents were unrelated and the circumstances different, but both highlighted the growing rule of terror right-wing groups are imposing on some Eastern Cape communities.

In Mntonga's case, his body was found next to his car, which had been pushed off a remote side-road in Ciskei. His hands and feet were bound together, and he had been stabbed once in the heart.

A subsequent *post mortem* established that he had been assaulted before his death, and the stab wound had been inflicted when he was already dead. The actual cause of death was a blow to the head, which caused a sub-dural haemorrhage.

It is believed he was abducted during Friday morning, and was held for the day before being murdered.

Potsdam community leader Zola Nozewu was stabbed to death by a vigilante after trying to prevent him from robbing someone else.

Potsdam residents said Nozewu was among a large group of "comrades" who were forced to flee the village in the face of repeated attacks by vigilantes.

There had been numerous attempts by the vigilantes, called "Inkatha", to kill Nozewu and others, residents claimed.

The vigilante force was set up in March, just after Potsdam residents were forcibly returned to their homes by the South African authorities.

They had fled Ciskei in February and camped at a South African roadside to escape a continuing campaign of harassment by Ciskei police.

The vigilante group had been acting in close concert with the Ciskei police, residents claimed, and had targeted the "comrades", who were only able to return to Potsdam secretly.

Last Saturday night, Nozewu and four "comrades" were sleeping in a house in the village when they were summoned to assist someone who was being robbed by a vigilante, known as "Popo".

Nozewu's cousin, David Ndamane, who witnessed the incident, said "Popo" and the other vigilantes with him had been summoned into a house where Nozewu reprimanded them for robbing people.

"Popo" had drawn an axe, but it was grabbed before he was able to use it.

Everyone else went home after they had been addressed by Nozewu, but he and Ndamane stayed behind to plead with "Popo", who was himself a former "comrade".

The vigilante drew a knife and

Two prominent political leaders are murdered on a single night. In both cases, there is reason to believe they were beaten for some hours before being killed

# One night. Two more mysterious murders

By FRANZ KRÜGER and CHRIS MABUYA, East London

stabbed Nozewu in the chest.

The vigilante group had then gone on the rampage, looking for Nozewu's friends. Ndamane escaped unscathed, but the others were seriously injured.

Nozewu died on the way to hospital, and the others, Mbeko Mavanti, Poko Mavanti and two men known only as Mr Dasi and Mr Moyama, were treated and discharged.

"Our future is not secured here, the police seem to care more about the vigilantes than the innocent people," said Ndamane.

On the morning after Nozewu's death, a group of vigilantes had come to his home, danced and shouted: "We have got their leader, now we want his second."

Ndamane said: "We do not know what they mean; we are just left asking ourselves who is going to be the next victim."

Mntonga, a former branch secretary of Saawu, UDF leader and chairperson of the Mdantsane Commuters' Committee of Ten (which spearheaded the two year Ciskei bus boycott in the early Eighties) went missing at about 10.30am on Friday.

A close friend, prominent Mdantsane lawyer and UDF leader Hintsu Siwisa, said Mntonga had been in his office and had left about that time to see a friend.

He never arrived.

His body was found next to his car the next day by an early-morning bus driver.

The speculation is that he must have been abducted in Mdantsane, and held for the rest of the day while being assaulted. It seems likely that he was murdered late that night, and his body driven out to be dumped.

However, large questions remain about the incident. Idasa sources have

questioned why it was possible for Mntonga to be abducted from Mdantsane in broad daylight.

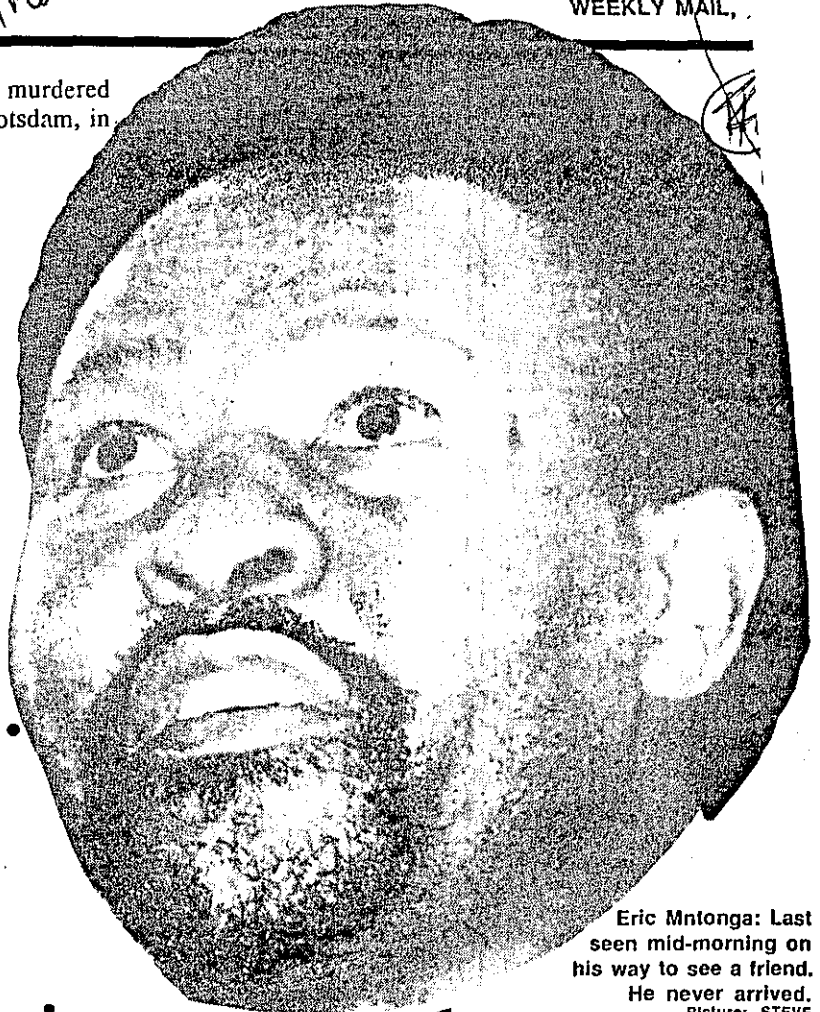
A prominent community leader and a large and strong man, he would have been unlikely to go with people unless he trusted them or felt they had some right to take him away.

There is also the question of why he was stabbed when he was already dead. Was it an attempt to make sure he was dead? Or was it a "red herring", as some Idasa sources have speculated?

Questions are also being posed about the time lapse between his abduction and his murder. Why was he held for so long before being murdered, and why was he assaulted?

Ciskei police have refused to reveal any details of the case, or of their investigations. The Ciskei police PRO said the matter was "sub judice".

elnews



Eric Mntonga: Last seen mid-morning on his way to see a friend. He never arrived. Picture: STEVE HILTON-BARBER, Atrapix

# Kei diplomat held, then freed for passport racket

W/ Mail 31/7-6/8/81

(scribble)

11A

SECURITY POLICE this week briefly detained a top Transkeian consulate official in Johannesburg, accusing him of issuing illegal travel documents to ANC members.

By denying him the normal consular immunity — even though South Africa is one of the very few countries that recognise the Transkei — the police almost provoked a diplomatic incident.

However, the attaché, Sibongile Dumalisile was released six hours later and is now being recalled to Umtata.

Dumalisile said that at midday on Monday he was walking with a friend

By MONO BADELA

outside the Johannesburg consulate-general when he was grabbed by the collar by two security policemen.

"I identified myself," he said, but he was bundled into a waiting combi and told by one of the men that he did not have diplomatic immunity. "After all you are not in your office now, you are on South African soil," he said he was told.

He was driven to the Germiston police station where, he said, he was asked by a Lieutenant Badenhorst where he had acquired his diplomatic card and how long he had been in possession of it. He said Badenhorst told him even "head office" stated he was not immune.

The card, which Dumalisile showed *Weekly Mail*, had been presented to him by the Department of Foreign Affairs, dated May 18, 1984 and issued by the Director General of Foreign Affairs.

Dumalisile said he was quizzed about the issuing of Transkeian travel documents, allegedly to members of the ANC.

After his release from detention six hours later, he was abruptly recalled to Umtata.

Dumalisile is now concerned that he might be arrested when he reaches home and probably be handed over to the South African Police.

A representative of the South African department of foreign affairs yesterday confirmed that his department had been informed that Dumalisile had been recalled. He declined to comment further.

A spokesman for the SAP directorate of public relations in Pretoria said he had no knowledge of the incident.

Transkei's Pretoria ambassador, Samuel Mvambo, said he had been informed of the detention by his Umtata headquarters. However, he referred queries to his Johannesburg consular-general, B B Sekelani.

Sekelani said he was in Umtata at the time of the incident. He was aware of it, but did not know the reason for the detention.

He confirmed that Dumalisile had been recalled to Umtata and said this was "an administrative matter".



# The man who escaped from Pretoria Central tells it in print

TIM JENKINS drank cheap white wine for Dutch courage before exploding his first pamphlet bomb in a busy station concourse. Four years later, after escaping from Pretoria Central Prison, he toasted his freedom with warm brandy.

His next toast, he says, will be when he flies into a "liberated" South Africa. That, no doubt, will be with champagne.

In the meantime, Jenkins, 38, lives in a council flat in Camden, London, and fights apartheid long-distance.

It is difficult at first to detect in this small, self-effacing man the dedicated revolutionary who conducted a two-year, underground propaganda war against the South African government, to be punished with a 12-year jail sentence.

But he has vividly chronicled that and his subsequent escape from South Africa's top security prison in a book to be published in Britain on Monday: "Escape from Pretoria".

Born and raised in South Africa, it

was not until he was 21 that Jenkins began to question the system in his country. Until 1971 he was, he says "a normal white racist".

Then, on a trip to Britain, he met for the first time people who were critical of apartheid. That set him thinking — and reading — and by the time he returned home his politics had undergone a transformation.

In February 1974, with his friend Stephen Lee, he again set sail for Europe, this time "fired with a burning desire".

They joined the African National Congress and, after a year's intensive training, returned to South Africa with instructions to disseminate ANC propaganda. His only regret about re-

**Nine years after his dramatic escape from Pretoria Central Prison, ANC member Tim Jenkins is publishing a book about it. LIZ MCGREGOR spoke to him in London**

turning was that he had to leave behind his girlfriend, Robin, a typist in the ANC office.

Back in South Africa, Jenkins and Lee had to make sure they drew as little attention to themselves as possible. "I had to become this grey person, with no views about anything," remembers Jenkins with a grimace.

Indeed, except for a telling intensi-

ty, he's a pale man one probably wouldn't remember from a casual meeting. One of his few lapses in discipline was an affair with a "coloured" woman called Daphne — at a time when this was unusual enough to draw attention.

There was the added strain of hiding his underground activities from her.

"It was very hard to keep such a massive secret from someone so close," he says. "I think she believed I was having an affair with another woman because I kept disappearing for long periods with only feeble explanations."

His underground work absorbed all his spare time and energy. He'd write

a pamphlet, for example condemning South Africa's invasion of Angola, and reproduce it 600 to 700 times on a second-hand duplicator.

"It was the mid-1970s and there was very little going on politically," says Jenkins. "We'd post all these pamphlets and disappear, set the bombs and run away. We were working completely on our own and didn't know if anything we were doing was having any effect."

Then, in 1976, Soweto blew up. "That was extremely exciting," says Jenkins, "it gave added impetus to what we were doing."

He quickly adds: "Of course, we didn't believe Soweto was the result of our pamphlets. That was just what the police tried to make out at our trial."

The state caught up with Lee and Jenkins in 1977, as a result, Jenkins believes, of thorough sleuthing by the Security Police.

Jenkins was sentenced to 12 years and Lee to eight.

But even before the heavy doors of Pretoria Central Prison had slammed behind them, both were seized with an obsession about escaping.

"Some people believe that political imprisonment inspires others and keeps alive the notion that there are fighters against apartheid who have sacrificed their personal freedom for the greater freedom of the oppressed.

"I was just ashamed at having allowed the enemy to put one over on us. While people like Nelson Mandela have been turned into a symbol of freedom, your average activist cannot champion the cause better by being in prison than out."

He, Lee and another ANC member, Alex Moumbaris, came to the conclusion that the only way to escape was by manufacturing keys to the series of seven doors that lay between their cells and freedom.

"The strain seriously affected my sleep," remembers Jenkins. "I would lie awake for hours with my mind's cursor jumping from one idea to the next. Shapes of keys would flit

I was just  
lowed the enemy to put one over on us. While people like Nelson Mandela have been turned into a symbol of freedom, your average activist cannot champion the cause better by being in prison than out."

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"The strain seriously affected my sleep," remembers Jenkins. "I would lie awake for hours with my mind's cursor jumping from one idea to the next. Shapes of keys would flit across my brain, locks would be dismantled and we would escape in a hundred different ways."

December 11, 1979, was the date set for the escape. Dodging warders, sentries and guard dogs by a hair's breadth, expecting every second to be bathed in floodlights with sirens blaring, the three unlocked each door until they came to the outer one, which they had to break open.

In the street outside, a sentry paced on a catwalk. "The fear was agonising," he says. "We knew that if we were caught, years would be added onto our sentences."

"We ran down the street, still not sure we hadn't been seen. We kept expecting a bullet in the back."

They found a taxi to take them to Jan Smuts Airport. From there they caught a bus into Johannesburg where Lee decided to contact friends and make his own way out of the country.

Jenkins and Moumbaris headed for Swaziland. They knew that as soon as their escape was discovered, there would be a massive police dragnet. Borders would be particularly closely watched.

Walking and hitching lifts by night and hiding during much of the day, they reached an unguarded part of the border — and safety.

A few weeks later, Jenkins arrived in London.

Within days, he and Robin, who had campaigned tirelessly for his release, were married. But it was a short-lived union.

He now shares his flat with a friend.

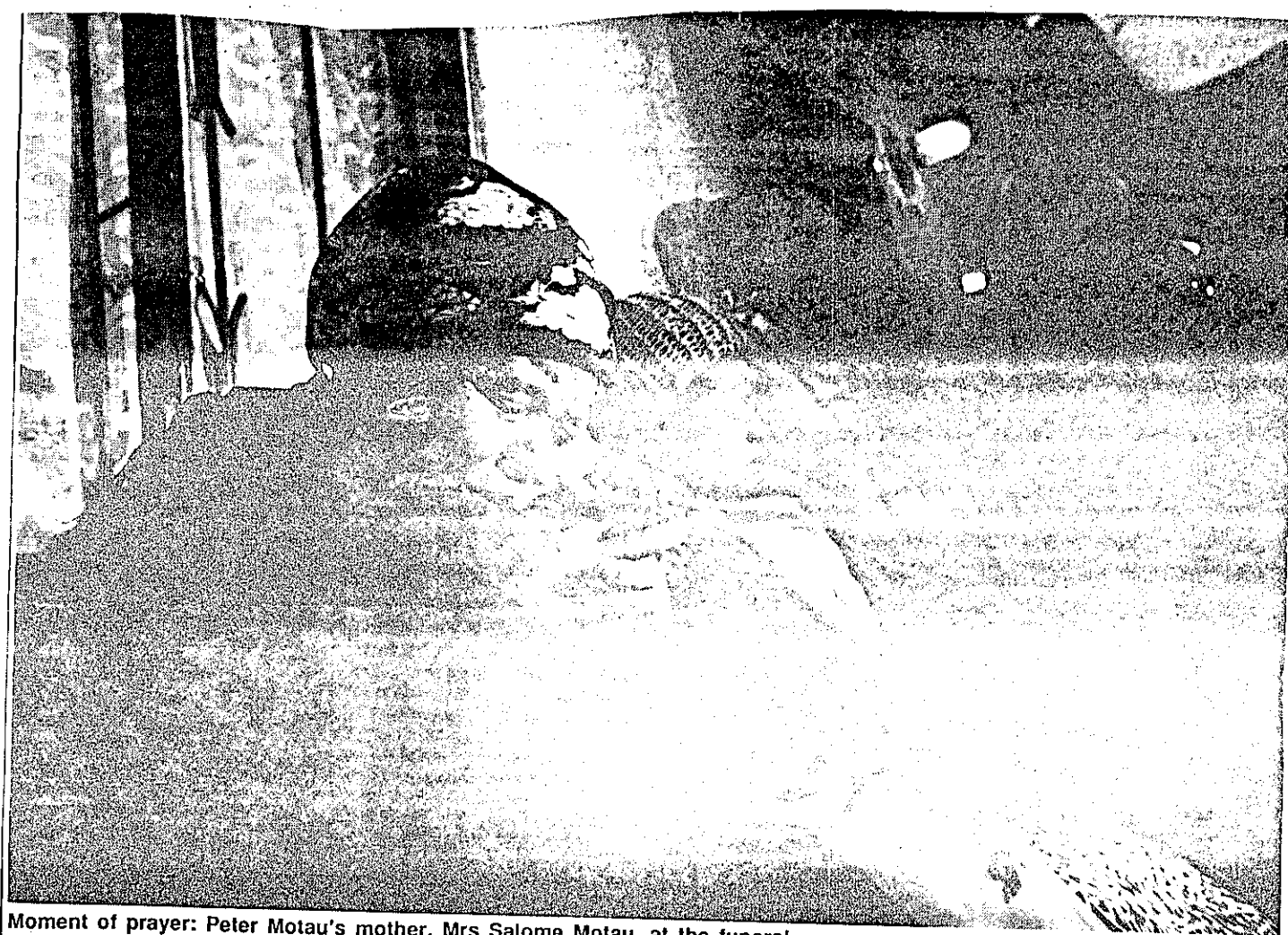
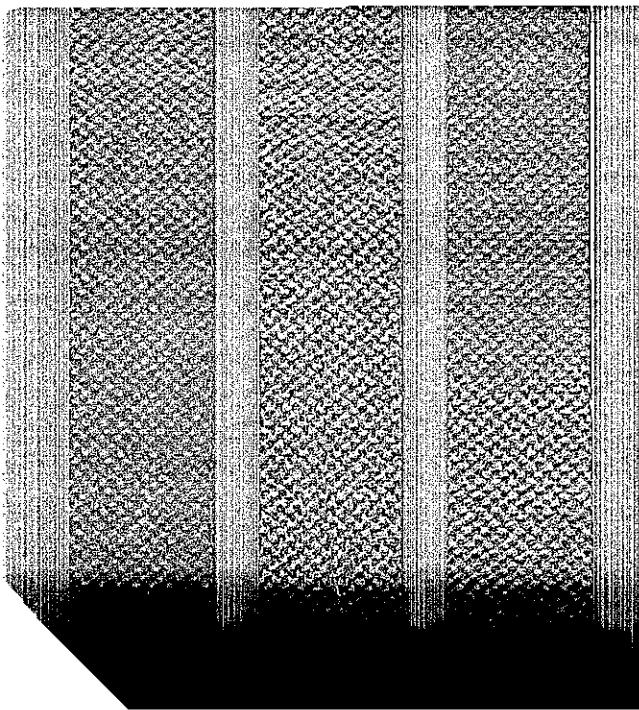
After a long battle with immigration authorities, he was granted permission to live in Britain and started work as a researcher at the International Defence and Aid Fund, an anti-apartheid organisation based in Islington.

He left IDAF three months ago but remains deeply involved in South Africa.

"The escape just meant that I could throw myself back into the struggle against apartheid sooner and with more conviction than our captors had hoped," he says quietly.

"And, in our own small way, we had proved that the apartheid regime is not invincible."

● "Escape from Pretoria" by Tim Jenkins. (Kliptown Books)



Moment of prayer: Peter Motau's mother, Mrs Salome Motau, at the funeral

Picture: SANTU MOFOKENG, Afrapix

## Ring of armour at ANC man's burial

By MONO BADELA

NEARLY 200 SADF troops and policemen, perched atop 22 armoured vehicles, this week threw a ring of steel around a dusty Avalon graveyard as Soweto residents gave slain ANC guerrilla Peter Sello Motau a hero's burial.

In the end, police — who earlier had turned away scores of mourners at the entrance to the cemetery — arrested seven youths, including a 16-year-old schoolgirl. Police claimed they were arrested on suspicion of committing offences. One youth was unable to identify himself and could not produce his reference book; he was thereafter arrested.

The funeral climaxed more than a fortnight of wrangling and frustration for Motau's family.

It began in Swaziland on the afternoon of July 9, when Motau was gunned down with two colleagues; the taxi they were travelling in had been forced off the Matsapa/Mbabane road by a BMW sedan registered in South Africa.

Motau's father, former treason trialist David Motau, was unable to obtain a passport to travel to Swaziland; his wife, Salome, and son-in-law identified the body. On Thursday last week they accompanied the body home — to be informed by police that the burial had to be performed on the following day. The police had told the bereaved family that if they were not in



Mrs Motau with a picture of her son. Right: Motau's grieving sister is comforted at the graveside.

Pictures: ANNA ZIEMINSKI, Afrapix and WALTER DHLADLA, AFP

a position to bury their son, the security forces would do their job.

But the family won an extension, and on Monday, as a small crowd of 200 sang, chanted and prayed at the graveside, and the family sat huddled in blankets in the weak winter sun-



shine. At times speakers and mourners competed against the whirr of a police surveillance helicopter circling above.

The funeral was filmed throughout by a police television unit but overseas television crews and photographers were stopped by the police from filming.

As the ceremony ended, police converged on young activists, holding a 16-year-old schoolgirl and two teen-aged boys by their collars and arresting them.

"What provocation have you had here?" shouted activist Winnie Mandela, dressed in the black, green and gold of the ANC. "You are going to turn around and tell the country that it is us that has given the country a bad name. You are arresting a youth for nothing."

Winnie Mandela was a former colleague of David Motau; the two were among those acquitted in 1969 after a lengthy terrorism trial.

At the funeral service at his home, and again at the graveside, Motau said of his son: "He was not a violent boy. He was taught violence by the injustices he experienced in South Africa." Of the men who killed his son, he said: "If this is what Christians do, we will not be Christians."

Peter Motau was the nephew of Elias Motsaedi, jailed for life along with Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, and other ANC leaders after the 1964 Rivonia treason trial.

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# Police <sup>11/17</sup> kill ANC suspect <sup>6/12/87</sup>

JOHANNESBURG — A suspected foreign-trained ANC guerilla was fatally wounded in a shootout with police in New Brighton early yesterday morning.

The incident, which was confirmed by the SAP in Pretoria, happened at about 5 am in Ntsekisa Road.

A spokesman for the SAP Directorate of Public Affairs said a cocked AK 47 assault rifle with two fully-loaded magazines and a Makarov pistol, also with a fully-loaded magazine and cocked, was found in a house where the shooting took place.

Nobody else was injured in the incident. —DDC

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# 1 333 vote in elections

THE Transvaal Indian Council believes the results of the Parliamentary by-election in Lenasia this week are a massive vote of no confidence in the House of Delegates.

The by-election was won by the National Peoples' Party whose candidate, Mr Mohamed Shah won the Lenasia Central seat. The percentage poll was 15,95 percent.

A total of 1 063 special votes were cast, forming about 80 percent of all the votes. Only 270

ordinary votes were cast on Tuesday. There were 21 spoilt papers.

Mr Amichand Rajbansi, leader of the NPP said the results indicated confidence in negotiation politics.

The SAP Directorate of Public Relations said in its unrest report that about 200 students were dispersed after staging a protest meeting.

It said police used quirts to disperse the gathering and seven men and one woman were arrested.

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# PFP MP IS DEFIANT ON HIS DAKAR VISIT

THE Dakar safari issue, which has sown much dissent within Progressive Federal Party ranks, would probably be resolved "with dramatics" by the end of this week, the PFP MP for Greytown and a participant in the African National Congress talks, Mr Pierre Cronje, said in Hillcrest near Durban.

However, he refused to elaborate on whether any disciplinary action would be taken against the three PFP "rebels" — himself, Mr Peter Gastrow and Mr Pieter Schoeman — who attended the West African conference last month.

## Honest

But he warned during a report-back on the controversial mission to the ANC that he personally would refuse to have "limits of patriotism defined by other people" placed on him.

In his address, which received a standing ovation from about 120 people, he said the Dakar safari was an honest

## SOWETAN CORRESPONDENT

attempt to create an "imaginative and constructive" alternative to the precipice down which the country was heading.

Four basic topics had been discussed. These were:

- How to achieve a non-racial democracy;
- A "new" South African constitution;
- The economy in a post-apartheid South Africa;
- National unity, and how to reconcile vastly different ethnic backgrounds.

On the question of violence, Mr Cronje said this was obviously part of the ANC strategy, but State violence also had to be considered.

This was not just anti-Government rhetoric, he said, as the State had only recently admitted guilt in paying out R1,2-million compensation to victims of police violence in the Eastern Cape township of Langa.

## Concerned

"But the ANC don't see the situation being resolved militarily. They acknowledge that the South African Defence Force is invincible in terms of what they (the ANC) can put together."

However, the ANC did not believe that the status quo itself was invincible. For example, at the moment, three-quarters of township residents on

the Reef were refusing to pay rent — and there appeared to be little the authorities could do.

The ANC were also extremely concerned at the level of "mindless"

violence in the townships, he said. This was blamed on the fact that because so many "authentic" leaders were imprisoned, thugs were able to take control of much of the black anger.

# Most blacks want Mandela as leader UDF man

PRETORIA — Imprisoned ANC leader Nelson Mandela is still a highly respected figure in the black community and will be welcomed as a leader by a vast majority of blacks, UDF general secretary Popo Molefe said yesterday.

Molefe, 35, was testifying in the Pretoria Supreme Court, where he is standing trial with 18 other high rank-

ing members of the UDF, the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) and local civic organisations.

The men pleaded not guilty to high treason and alternative charges ranging from subversion to murder.

The state is attempting to prove the UDF conspired with the ANC and the SA Communist Party (SACP) to

overthrow the SA Government.

Molefe denied the allegations, saying the UDF was dedicated to non-violent change.

He said the UDF called for the release of Mandela and made him and "all political prisoners serving life sentences" patrons of the UDF.

The trial is continuing. — Sapa.

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## Kidnap accused fought in SA (11A)

<sup>3/17-6/8/87</sup>  
A LONDON court heard yesterday that one of the four men charged recently with conspiring to kidnap members of the African National Congress was a former member of the South African "special services".

Frank Lynge Larsen, 53, a psychologist born in Zimbabwe, John Terence Larsen, 27, a computer technician; Jonathan Richard Wheatley, 28, unemployed, and Evan Dennis Evans, 48, a sub-postmaster in North Wales, were remanded in custody.

The prosecutor, Michael Bibby, said Evans had spent a considerable time in the Rhodesian forces. In 1980 he moved to South Africa and joined the forces here. He returned to England in 1985. — Sapa *W/Hand*



## Tales of 'armed men' as five UDF activists are murdered

By MBULELO LINDA  
in Port Elizabeth

THE Uitenhage township of KwaNobuhle was tense this week after five residents sympathetic to the United Democratic Front were killed over the weekend, allegedly by the vigilante group Ama-Afrika.

Police press liaison officer for the Eastern Cape, Captain Peet Grobler, confirmed that five people were killed in what he described as "black on black violence".

Grobler said the deaths were not unrest related and were being investigated "as straight murder cases". The deceased had died from knife wounds and some were hacked to death.

He said he did not think Ama-Afrika members were involved in the attacks, "but it was too soon to tell".

Members of the UDF in KwaNobuhle accuse Ama-Afrika members of the attack. Since January this year, over 16 UDF members and six Ama-Afrika members have died in violent clashes.

The UDF members — all of whom would not give their names for fear of victimisation — say a group of 20 armed men abducted a Standard 4 pupil from his KwaNobuhle home on Sunday.

His body was found on Monday lying in the Uitenhage shack area of Tyoksville, severely hacked.

On Friday, John Maneli, a member of the Uitenhage Youth Congress (Uyco) was confirmed dead on arrival at the Uitenhage Provincial Hospital. His body had been mutilated with axes, pangas and assegais.

A shack house belonging to a street committee member, Eric Thembani, was attacked with stones and the furniture broken up following an attack by a group of men at 2pm on Friday afternoon. It is alleged that the group was led by the well-known Kelman Befile who is alleged, in affidavits, compiled by Rory Riorden of Operation Real South Africa, to have played an active role in the dawn attack on UDF members on January 4.

Befile's name appears on nine out of the 23 affidavits.

Joseph Maliwa, a representative of Ama-Afrika, said his organisation had no knowledge of the violence in Uitenhage.

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"Since the funeral service for our three killed members two weeks ago, we have not been involved in any fighting," Maliwa said.

"All we know is three men who visited Khayelitsha (the Ama-Afrika territorial area in KwaNobuhle) last week were attacked by a group of people in Tyoksville. One of the men escaped. The man said he did not know what happened to the other two abducted men."

Maliwa said Befile was not a member of Ama-Afrika, but he sympathised with the organisation, "like all Khayelitsha residents".

"He is an old business man. I don't know how he could have led a group of men attacking residents in KwaNobuhle. However, I don't know about this," he said.

"If residents have complaints, they must come forward and point out to us who has been attacking them," he said. "Our people are controllable at all times."

# A murder that raises the spectre of death squads

THE murder of black activist Moxo-lile Mntonga has raised once again the spectre of anonymous death squads striking against leaders of all extra-parliamentary forces seeking a non-racial society.

News that Mntonga had been knifed to death broke on the eve of the burial in Soweto of African National Congress guerrilla Peter Sello Motau.

Both Mntonga and Motau were killed by unidentified men, with one central, ominous, difference. Motau, who was gunned down in a surprise attack in Swaziland, was a guerrilla committed to armed struggle. But Mntonga, who was slain within a few kilometres of his home, was a radical trying to change South Africa by non-violent means.

Mntonga, a regional director of Idasa, was found dead in his car

Idasa was primarily responsible for the recent talks in Dakar between white, mainly Afrikaner, dissidents and the ANC. Mntonga's murder came hardly a week after their return to South Africa amid charges of "treason" from ultra-rightists.

The timing suggests Mntonga may have been killed because of his link with Idasa. But there are anomalies.

The ultra-right threats were directed against white delegates to the talks. Mntonga was black. Nor did he journey to Dakar.

Mntonga may have been killed for his links with the United Democratic Front and, before that, with the South African Allied Workers Union.

By PATRICK LAURENCE

Both organisations are hated and feared by the Ciskei's rulers.

Whatever motivated Mntonga's killers, his murder was reminiscent, as Boraine noted, of earlier political killings in the Eastern Cape.

Almost exactly two years ago, four local leaders of the UDF — the charismatic Matthew Goniwe and his comrades Fort Calata, Sparrow Mkhonto and Sicelo Mhlawuli — were murdered outside Port Elizabeth.

Like Mntonga, they were intercepted by their killers on the road. They were stabbed and burnt to death. Their killers have not been brought to justice.

Some two months later another UDF leader, civil rights lawyer Victoria Mxenge, was hacked to death by unknown assailants outside her home. Her killers were not arrested.

Her death recalled that of her lawyer husband, Griffiths Mxenge, in November 1981. He, too, was brutally murdered by knife-wielding attackers.

A former political prisoner and member of the ANC, he was found by the inquest magistrate to have been killed by "certain unknown persons". They were never identified, still less arrested, by the police.

Victoria Mxenge was convinced that there was a link between her husband's death and the murder of university lecturer Rick Turner some



Mathew Goniwe

three years earlier. Turner was shot dead in his home by a nocturnal assassin, or assassins, in December 1977. The killing was unsolved.

Last year another black notable, Fabian Ribeiro, was gunned down with his wife, Florence, in Mamelodi, near Pretoria. Ribeiro had emerged as a fearless local leader after 13 residents were killed in clashes with police in November 1985.

Witnesses to the attack on Ribeiro noted the registration number of a car at the scene of the killing. Noel Robey, a former member of Rhodesia's counter-insurgency Selous Scouts, was brought to court; he was the owner of a vehicle with the number

quoted by witnesses.

But the magistrate found that the number could have been faked. Robey was acquitted.

Co-existing with these murders has been the disappearance of UDF leaders. In May, 1985, three leaders of the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation, a UDF affiliate, went missing. They have not re-appeared since. The UDF trio, Siphoshe Hashe, Champion Galela and Qaqawuli Godolozzi, were last seen alive at Port Elizabeth's Hendrik Verwoerd Airport. They were reportedly apprehended there by men dressed in khaki. Applications to the Supreme Court for their release from detention have met with flat police denials that they are in custody.

Earlier, in 1982, a leader of the now-outlawed Congress of South African Students, Siphoshe Mthimkulu, and a comrade, Toksie Madaka, disappeared while en route to Livingstone Hospital in Port Elizabeth. At the time Mthimkulu was preparing a claim against the minister of police for alleged poisoning while he was in detention. Neither he nor Madaka has been seen since.

Suspicious persist in the extra-parliamentary opposition circles that police are less than thorough in their investigations

*The Sowetan* articulated black feelings in an editorial. "We have become used to people being murdered by faceless cowards who seemingly escape the law," it said

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# Winnie as patron of OFS youth

By VUSI GUNENE

THE Free State Youth Congress, launched in Durban last weekend, has elected activist Winnie Mandela, wife of jailed ANC leader, Nelson Mandela, and Patrick "Terror" Lekota, former UDF national publicity secretary and currently on trial for treason, as honorary presidents.

The launch was moved to Durban apparently because of problems involved in acquiring a venue in the Free State.

Fryco is an affiliate of the 600 000-strong South African Youth Congress, the largest UDF affiliate, launched four months ago. Six hundred delegates from 42 townships attended; the group claims a membership of 23 000.

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# Veteran activist dies

By EDITH BULBRING

A VETERAN women's rights activist has died in Port Elizabeth's New Brighton township without ever having carried a pass, reference book or identity document.

Pauline Nombayiso Mbunye, 74, a founder and executive member of the Port Elizabeth Women's Organisation (PEWO), died of natural causes at a friend's home last Saturday.

Because of her refusal to carry a pass or identity document she never had a formal job and supported herself by hawking vegetables.

She said she had always looked after herself and had never asked for assistance from the state because it would have meant applying for a reference

book. This would have compromised beliefs she had fought for all her life.

In the 1950s, when African women were first made to carry pass books, Mbunye refused to do so.

PEWO members told ECNA that Mbunye was a founder and executive member of the Federation of South African Women (Fedsaw) in the Eastern Cape in the 1950s and took part in all activities launched by Fedsaw affiliates.

She was also a member of the ANC's Women's League and worked closely with Francis Baard and Helen Joseph in the anti-pass and anti-Bantu Education campaigns.

In 1956, Mbunye was one of 20 000 women who marched on Union Buildings in Pretoria

# 'The spirit of Mohapi still lives among us' — Azapo

BLACK organisations this week commemorated the death of one of the exponents of the black consciousness movement, Mr Mapetla Mohapi, who died in police custody at Kei Road near King Williamstown in 1976.

The organisations — the Azanian Youth Organisation, the Azanian National Youth Unity and the Azanian People's Organisation, said the spirit of Mr Mohapi still lived among blacks.

Mr Mohapi, the black consciousness leader who was an official of the banned Black People's Convention and the South African Students' Organisation, died in detention on August 5, 1976.

He was detained on July 15, 1976, under the Terrorism Act — that was his second spell in detention for in 1974 he had spent some time in detention and was released without being charged.

After his release from detention he was banned in September 1975 under the Suppression of Communism Act.

A magistrate who presided at an inquest court hearing into his death, said Mr Mohapi died of anoxia and suffocation as a result of hanging.

This, he said, was not brought about by any act of commission or omission of any living person.

The Azayo national executive committee paid tribute to Mr Mohapi and said they regarded him as one of the gallant, determined heroes of the black liberation struggle against oppression and exploitation.

"We in Azayo today extend our message of solidarity to the members of the Mapetla family and to the black community in general. We vow to carry out the struggle that he was engaged in until an anti-racist social republic is established in this country," Azayo said in a statement.

The Azanian National Youth Unit said they saluted Mr Mohapi as one of the heroes of the black liberation struggle.

**Weather**

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# Joint commission to be set up to revive Nkomati Accord

**By TOS WENTZEL**  
**Political Correspondent**

SOUTH Africa and Mozambique have decided to make a fresh attempt to revive the Nkomati Accord.

At talks between the two sides in Cape Town it was decided to have a joint liaison commission to go into the critical differences between the countries, including allegations about the Homoine massacre.

This revives the idea of a joint se-

curity commission contained in the accord. Mozambique suspended its participation in the original commission in 1985.

One of the first tasks of the new commission will be to investigate charges and counter-charges made about the Homoine massacre by both countries.

In this massacre last month 386 people died and Mozambique alleged there had been South African in-

volvement, a charge which South Africa strongly denied.

A continued ANC presence in Mozambique, the possibility of South African mediation between the Mozambican Government and the Renamo rebel movement and economic matters are also likely to have been raised at the talks. These matters can be dealt with further in the commission.

At the talks the South African side was led by Mr Pjk Botha, the Minis-

ter of Foreign Affairs, and the Mozambican side by General Jacinto Voloso, Minister of Economic Co-operation in the Office of the Mozambican President.

Both sides included high-ranking security officials, including on the South African side the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, the chief of the National Intelligence Service, Dr Neil Barnard, the Commissioner of Police, General Hennie de Witt, and the Director-General of

Foreign Affairs, Mr Neil van Heerden.

A statement issued by the Department of Foreign Affairs after the meeting said both sides agreed that a joint liaison committee be set up to continue with the discussions

The South African component of the committee would consist of senior representatives of the departments of Foreign Affairs, Defence, Law and Order, National Intelligence and Commerce.

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# The next king of the Tembus: Exiled, somewhere in Lusaka

THE man who usurped the throne of "Comrade King" Sabata Dalindyebo, the popular king of the Tembus, is on his deathbed — and his successor is in exile in Lusaka.

He is Chief Albert Bambilanga Mtirara, a half-brother of King Sabata Dalindyebo who, helped by former Transkeian president Paramount Chief KD Matanzima, ousted him in 1980.

Rumours have been circulating in the Transkei that Mtirara has died, but *Weekly Mail* ascertained yesterday that the man may die any day. He is suffering from cancer in its terminal stage.

The Tembu tribesmen, especially former councillors of Sabata reckon that Sabata's elder son, young Buyelekhaya, now at school in Lusaka, should be recalled and be groomed to take over if bloodshed is to be averted in Tembuland.

Buyelekhaya Dalindyebo is 23 years old. He and his younger brother followed King Sabata soon after he fled the Transkei in 1980.

The prospect of him returning from Lusaka to take up one of the most powerful hereditary positions in the Transkei is one that will cause much

By MONO BADELA

embarrassment in Umtata.

Former counsellors said the "blood of King Sabata was now talking" ... that it predicted "Bambilanga will not enjoy his rule because it was not his and never will be his. The ancestors will meet him."

They believe if young Buyelekhaya is not installed on the Tembu throne there will be "frightening confusion" "Comrade King" died in Lusaka early last year without fulfilling his long-cherished dream of returning as Tembu king once apartheid has ended.

Sabata had spent the last year of his life serving the African National Congress' external mission.

His long fight against apartheid and the pro-separate development policies of former president Matanzima will not be forgotten, particularly in the Transkei.

Although he was the king of the biggest Xhosa tribe, Sabata regarded ANC President Oliver Tambo as his leader.

"The chiefs and kings were defeated long ago by the Boers and so we

must accept the new leaders," Sabata once said while in exile.

"The so-called Transkei independence means nothing for the people in terms of social and economic advancement."

Jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela was Sabata's uncle. He was a traditional leader of more than one million people.

Sabata, a half-cousin of Paramount Chief KD Matanzima was born in Tyalara on November 25, 1928, only a month after the death of his father, Paramount Chief Sampu Jongilizwe Mtirara. Though he was born to be paramount chief, he grew up as an ordinary shepherd boy. Two of his uncles acted as regents before he was installed as paramount chief in 1954.

As a leader of the Democratic Party — the chief opposition in the Transkei — he was a symbol of opposition to apartheid and the homeland policy.

He fled the country on August 15, 1980, after being deposed by the Matanzima cabinet. Albert Bambilanga, his half-brother, was installed in his place.

Earlier Sabata had been fined R700 or 18 months for "injuring and violating the dignity" of Matanzima.

... interference

# The lessons from Dakar



The *FM* spoke to Idasa chairman and former Official Opposition leader Frederik van Zyl Slabbert soon after his arrival in SA after his controversial talks with the ANC in West Africa.

**FM: What specifically did the Dakar talks achieve?**

**Slabbert:** One has to be quite clear as to what Dakar was all about. There has been a tendency to either overestimate it or underestimate it. There are those who pump it up as an attempt at mediation and then knock it down as being inadequate. Dakar was never an attempt to mediate anything. We had neither the mandate nor the power to mediate. It was an attempt to have a workshop between predominantly Afrikaans-speaking individuals and the ANC on certain critical issues; to clarify positions; to get rid of ambiguities and to see if there was a meeting of minds on some issues.

In that sense Dakar was an immense success. We came away with a clear idea of where the ANC stood on the armed struggle. They got a very clear idea of the concern of delegates on the question of arbitrary violence and the capacity for escalating violence in our society. We also clarified points on multi-party democracy and so on. That essentially is what Dakar was about.

**In the wake of the Dakar talks, do you believe it is going to be easier or more difficult to accommodate all the competing aspirations in SA?**

Based on the experience we had, I'm

greatly encouraged. That doesn't mean there aren't very critical issues over which people will differ, but one came away with a feeling that throughout the conference these were South Africans trying to get to grips with a South African problem. As a very preliminary step towards the kind of tough debate that lies ahead if we are to move beyond the present conflict, Dakar was a good omen.

**The Dakar delegation included some influential businessmen. What role do you see for businessmen in bringing about reconciliation in SA?**

The business lobby is very powerful for two reasons. Firstly, business is essential for growth, and the economy is there to either prop up domination or get rid of it. Business has a crucial role in deciding to what extent free enterprise is going to survive as a factor for growth in a future SA.

I've never said business has to choose a political party or an organisation, but it certainly has to define its own position in the very difficult period of transition SA is going through. The only way to do so is to have the information at its disposal. The worst that can happen is that business gets trapped in a cocoon of ignorance as happened in Rhodesia, where increasingly there was an official view of what was happening, although the vast majority of people who experienced the changes in society knew that things were different.

We are being trapped in the position where we can rely on only one source of information. That is why it is important for businessmen, and any other group that wishes to play a role in shortening this conflict, to try to get first-hand information.

**How can violence be de-escalated or eliminat-**

**ed altogether?**

I can only state what the ANC said and that is that the only prospect for an end to violence, and for them to reconsider something like the armed struggle, is if the conditions which led to them adopting this strategy were to disappear. These are the banning of their organisations, the imprisonment of their leaders and the basic elements of apartheid which persist in law.

This is a formula put forward by the ANC as to how the violence can be stopped. Only the government can exercise the option to accept the formula. But even more so the government has the option of calling the bluff of the ANC, so the option for playing on the violence issue seems stronger on the part of the government than the ANC.

**What then would you regard as a positive step away from escalating violence?**

Two things; firstly an unambiguous commitment to freedom of association, in other words a movement away from compulsory group membership, that would have a fantastic effect; and secondly allowing communities to generate their own leadership free of a State of Emergency. You can't arrest 500 community leaders — as happened in the eastern Cape — and then say, come and talk to us.

Anyone who goes forward under those circumstances does so at the risk of his life. But you can be sure these steps are not going to be enough. Eventually you are going to have to get to the unbanning of organisations and the release of prisoners.

You take a chance, that's the risk, but if you don't start along that road we know what's going to happen — conflict, escalating conflict.



# ANC's 'minimal conditions' for talks with SA

The Star's Africa News Service

LUSAKA — Five "minimal" conditions have to be secured before negotiations can start between the African National Congress (ANC) and the South African Government, a senior ANC member, Mr Pallo Jordan, has said.

In an article written for the African News Organisation (ANO), Mr Jordan said although the ANC was ready to negotiate, the Pretoria Government "is not convinced about the need to negotiate".

Mr Jordan said that in order to create the necessary atmosphere, the South African Government had to fulfill the following conditions:

- Release all political prisoners, detainees, captured "freedom fighters" and prisoners of war.
- Lift the state of emergency and withdraw all SADF personnel and police from the townships and other black residential areas.

● Repeal "all politically repressive laws and laws that empower the regime to proscribe persons, political organisations and institutions and/or restrict freedom of assembly, the Press and of speech, in other words unban the ANC and all other banned political organisations, parties and institutions".

● "Repeal the Bantu self government Act of 1961 and all subsequent legislation flowing therefrom — that is, an end to the bantustan system and the reintegration of the so-called independence TBVC entities".

● Return of all exiles and political refugees to South Africa unconditionally.

Mr Jordan said even if the South African Government met these conditions the ANC would not immediately enter into negotiations.

He said these conditions would create an atmosphere in which the ANC and all "the democratic forces ... can engage in serious and in-depth consultation about negotiations".

Star  
11A

## Dakar: PFP won't act

THE Progressive Federal Party caucus has decided not to take any action against three members of the party who participated in the Dakar conference.

In a statement, the acting chair of the PFP caucus, Roger Hulley, said the caucus had accepted the "expressions of sincere regret" at not having discussed the visit with the party's leader, Colin Eglin, beforehand.

The caucus endorsed Eglin's statement that the three had made a positive contribution to the wellbeing of South Africa and its people. — Sapa

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VIA  
~~SECRET~~  
7-13/87

Nelson Mandela, who comes from an unlikely background for an alleged communist, is still paying a formidable penalty for his beliefs;

writes HUGH ROBERTON

# 25 years behind bars

FOR half a century Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela has been a thorn in the flesh of successive South African governments and although his present term of imprisonment has now lasted 25 years, he has been under some sort of Government restriction for more than half of his 69 years.

That is a formidable penalty for anyone to pay for their beliefs, more especially when the temptation of freedom has been dangled before him for at least the past 12 years. But he has spurned offers of freedom in exile and, according to those who know him well, he would be most unlikely to respect the provisions of a banning order if he were released inside the country.

He comes from an unlikely background for an alleged communist. He was born into the Tembu royal family in Umtata on July 18, 1918. President Kaizer Matanzima and Chief Sabata Dalindyebo, the exiled paramount chief of the Tembus (now a member of the ANC), are blood relatives.

Mandela was a bright and hard-working schoolboy and after matriculating at the

Healdtown Institute, now in Ciskei, he entered Fort Hare University College and a career in student and youth politics which was to propel him to the forefront of national affairs.

His early university years were marked by a deep involvement in student politics and his election to the Students' Representative Council, but he also developed a passion for ballroom dancing, athletics (he was vice-president of the university's athletics union) and especially boxing. He was also an accomplished and regular Sunday school teacher:

## First clash

His first major clash with authority was in 1940 when, as a third-year student, he opposed moves to reduce the powers of the Students' Representative Council and organised a boycott of SRC elections. He was suspended from the university, but later graduated with a BA degree.

In 1941 he arrived in Johannesburg and got a job as a mine clerk. But in 1942 Walter Sisulu, former ANC Secretary General, introduced him to the partners of a Johannesburg legal firm in which he

became an articled clerk and later qualified as a lawyer after part-time study at the University of the Witwatersrand and the University of South Africa.

Mandela formally joined the ANC in 1944, becoming a founder and leader of its militant Youth League and a key figure in the 1949 "Defiance Campaign".

The year 1952 was momentous for him. He became the ANC's Transvaal president and deputy national president, he and Oliver Tambo — now the ANC's leader in exile — went into partnership in a legal practice, he was convicted under the Suppression of Communism Act and in December after the campaign against the pass laws, he was served with the first of several banning orders.

A year later he was ordered to resign from the ANC, but refused and went underground from where he propagated the so-called "Mandela Plan" whereby the ANC became a mass national movement, a development which culminated in the "Congress of the People" in Klipfontein in 1955 and the adoption of the Freedom Charter, still the ANC's official credo.

In 1956 Mandela was arrested and became one of the accused in the treason trial. But five years later he and all his co-accused were acquitted.

Mandela went underground yet again, evading the Security Police for 17 months during which time he became known as the "Black Pimpernel".

## Famous raid

In 1961, Umkhonto We Sizwe (Spear of the Nation, the ANC's military wing) burst into the national consciousness with a series of pamphlet bombs, but eight months later, acting on local information, the Security Police arrested Mandela at a house in Howick. He was convicted of fomenting a strike and leaving the country illegally and was sentenced to five years' hard labour.

In July, 1963, the famous Rivonia raid uncovered the secret headquarters of the ANC and Umkhonto We Sizwe. Mandela was brought from prison to become accused No 1 in the Rivonia trial and was sentenced to life imprisonment.

# Pass march remembered

More than 300 students and campus workers attended a meeting at the Witwatersrand University yesterday to commemorate National Woman's Day.

They were honouring a march 31 years ago by 20 000 women to the Union Buildings to protest against the pass system.

Speakers urged women to join together to struggle against racist, sexual and capitalist exploitation.

Ms Phindi Nzimande, secretary of the Black Student Society, said women were today asserting their position in civic associations, street committees and trade unions.

Ms Isabelle de Wouters of Nusas said: "We have to ensure the full participation of women because that is the only way democracy can be won."



MR AMICHAND Rajbansi ... TV bore.



MR PIK Botha ... TV bore.

# Minority rule the

# name of the

# apartheid

# By-election in Lenasia

# game

**L**IES, lies and damned statistics, a British politician once remarked.

What is not disputed is that in the first House of Delegates general election in 1984, about 10 percent of the registered electorate voted in Lenasia constituencies.

Not everyone registered as a voter on a racist "Indian" roll.

In this week's by-election, the official voting figure went up to 16 percent.

Cabinet Minister Amichand Rajbansi — who supports the State of Emergency and whose National People's Party (NPP) candidate won the seat — and the SABC gleefully described this pathetic turnout as some sort of triumph.

But whichever way you figure it out, the result has proved four things:

- The overwhelming majority of the "Indian" electorate in Lenasia does not support Mr Rajbansi or the apartheid tricameral circus.
- Only in a country like South Africa can a turnout of 16 percent be considered a "triumph" by people who desperately seek endorsement of a discredited system.
- About 80 percent of the total votes were cast by way of special votes (that is, not at the polling station on election day), a figure probably unheard of in any similar election anywhere.
- The majority did not fall prey to the SABC's and Mr Rajbansi's propaganda. Instead, Mr Rajbansi's party was endorsed only by 7 percent of the electorate.
- In fact, the SABC's kidglove treatment of Mr Rajbansi probably puts

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AKHALWAYA

him in line to become TV's biggest political bore after his Cabinet colleague, Pik Botha.

The SABC made much of the increased number of votes, without telling us that the number of eligible voters had increased by about 30 percent since 1984.

It did not tell us that at the weekend, United Democratic Front affiliates attracted more than 1000 people to an anti-election rally, despite the State of Emergency and the attentions of people it does not welcome in its ranks.

It did not tell us that 80 percent of those who voted were allegedly

going to be "out of town" or for some other reason had to cast special votes — that is, they could not register their votes at the polling station.

It did not tell us that the Rand Supreme Court had set aside six special votes under the Electoral Act, and that the UDF has claimed abuse of the special votes system.

### Warning

It did not tell about the House of Delegates supporters who went around to houses in a sub-economic area of Lenasia, demanding to know people's names if they had not voted.

It did not tell us that the Transvaal Indian Congress's lawyers had written to two of the candidates warning them about the "unlawful conduct" of their supporters.

It did not tell us of the arrests of several people in Lenasia on polling day, of the complaint by the TIC's lawyer to the Commissioner of Police regarding the alleged activities of a House of Delegates supporter.

It did not tell us of the actions — witnessed by

hundreds of people — of enforcers of the State of Emergency.

Instead, the SABC told us that as far as was known, only one minor incident involving police and students occurred on polling day.

But the election result has shown that despite the abnormal number of special votes — which are almost certain to be challenged in court next week — 84 percent of the registered electorate refused to endorse apartheid.

### Salaries

The NPP's winning candidate, Mr M S Shah, is chairman of the nominated Lenasia South East Management Committee, which covers the new extension of Lenasia.

He polled 609 votes — about seven percent of the registered electorate.

Solidarity's candidate Mrs Rashida Ebrahim, is chairperson of the Lenasia Management Committee, which covers the major part of Lenasia. She polled 310 votes — under four percent of the electorate.

Yet Mr Shah and Mrs Ebrahim are also Lenasia's representatives on the new Regional Services Council (RSC), and get fat salaries for that.

And while the SABC was technically correct in saying the NPP won the seat by "an increased majority", the party polled 609 votes, while its three opponents polled 736 between them.

The SABC's and Mr Rajbansi's claims notwithstanding, here are the indisputable facts: the NPP's candidate received less than 50 percent of the 16 percent poll; candidates who have the backing of a minuscule seven percent and four percent of the electorate are representatives of Lenasians in the RSC; only 16 percent of the electorate bothered to endorse apartheid.

That proves yet again that the name of the apartheid game is minority rule. No wonder the SABC, the Nat's mouthpiece, and Mr Rajbansi can regard that as some sort of victory.

# MBEKI MAY

14/8/87 Saweta

**Coetsee to look into possibility**

# BE FREED



SIAMESE twins Mpho and Mphonyana enjoy a drink together. Their mother will soon be out of a job and without a home. Meanwhile the twins continue to grow. Read about them on Page 4.

## Mum stranded

**MOTHER** of Siamese twins, Miss Sophie Mathibela, will be without a home and a job at the end of the month.

She has been working as a maid for Mrs Lana van Pletzen since 1981 and now her employer is planning to sell her house and move to a flat in Klerksdorp.

Not only will Miss Mathibela lose the R80 monthly income supplemented by the R40 she earned from doing laundry for Mrs van Pletzen's neighbours, but she will also lose the little room which has been her home since 1981.

She said Mrs van

By SONTI MASEKO

Pletzen had long made plans to sell her house to live elsewhere but when Miss Mathibela fell pregnant with the twins, she shelved her plans.

She had told Miss Mathibela that she would not dump her while pregnant as she would not be able to find a new employer.

Miss Mathibela said she was faced with having to find a home for herself and her other children, a boy aged 15 and a girl aged 13 years old.

Her son and daughter are living with her sister

on a farm in Klerksdorp.

While she does not know yet how she will bring up her children without a job, she said that she hoped she would be able to spend more time with her babies at the hospital.

Mrs van Pletzen, who has been trying to get Miss Mathibela employed by the new owners of her house, said she prayed for her every day.

"I worry about Sophie, you know, the other day I said to my son 'my hart is stukkend' oor Sophie. I worry about where she is going to go to." Mrs van Pletzen said.

THE State President, Mr P W Botha, said in Parliament yesterday he had asked the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, to look into the possible release from prison of Govan Mbeki.

SA Press Association

Mr Botha also said the renunciation of violence alone would not be decisive in procuring a release from prison for long-term security prisoners.

He spelt out Government policy with regard to the release of security prisoners during the debate on his Budget vote yesterday, announcing that he had asked the Minister of Justice to look into the possible release of 76-year-old Govan Mbeki, who has been in prison for over 20 years.

### Principles

He and others would be released in terms of certain principles contained in an advisory note issued by the release advisory council advice which coincided largely with policies followed over recent years.

The principles emphasised that the policy regarding ordinary criminals and security prisoners should be the same.

"This means that the renunciation of violence, like any other single positive factor, could contribute towards a good prognosis, but is not decisive in its own right.

### Motives

"What still has to be taken into account, is among other things, the intentions of the punisher, the interests of the community and the State, the nature of the crime and its motive, the duration of the sentence, previous criminal record, the composition of the personality and approach of the person himself."

## Pick n Pay

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By TONY WEAVER

THE controversial special constables will be "reorganized and restructured", the Divisional Commissioner of Police said yesterday after a 4 000-strong protest march by Crossroads residents.

Mainly women and children were in the crowd which marched on the Office for Community Services in Nyanga and demanded the immediate curbing of a group of special constables and of former vigilante leader Mr Prince Gobingca.

The militant crowd were addressed at length by Brigadier Ronnie van der Westhuizen, who said he would "see what I can do".

Main complaint of the crowd was against former Crossroads witdoek leader Mr Gobingca, who they alleged had threatened to

# Move out the Blue Lines demand 4 000

"destroy" Crossroads.

Brigadier Van der Westhuizen confirmed to the Cape Times after the meeting he was investigating complaints against the special constables — described by him and the women as "Blue Lines" — and that "restructuring and reorganization" would take place.

Mrs Millicent Ngxobongwana, wife of Crossroads faction leader Mr Johnson

Ngxobongwana, complained to the Cape Times that "the Blue Lines are shooting the people during the night time, grabbing the money from the old ladies, they get drunk, we do not sleep during the night. Every night it is the same".

She said: "The ones from outside Crossroads are the problem, the ones who are inside are alright, they are

To page 3

From page 1

## Cape Times 1/11/87 'Blues out'

our friends. But we want our own police in Crossroads.

"There are more than 30 Blue Lines who are causing the trouble, friends of this Prince Gobingca. He is the main problem, the Blue Lines are the second problem."

Mrs Ngxobongwana addressed the crowd at length, as shouts of "pansi Gobingca, panssi" (down with Gobingca, down) echoed through the square.

Brigadier Van der Westhuizen, who was accompanied by Brigadier Roy During, Divisional Inspector of Police, told the crowd: "Tell them the only way we can act is if they get a court order against Gobingca. We will try to help from our side."

In an interview with the Cape Times after the meeting, Brigadier Van der Westhuizen said: "The people do not want Prince Gobingca in Crossroads. What can we do? We cannot protect him in Crossroads."

"They also say they have problems with the Blue Lines, the special constables. We will look into this matter. We are looking at a restructuring of the Blue Lines, but I cannot give details now on the restructuring."

Brigadier Van der Westhuizen added that "they do a very good service, we cannot just write them off. This place (Crossroads) is very peaceful, the special constables get attacked in the other areas like KTC, so they come to live here in Crossroads."

His assurances came against the backdrop of ongoing controversy surrounding the special constables — known variously as "Blue Lines", "kitskonstabels", "Blue Flies" and "Green Flies".

The Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Piet Badenhorst, confirmed in Parliament this week that 195 complaints — including those of murder, attempted murder, assault, culpable homicide, attempted rape and weapon theft — have been lodged against them since their inception.

In some other recent incidents involving the special constables, who now number over 3 000:

□ Brigadier Van der Westhuizen gave the Supreme Court an undertaking he would instruct a group of 16 special constables in Bongoletu, Oudtshoorn, to refrain from unlawfully arresting, assaulting or threatening township residents.

□ Legal Resources Centre slated by brigadier — page 5

UDF condemns govt threat to varsities

JOHANNESBURG — The United Democratic Front (UDF) has condemned "attempts by the government to blackmail universities into meekly toeing the line".

"The universities are one of the few remaining institutions which are able to reflect growing unity amongst the cross-section of South Africans against nationalist rule," the UDF's national treasurer, Mr Azhar Cachalia, said yesterday.

"Hostility on campuses against agents of the government is simply a reflection of this."

Mr Cachalia said the threat to withdraw subsidies from universities

which oppose the government is "a re-enactment of the bludgeoning tactics used against the commercial media last year".

The UDF has called on the universities to stand firm and refuse to give in to "these blackmailing tactics".

"Concessions by the universities to this blackmail today will mean total surrender to totalitarian control tomorrow, until finally all our universities become military camps, as has happened on the bush campuses where administrations have completely capitulated to government control," Mr Cachalia said. — Sapa



# Popo Molefe: from poverty to political activism

Popo Simon Molefe, general secretary of the United Democratic Front, has waited a long time to have his say.

Finally, after about 30 months as a detainee and an awaiting-trial prisoner, he was given the opportunity in Pretoria's historic Palace of Justice, where he is one of 19 accused in South Africa's biggest treason trial since the one that took place between 1956 and 1961.

Mr Molefe has testified for the past five days in Court C — the courtroom from which Nelson Mandela and seven co-members of the African National Congress were sent to jail for life in 1964.

As Molefe testified, his co-accused watched closely from the dock — the dock that nine men had sat in more than a decade ago in the two-year "black consciousness trial" of 1975/76.

The eighteen men, sitting in a long row, listened intently to Mr Molefe. One of them, Mr Mosiuo "Terror" Lekota, must have had a feeling of *deja vu*. He had sat in that dock before, as one of the accused in the 1975/76 BC trial. In the intervening years he underwent a political odyssey from the philosophy of black consciousness to that of non-racialism.

Mr Molefe, a close friend and political associate of his, had made a similar intellectual journey.

Dressed in a grey, striped suit, Mr Molefe (35), the son of a domestic servant and a manual labourer, told the court how his political convictions grew out of his life of poverty in Soweto and the turmoil of the 1976 upheaval.

He grew up with his aunt and uncle under "conditions of considerable poverty". The position was aggravated by the death of his uncle in 1960. His aunt was forced to work as a domestic and he was left in the care of her daughter.

## HARD TIMES

"I learnt to fend for myself at an early age," he told Mr Justice van Dijkhorst. He hawked peanuts and apples at railway stations, caddied at golf courses and packed and carried parcels at supermarkets.

He first went to school at 10 years old, but had to leave soon after. His family could not afford to pay for the uniforms which pupils were compelled to wear.

He returned to school, beginning again as a grade one pupil, at the age of 12. An elder brother had started to work and, in traditional fashion, was helping to pay for Mr

## Personality

### POPO MOLEFE

**Written by:  
PATRICK LAURENCE**

Molefe's schooling. They were hard times.

Two memories stood out from his school years in Soweto to the time he reached the witness box. He was often hungry, once nearly fainting while walking to school.

In 1964, he walked to school barefoot through the unseasonable snow, clad in shorts and without a jersey.

"I remember that day very well," Mr Molefe said. "It was such a terrible day that it left an indelible impression on my mind."

Another experience was etched into his mind. On route to visit his aunt at her place of employment in Westdene, a white boy saw him as an intruder and taunted him, calling him a "kaffir" and a "swartgat".

Mr Molefe recalled: "I ignored him because I was very scared. He ended up slapping me in the face. I hit back." A white woman inter-

vened, trying to assault him and threatening to report him to the police. "I felt very angry, very perturbed and I was terrified."

At school, the young Molefe was forging ahead, winning a bursary from the Rand Bursary Fund, entering high school and, in turn, using his earnings from part-time work to help two younger sisters through school.

In 1976 he began matric at 24 years old. He was head boy at Naledi High School. He had joined the South African Students' Movement and supported the spreading protest against the attempt to make compulsory instruction through the medium of Afrikaans.

## RESOLVE

In August 1976, he was detained and held for seven months. No charges were brought against him. But this did not deter him in his quest for a new society.

"It strengthened my resolve to continue opposing legislation based on apartheid," he said. Within a year of his release he was one of a group of black people who resolved to found the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) to replace the Black People's Conven-

tion, which was banned in October 1977.

In 1979 he was elected chairman of the Soweto branch of Azapo, a key post in the new black consciousness movement. His detention in August 1976 had prevented him from sitting for his matric exams that year, but it did not prevent him from matriculating later as a part-time student.

As Soweto's Azapo chairman, he was an obvious candidate for election to the Soweto Civic Association, a broad-based movement which sought to unite Sowetans of diverse ideological views. He was later elected to the association's executive, known as the Committee of 10.

In May 1981, in an important speech to the South African Council of Churches, he called for a united front in the fight against apartheid, a group that would stretch from Azapo through the ideologically disparate Soweto Civic Association to the avowedly non-racial Congress of South African Students.

The speech is critical to the defence case in the trial, serving as a reply to a central aspect of the State case: that the UDF was formed in response to a call by Mr

Oliver Tambo, ANC president, on January 8 1983.

Mr Molefe, the man who was elected general-secretary of the UDF when it was formed in August 1983, was mooting the idea of a united front long before Mr Tambo's call.

He denied the UDF was formed as part of a conspiracy with the ANC or the South African Communist Party to overthrow the Government.

## VIOLENCE

"I have never been a member of the ANC and the South African Communist Party," he said. "I have no dealings with those organisations."

He insisted the UDF was a lawful organisation using non-violent but extra-parliamentary methods, ranging from persuasion to rallies, to tip the balance of forces in the direction of a non-racial and democratic South Africa.

While he regretted the use of violence by the ANC, he was not prepared to condemn it, contending that the primary cause of violence in South Africa was apartheid in all its ramifications, from "ethnic differentiation" to deaths in detention.

# Appeal for calm



**CROSSROADS ANGER ...** Part of the crowd of almost 4 000 which marched on the Nyanga offices of the Office for Community Services yesterday to demand action against former vigilante leader Mr Prince Gobingca and a group of special constables. **ABOVE:** Brigadier Ronnie van der Westhuizen calls for quiet from the crowd as Mrs Elsie Mkhumbuzi interprets. "We will try to help from our side," he told the crowd.

Pictures: TONY WEAVER



**By TONY WEAVER**  
A STINGING attack was launched yesterday on the Legal Resources Centre by the Divisional Commissioner of Police, Brigadier Ronnie van der Westhuizen, during a meeting with some 4 000 women who marched on the Nyanga offices of the Office for Community Services.

But the LRC hit back last night and said in a statement the brigadier's comments appeared to be "confused and contain errors of fact".

Speaking to the Cape Times during the meeting with the women, Brigadier Van der Westhuizen blamed the "problems" in Crossroads on former vigilante leader Mr Prince Gobingca and the LRC.

"This is a protest which we now have to defuse.

"The Legal Resources Centre tried to get an interdict against these

## Legal Resources Centre slated by brigadier

people; Gobingca ran to the LRC and begged them for finances.

"These people want to stay here in peace, but Gobingca and the others run to the LRC. Prince Gobingca does not pay a cent, the LRC does. Where does the LRC get the money from? I don't know; I would like to know.

"The LRC and Gobingca are busy stopping the progress of these people. These people are angry because the money that they have for housing they have to use for court battles.

"This court case will

cause big problems here. These people in the crowd don't understand white man's law," said the brigadier.

An LRC spokesman said the Centre was "somewhat perturbed by the allegations and remarks attributed to Brigadier Van der Westhuizen".

"They appear to be confused and contain errors of fact. The LRC does not and has never acted for Mr Prince Gobingca."

Newspaper reports had it that Mr Gobingca obtained an interim order from the Supreme

Court against Crossroads leaders stopping them from making unlawful attacks on him.

"A private firm of attorneys acted for him."

The LRC said the brigadier appeared to have confused that case with one in which the LRC's clients are challenging the validity of the appointment of the Crossroads committee and its right to allocate sites in cleared land at Crossroads.

"We do not provide funds for legal action, and we invite Brigadier Van der Westhuizen to contact us so that we can explain to him that the function of the LRC is to provide legal representation to needy persons in deserving cases, and that we are funded by donations."

The spokesman said the LRC did not wish to comment on other remarks made by the brigadier.



Youths carry Norah Baba Toleni's coffin shoulder high. Toleni is the first emergency detainee to die in police custody.

# Thousands turn up for Baba Toleni's last journey



Young women light the way for Baba.

MORE than 2 000 people attended the funeral of veteran civil rights leader and former African National Congress member, Norah Baba Toleni in Cape Town at the weekend.

Toleni, who was born in 1919 at Ndabeni near Cape Town was buried at Langa cemetery. Speakers included members of the Congress of South African Trade Unions, the Release Mandela Campaign, the United Democratic Front and the South African Federation of Women.

Toleni, together with people like Annie Silinga and Diana Maphile, took active part in the Defiance Campaign of 1952.

Speakers praised her for her gallant role in fighting the apartheid system and the upliftment of the underprivileged.

She also took an active role in the Potato Boycott of the 1960's. She was detained several times.

When the ANC was banned in 1961 she was among those who remained in South Africa to carry on the work from within.

When she died she was a member of the United Women's Congress, the Western Cape Civic Association and the Release Mandela Campaign.

One speaker said she would best be remembered for her courageous role during the rent boycott last year when she and other women led a march to the Western Cape Development Offices.



Fedsaw women bid farewell to Baba.

**BE RESPECTED BY WOMEN!**

Now you can boost your energy vitality with the Amandla range of trusted health products. From your Chemist or Multi-shop now!

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IT KEEPS YOU ON TOP

11A

More news on Page 11



**FEDSAW RELAUNCH . . .** Part of the crowd that gathered at the Claremont Civic Centre yesterday for the re-launch of the Western Cape region of the Federation of South African Women.

Picture: RICHARD BELL

By CLARE HARPER

# Women re-launch federation

**MORE** than 1 000 people packed the Claremont Civic Centre yesterday to

re-launch the Western Cape Federation of South African Women (FEDSAW), which has been dormant since its affiliates were banned in the 1950s.

President of Fedsaw Ms Dorothy Zihlangu urged women to join the federation saying that South Africa could not be really free until the women were free.

"It won't help us to sit in sorrow thinking nothing can be done — we must unite and go forward, alongside the menfolk," she said.

The regional chairman of the United

Democratic Front, Mr Dullah Omar, said the federation was not engaged in a struggle against men, but "against the system that creates this kind of exploitation".

He described the federation as being akin to a ship launched in rough seas which should join up to form one fleet (with other organizations) to cross the seas and come into the land of freedom together.

He said the media curbs had failed to make people think the way the government wanted them to — "let us remember Fed-

saw was launched in the state of emergency," he said.

Organizations affiliated to Fedsaw include the United Women's Congress, the Athlone Women's Organization, Rape Crisis, and several women's organizations in the Southern Cape, West Coast and Boland.

Busloads of people, mainly women, travelled from all over the region to attend the launch, as well as leaders and representatives of Women for Peace, the Black Sash, the National Education Crisis Committee, and the SA Domestic Workers' Union.

~~SA~~ Press 9/8/87

11A

# Impassioned plea for ANC trialists

THE trial of 13 African National Congress activists and sympathisers was "tragic", defence counsel told the Cape Town Supreme Court because they were not criminals, but "people of integrity, intelligence and principle".

Denis Kuy, SC, leader of the defence team, was addressing the court in mitigation of sentence in what he described as "perhaps the most critical stage of a long, difficult and at times painful trial".

He said sentencing was always a difficult task for a judge, but was an "awesome" task in this case, not only because it involved "matters very fundamental to our country and the present political strife", but because the accused were "not criminals in the usual sense of the world".

"Each one of the accused is a person of some quality.

"And that's what makes this trial such a tragic one and your task such a difficult one."

Kuy said the 13 were not asking the court for mercy, but were asking for the court's understanding of the considerations and concerns at work in their decision to act as they did.

They had not raped, stolen or killed.

When considering the interests of society, Kuy said, one had to look at the society in which the accused lived.

"I venture to suggest that there are many people in this society who would not look as harshly or unkindly on their acts as white society would, and that's the society that has to be considered," he said.

At the start of the proceedings, Judge HC Nel and his assessors took the unusual step of entering court before the accused.

After the 13 came up from the cells, the judge warned family and friends in the public gallery that they would not be allowed into court if they repeated their "tendency to create disturbances when the court adjourns or when the accused are brought up from the cells".

The trial continues - Sapa.

# Divided they stand

9/8/87 ~~2018~~ S/Times

11A

THE Progressive Federal Party caucus this week papered over cracks that opened on the Dakar visit to the ANC — but the strains that led to the split still seethed below the surface.

By LESTER VENTER  
Political Correspondent

Three senior party members apologised to their leader, Mr Colin Eglin, for not giving him and the caucus more timeous and ade-

quate information about the trip before leaving.

They were Mr Peter Gastrow, MP for Durban Central and the party's youthful national chairman, Mr Pierre Cronje, MP for

Greytown, and Mr Pieter Schoeman, a President's Council member. Their apologies were released to the media.

The outcome of the affair that highlighted deep divisions within the party was seen as a victory for its conservative faction.

And although the Dakar differences are now ostensibly settled, the questions and tensions that were revealed continue to gnaw at the fundamentals of the party's existence.

Some party sources are not ruling out the likelihood that the party could in future split over its internal differences.

On Thursday, party cohesion will be tested anew when the PFP faces the full brunt of Government attack in the Parliamentary debate on the State President's vote. Mr P W Botha will himself lead the assault.

The Dakar incident — ostensibly a procedural technicality — has illustrated the rise of a conservative, pragmatic faction in the party. Until now a group of idealistic, liberal purists were seen to hold the sway.

The idealists were responsive to a swell of opinion, mainly among party rank-and-file youth, that Parliament governed without the legitimising assent of the majority of the population. It should, on those grounds, leave the institution, they said.

### Demoralised

Or at least the party should not pander to the prejudices of the electorate and should spell out its ideals, such as on universal franchise, unequivocally.

This faction peaked immediately after the May 6 election, as the badly demoralised party assessed its losses

## Faction cracks show in PFP's Dakar dilemma



PETER GASTROW  
A party idealist



COLIN EGLIN  
Man in the middle



the day before the expedition's leader, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, returned to South Africa.

The idealists are identified with Claremont MP Mr Jan van Eck, and include Mr Cronje, Mr Gastrow, Mr Tian van der Merwe (Greenpoint) and Mr Jan van Gend (Groote Schuur).

The pragmatists are associated with Mr Harry Schwarz, MP for Yeoville, Dr Marius Barnard (Parktown), Mr Ray Swart (Berea) and Prof Nic Olivier (nominated).

A large group straddle both strains of thought and gather around Mr Eglin.

The existence of the two factions arises from what the party's analysts call its "dual constituency" ... and illustrate the dilemma of promoting liberal thought in South Africa.

The PFP's dual constituency consists of the largely conservative white voters on the one hand, and black and extra-Parliamentary politics on the other.

### Opposed

Years of the terror war of the ANC, and the propaganda war that has been mounted as part of the Government's counter-assault, have created a voting population vigorously opposed to the ANC and anything associated with it.

Yet a serious political group cannot move very far in black politics without bumping into the United Democratic Front, the ANC itself, or schools of thought sympathetic to it.

The PFP's principles commit it to working for a reconciliation of the two aspects of the dual constituency.

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a step-up rear bumper; and a load - compensating braking

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9/8/87 ~~30/8~~ S/Times

11A

By LESTER VENTER  
Political Correspondent

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Or at least the party should not pander to the prejudices of the electorate and should spell out its ideals, such as on universal franchise, unequivocally.

This faction peaked immediately after the May 6 election, as the badly demoralised party assessed its losses to the National Party.

However, this period also saw the pragmatists gathering muscle. They argue there is no point being in politics if one is not going enter the market for votes.

They point to the successes of the Independents, who stood on very much the same principles as the PFP — but played their rhetoric much closer to the Nats and were much more successful in drawing disenchanted and

## Faction cracks show in PFP's Dakar dilemma



PETER GASTROW  
A party idealist



COLIN EGLIN  
Man in the middle



HARRY SCHWARZ  
Conservative leanings

doubtful Nat voters. The latter is the key to electoral success for any opposition party.

In this respect the pragmatists saw the Dakar talks as harmful to the party's image, particularly in the wake of the Johannesburg bomb blast

the day before the expedition's leader, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, returned to South Africa.

The idealists are identified with Claremont MP Mr Jan van Eck, and include Mr Cronje, Mr Gastrow, Mr Tian van der Merwe (Greenpoint) and Mr Jan van Gend (Grootte Schuur).

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Yet a serious political group cannot move very far in black politics without bumping into the United Democratic Front, the ANC itself, or schools of thought sympathetic to it.

The PFP's principles commit it to working for a reconciliation of the two aspects of its dual constituency.

While in Parliament it runs an Unrest Monitoring Action Committee, headed by Mr van Eck, and a programme called Outreach, aimed at establishing contact with communities outside the Parliamentary orbit.

Some PFP members, many observers, and thousands of voters believe the party is, in a polarised society, trying to mix fire and water.

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By ADRIAN CROFT

JOHANNESBURG. — A secret and increasingly ruthless war over apartheid appears to be spreading from South Africa's townships to neighbouring states and even Europe.

The past few years have seen a sharp rise in murders of anti-apartheid activists in South Africa's strife-torn townships. Now exiled government opponents are finding they are not safe in neighbouring Swaziland or even in London.

The killings have prompted fears among some South Africans that the region could degenerate into a hunting ground for death squads, similar to Argentina under military rule in the 1970s.

At the same time, African National Congress terrorists have stepped up bombings aimed at ending white domination and radicals wreak terrible vengeance on blacks seen as collaborators with the authorities.

Political scientist Mr Tom Lodge said there was not the same disregard for the law in South Africa as once prevailed in Argentina but political killings were occurring at an alarming rate.

Last month two black men and a woman were shot dead in Swaziland by unknown gunmen who trailed them from the airport. They were Mr Cassius Make, a member of the ANC's national executive, and Mr Peter Motau, another ANC official.

Eleven ANC members have been killed in Swaziland this year, according to South Africa's Institute for Strategic Studies.

The Swazi Prime Minister, Mr Sotsha Dlamini, condemned what he called "the blatant violation of the kingdom's territorial integrity and the use by foreign sources of Swaziland as a slaughter-ground for their political opponents".

South Africa has rejected charges of complicity.

# Ruthless, silent war on anti-apartheid activists

CR6 Times 10/8/87



Mr Eric Mntonga ... died in mysterious circumstances.

After Mozambique accused South African commandos of killing three people in raids on ANC targets in Maputo last May, the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, said: "As elsewhere in neighbouring countries, there are factions of the ANC terrorist organization in Maputo that ... do not hesitate to eliminate by violent means members with whom they do not agree."

South Africa has acknowledged other strikes, such as commando raids on alleged ANC bases in the Zambian border town of Livingstone last April in which four people died.

ANC officials in London say they are gravely concerned for their safety after four men were charged with plotting to kidnap ANC leaders in Britain. One of the accused is a former officer in the Rhodesian and South African armed forces.

Another case involving the alleged kidnapping of an ANC official is under way in the South African town of Piet Retief.

Mr Ebrahim Ebrahim, in police custody in Pretoria, alleges that he was abducted from Swaziland by South African agents. His lawyers argue that South African courts have no jurisdiction to try him, since he was unlawfully arrested.

The latest anti-apartheid activist to die in mysterious circumstances inside South Africa was Mr Eric Mntonga, an official of a group which arranged talks between Afrikaners and the exiled ANC in West Africa last month

Mr Mntonga's body was found in a car in the Eastern Cape last month with his hands and feet bound. Investigations showed he had been tortured to death.

Mr Nthato Motlana, a community leader in Soweto, said attacks on political activists both in and outside the country were not new. But killings had intensified recently. Police had a good record in solving crime, yet murders of activists often went unsolved, he said.

Scores of activists have been killed in South Africa since political violence began sweeping the townships in 1984.

Anti-apartheid groups have blamed many of the deaths on rival black political groups or conservative "vigilantes".

The best-known victims included Mr Matthew Goniwe and three other officials of the United Democratic Front who were found stabbed, shot and burned to death in the Eastern Cape in 1985.

Others were civil rights lawyer Mrs Victoria Mxenge, shot dead at her Durban home in August 1985, and Dr Fabian Ribeiro, known as the "People's Doctor", gunned down last December near Pretoria.

On the other side of the apartheid war are the hundreds of black councillors, policemen and others killed over the past three years by radicals who regard them as "sell-outs", and the hundreds of people killed and wounded by guerilla bombs. — Sapa-Reuter

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**STRONG WOMEN IN AFRICA** ... Part of the singing, dancing, crowd of 700 at the National Women's Day rally at the Samaj Centre in Athlone yesterday

Picture: ANNE LAING

## Women's day rally

*Cape Times 10/8/87 114*

By PETER DENNEHY

ABOUT 700 people, mostly women, crowded into the Samaj Centre yesterday to celebrate National Women's Day on the 31st anniversary of the Pretoria anti-pass law protest march by 20 000 women.

The rally, organized by the United Women's Congress, was chaired by Ms Hilda Ndude, press secretary of the Western Cape Region of the United Democratic Front.

One of the speakers, Western Cape UDF chairman Mr Dullah Omar, issued a call to organize.

"Every single one of us, no matter how old or young, must find ourselves in an organization of the people," he said.

"We believe we must build up our organizations, civics, youth, students,

and women's organisations and — most important of all — our trade unions."

A unnamed woman worker from the Spekenam factory in Bellville said that on Thursday evening strikers were beaten out of the factory grounds, then beaten back again to take off their factory clothes.

"I want you to help us," she said. "The bosses don't know how strong we are."

All the speeches were translated into Xhosa, and the striking woman's elderly interpreter said she had been involved in "the first strike at Spekenam in the '50s".

Mrs Ivy Kriel, mother of ANC guerilla Ashley Kriel, thanked the women for their support when her only son was killed.

"We must stand together with our children," she said.



Mr Eric Mntonga's widow, Fikiswa, their three-year-old son, Zwelakhe, and Mrs Mntonga's mother, Mrs N. Bukani, at Saturday's funeral.

Picture by Gary Horlor

D.D. 10/8/87  
 4 000 attend Mntonga funeral

**Dispatch Reporter**

**MDANTSANE** — About 4 000 people attended the funeral of the Border co-director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa), Mr Eric Mntonga, here on Saturday.

The service, which was held on a sports field close to the Mntonga home in NU 12, was attended by the co-founders of Idasa, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert and Dr Alex Boraine, members of the United Democratic Front and the Congress of South African Trade

Unions, and representatives from the South African Council of Churches, sporting bodies and women's organisations.

Mr Mntonga's coffin was draped with the colours of the ANC and an ANC flag flew from a make-shift pavillion.

Ciskei plainclothes security police and soldiers carrying teargas masks and automatic rifles monitored proceedings from a distance in unmarked cars, a troop carrier and police vans.

No incidents were reported.

A number of messages of condolence were read out during the service. Among the names and organisations mentioned were Miss Barbara Hogan, currently serving a prison sentence for treason, the End Conscription Campaign, the South African Soccer Federation, the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the Border Council of Sport.

Mr Mntonga, 35, a UDF activist, trade unionist and sports administrator, was murdered near Tamara in Ciskei, two weeks ago.

Police are investigating the murder and no arrests have been made.

All ten speakers blamed rightwing elements and the proponents of apartheid, for Mr Mntonga's death.

He was a peace-loving man who was prepared to lay down his life for democracy, non-racialism, justice and equality, speakers said.

They called for unity to fight apartheid and for the fight for freedom to be continued.

More reports and pictures, page 3.

# Women recall march

THE Delegation of Transvaal Women will celebrate National Women's Day on Sunday — the day that marks the 31st anniversary of the march to Pretoria by 20 000 Fedsaw women in protest against passes for women.

Fedtraw will remember — with music, poetry, dance, art and photographic exhibition — August 9, 1956, when Fedsaw members led by their national president, Lilian Ngoyi, gathered at the Union Buildings in Pretoria carrying a petition denouncing the extension of passes to African women.

Mrs Ngoyi was later the same year arrested with many others for treason, and was on trial for all the four years that the trial ran.

In the last two years of the trial she was the only African woman among the accused. Her life of imprisonment, restrictions and bannings ended in March, 1980 when she died.

Fedsaw was decimated during the 1960s security

## SOWETAN CORRESPONDENT

crackdown and was revived in 1984. It has regained a national organisational structure and has five regions.

"We urge all women to come to the celebration since this day is particularly significant to them," says Mrs Ohara Diseko, a Fedtraw administrator.

"It is because of the laws of the country that women find themselves in an oppressed position and it is from events like this historical protest march by Fedsaw women that they should find the strength to forge on with their struggle," she said.

The celebrations will be held at the Witwatersrand University Arcade from 10am to 5pm.

# Mourners pay last tribute to Eric Mntongga

Dispatch Reporter

**MDANTSANE** — The murder of the Border co-director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa), Mr Eric Mntongga, was an "evil" and "cruel" deed, the co-founders of Idasa, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert and Dr Alex Boraine, said here on Saturday.

Dr Slabbert and Dr Boraine were greeted with clenched fist salutes and cries of "viva" at the funeral of Mr Mntongga, who was murdered in Ciskei two weeks ago.

Dr Boraine described Mr Mntongga as "a strong man, a man of courage".

"Those who killed him are cruel men who must be brought to justice and made to pay for this deed."

Dr Boraine said Idasa believed apartheid could not be reformed but had to be destroyed.

"We believe the land belongs to all and that all people are entitled to full citizenship before the law, and that the people will govern."

"Blacks don't need to be told about hardship. Whites must be led from the land of oppression to the land of freedom."

"We'll go to the people and persuade them that South Africa must change and that can't wait."

"We must also listen to the people outside, and that's why we went to Dakar because there will be no solution without the ANC."

Dr Boraine said even if Idasa was told it was wrong to hold talks with the ANC and that it was a traitor, it would continue to do so to bring peace to South Africa.

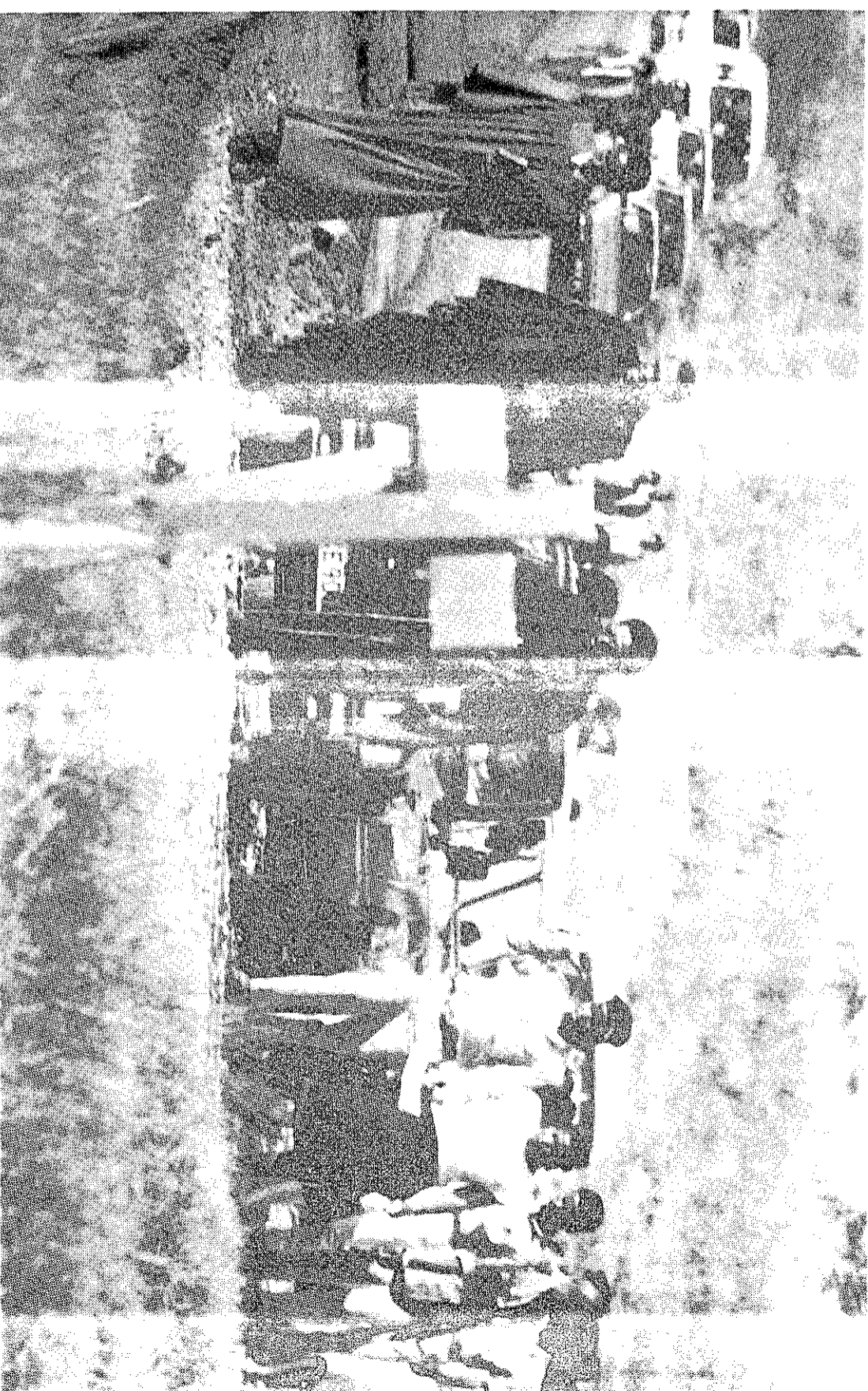
Dr Slabbert said he felt "a deep revulsion and horror at the brutal murder of our comrade, Eric".

"I appeal to all who can help to expose the evil elements responsible for this."

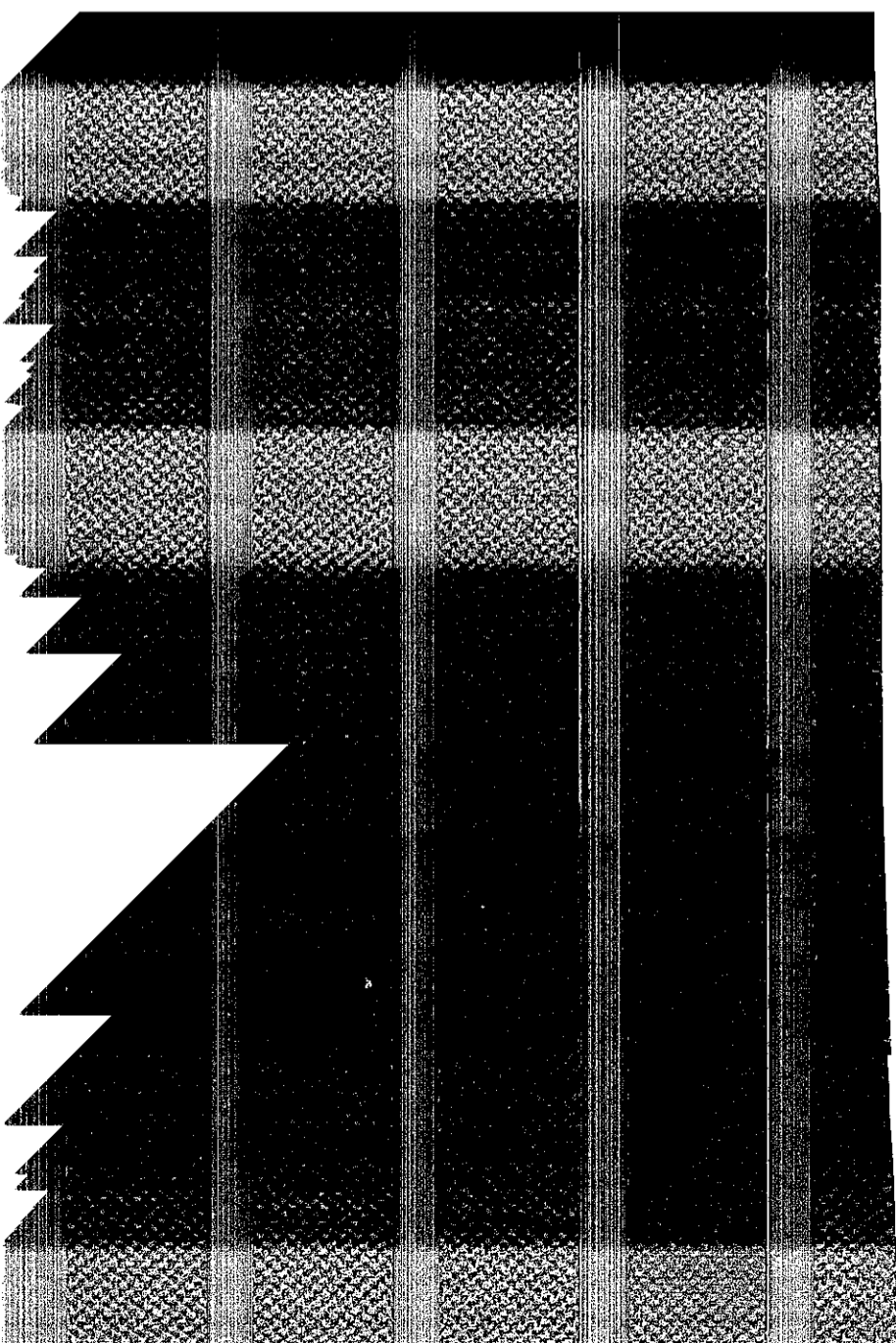
Dr Slabbert said what Idasa was trying to do was "a small drop to bring freedom to this land".

"Eric was prepared to take that drop."

Dr Slabbert said white Idasa members also faced threats from their communities "but it only encourages us to fight more for democracy in South Africa."



About 4 000 people attended the funeral of Boraine's co-director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa, Mr Eric Mntongga, who was murdered in Ciskei last month.



# Gqweta calls on whites to declare war on apartheid

**Dispatch Reporter**  
**MDANTSANE** — A former president of the South African Allied Workers' Union (Saawu), Mr Thozamile Gqweta, has called on whites to declare war on apartheid.

Mr Gqweta was speaking at the funeral of the Border co-director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa), Mr Eric Mntonga, who was also a close friend.

"I call on whites to stop resisting change and stop swimming away from change. Whites must declare war on apartheid so that people can live in peace and justice," he said.

Mr Gqweta said many

prominent opponents of apartheid had died at the hands of "rightwing murderers" yet no arrests had been made.

Another close friend of Mr Mntonga, Mr Hintsa Siwisa, said: "Ours is not a struggle about the colour of the skin but for justice, peace and democracy."

"We are living in a time that is calling for peace, justice, and human dignity."

"Equality for all should reign supreme, and Eric was prepared to lay down his life for this," Mr Siwisa said.

The Reverend A. M. Bottoman, of the Presbyterian Church of Africa, said Mr Mntonga had been killed for no

reason but envy. The struggle for equality had been his life.

The Border regional director of the United Democratic Front, Mr L George, said the government had shown no readiness to talk to the real leaders.

Mr Mntonga's murder was a crime against humanity because he was spreading democracy.

The co-founders of Idasa, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert and Dr Alex Boraine, with Mr Michael Mhikina of the Mdantsane Residents' Association at the funeral.



The Reverend Wesley Mabusa, of the South African Council of Churches, said fear was the best weapon of any oppressor "but you can't stop the spirit of a man or woman especially when they're thirsty for freedom."

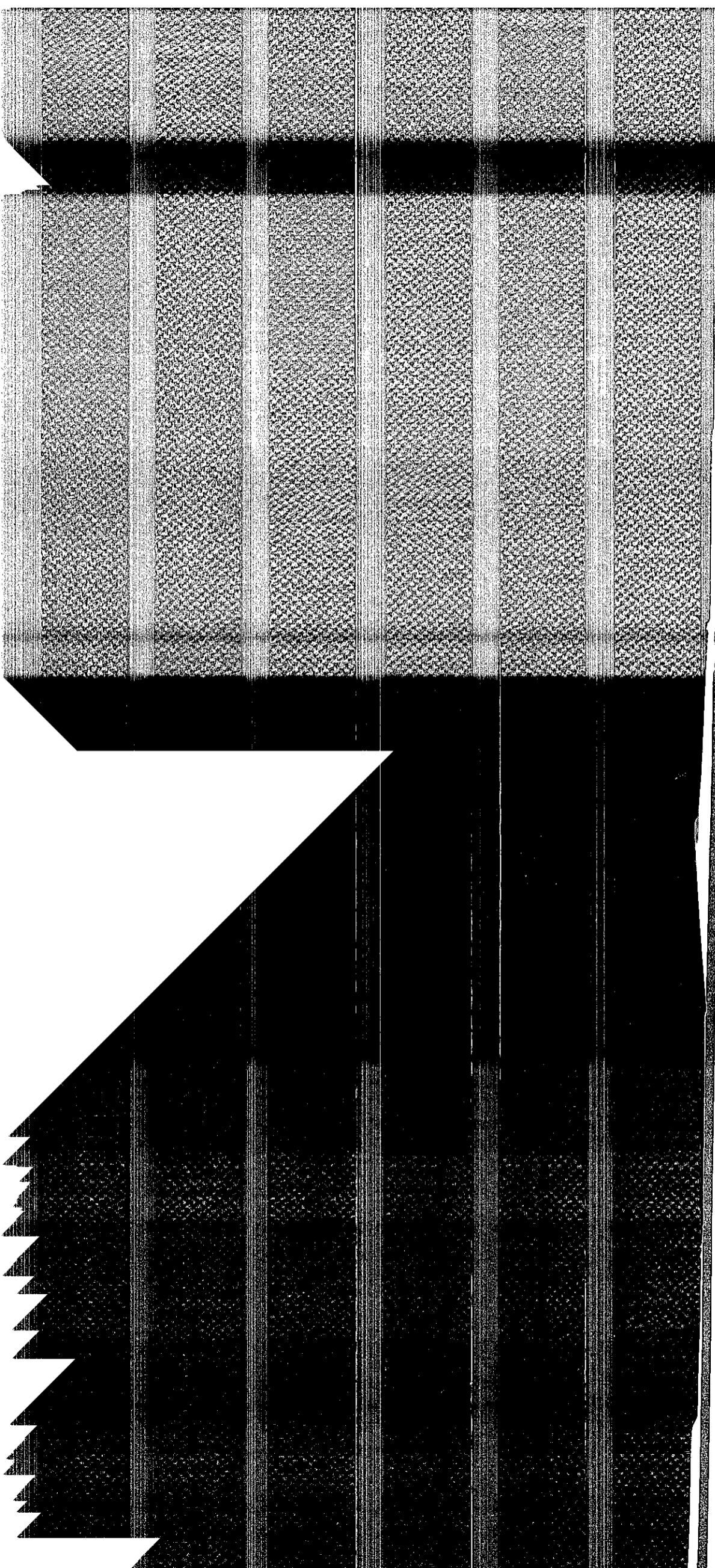
A representative of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), M. Zulu

Mpahlela, called for unity among all organisations to fight apartheid.

Representatives of the Natal Women's Organisation, the Mdantsane Residents' Association, the South African Soccer Federation, the Border Youth Congress and the Gomo Women's Congress also addressed the service.



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# 6 000 at <sup>CMB</sup> <sup>Torvis</sup> Mntonga <sup>10/8/87</sup> funeral

EAST LONDON. — About 6 000 people from all over South Africa attended Mr Eric Mntonga's funeral in Mdantsane at the weekend.

Mr Mntonga, 35, a co-director for the Institute for Democratic Alternatives for South Africa (Idasa) and former member of the United Democratic Front, was found murdered on a remote road near King William's Town a fortnight ago. Police have not arrested any suspects in the murder, which followed warnings of revenge by opponents of dialogue with the ANC.

Also at the funeral were national Idasa co-directors Dr Van Zyl Slabbert and Dr Alex Boraine.

Addressing the funeral service at a schoolground, where Mr Mntonga's coffin was draped with the ANC flag, the Rev A M Bottoman of the Presbyterian Church of Africa strongly condemned the failure of the authorities to apprehend Mr Mntonga's killers.

He said Mr Mntonga was one of the leaders who had met an untimely death because of "the system". He added: "The struggle was his life."

Dr Slabbert and Dr Boraine were greeted with clenched fist salutes and cries of "Viva".

Dr Slabbert said he felt a "deep revulsion and horror at the brutal murder of our comrade Eric".

Dr Boraine described Mr Mntonga as "a strong man, a man of courage".

"He was a big man, not just physically, but in mind and spirit. Those who killed him are cruel men who must be brought to justice and pay for their deed," he said.

Dr Boraine said Idasa believed apartheid could not be reformed but had to be destroyed.

"We believe the land belongs to all and that all people are entitled to full citizenship before the law, and that the people will govern.

"Blacks don't need to be told about hardship. Whites must be led from the land of oppression to the land of freedom."

Ciskei police stood by but did not intervene in the funeral, which was peaceful.



Dr Slabbert

## Funeral tributes to murdered Idasa official

The Argus Correspondent  
EAST LONDON. — More than 2 000 mourners attended the funeral here of Mr Eric Mntonga, the co-director of the Border branch of Idasa.

Mr Mntonga was murdered under mysterious circumstances two weeks ago. His killers have not been found.

Speakers for Idasa (the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa) paid tribute to Mr Mntonga, a former South African Allied Workers Union official.

Representatives of the South African Council of Churches, Cosatu and United Democratic Front-affiliated organisations condemned his murder as well as the killing of other activists in the Eastern Cape.

Idasa co-founders Dr Frederick van Zyl Slabbert and Dr Alex Boraine said the insti-

tute would continue to strive towards a non-racial democratic South Africa.

"What Idasa tries to do is a very small drop in the ocean of the struggle for freedom and justice," said Dr Slabbert.

"Eric Mntonga was prepared to take that drop and make it part of the ocean."

Referring to threats to other Idasa members, Dr Slabbert said: "That only encourages us to continue to struggle for a democracy."

Dr Boraine said: "Idasa will do all it can to ensure his blood will not be wasted."

The many messages of support and condolence read out at the funeral on Saturday included one from the SA Congress of Trade Unions (Sactu) and one from imprisoned African National Congress member Barbara Hogan.

Cape Times 10/8/87 (SOPA) (11A)

## Support for PFP Dakar trio

PORT ELIZABETH. — The Young Progressives National Congress has expressed its "unequivocal" support for the Progressive Federal Party members who attended the talks in Dakar with the African National Congress.

A resolution passed unanimously by the Congress over the weekend read: "This congress supports all initiatives towards negotiation between all groups working for an end to apartheid and unequivocally supports those PFP members who recently went to Dakar."

The congress also expressed dismay at the dismissal of the editor of the Cape Times, Mr Anthony Heard: "In times of wide-spread press censorship, Mr Heard has done all he can in his power to educate and inform white South Africans. All South Africans would suffer this loss," the resolution said.



# ANC can't cater for all — Stoffel

*CATL Times 10/8/87*

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Political Correspondent

THE ANC, "with its quaintly un-African socialist philosophies", cannot hope to accommodate the various aspirations of all the groups in South Africa, according to the Deputy Minister of Information and Constitutional Planning, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe.

However, Mr Van der Merwe, the government's chief negotiator with blacks, said that the banned organization was highly regarded by a large number of black people in South Africa.

## Violent revolution

Writing in the Sunday Times yesterday, Dr Van der Merwe said that "one scientific study after another shows that yes, a large number (but not the majority) of black people hold the ANC in high symbolic esteem; but no, up to 80% of black people see no future in their declared policies of violent revolution or state socialism".

"The ANC certainly has its supporters, but so do many other black leaders and organizations."

"It makes no sense to try to cohabit with people who deal in violence if the aim which one pursues is democracy — a system which is essentially based upon the assumption of the peaceful settlement of political disputes."

"If we simply exchanged one form of domination for another form of domination we would have gained very little, if anything."

"If we can develop a society in which a variety of groups can live together without any group or any significant number of individuals experiencing it as an oppressive system, then that would be progress."

# Salima to Dakar: will history be repeated?

Salima to Dakar is a long journey. The period 1956 to 1987 is equally a long journey in time.

Two men made those journeys — a wartime hero, Colonel David Stirling, and Dr Van Zyl Slabbert. Colonel Stirling formed the Capricorn Africa Society in 1949 in the early, difficult years before the formation of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland and organised a conference on the shores of Lake Nyasa near Salima in June 1956. Dr Van Zyl Slabbert helped organise the now well-known conference at Dakar in July 1987.

Both men had the same objective — to try to reconcile warring political elements and to produce a non-racial society, Stirling in the Federation, Van Zyl Slabbert in South Africa. Both could be termed "white liberals," both applied an almost messianic spirit to their negotiations.

## Concept disappeared

Stirling failed and the Federation split up. Northern Rhodesia, now Zambia, became a one-party state. Nyasaland, now Malawi, a benevolent autocracy under the chief opponent of the Federation, Dr Hastings Banda and Southern Rhodesia, now Zimbabwe, underwent great trauma as finally white rule, after a bloody civil war, gave way to the Marxist-Leninist model practised by Prime Minister Robert Mugabe. The concept of multiracialism preached by Stirling disappeared.

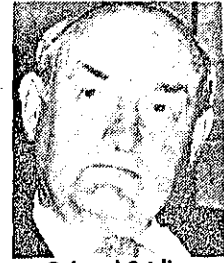
Stirling made a bid for unification of the three Central African territories with the East African countries, Zanzibar and Northern Bechuanaland, in 1951.

He argued the territories were open to communist subversion and extreme African nationalism and Southern Rhodesia was in danger of absorption by South Africa.

He wrote to leading British Conservatives and toured Central and East Africa and Britain urging support for a conference of settlers from British colonies south of the Sahara to be held in Salisbury before the projected reconvened conference on the Central African Federation in Salisbury which was finally held at



Dr Slabbert



Colonel Stirling

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Similarities between two peace conferences held in Africa three decades apart are examined by Dr Alan A Cooper.

Lancaster House, London, in April 1952.

The irrepressible Stirling found allies with Sir Roy Welensky and Sir Godfrey Huggins who were concerned about the growing opposition to Federation in Southern Rhodesia and strident attacks by African nationalist leaders. They were later to withdraw their support.

In April 1953, the British Parliament approved the Federation which became constituted on August 1 in an uneasy birth

In the liberal euphoria that followed, the Capricorn Africa Society began recruiting Southern Rhodesian African members in an intensive drive. It remained firm to its stated declaration not to descend into the arena of politics but to operate by influencing leaders of all parties and all races towards the idea of a common Federal citizenship. This apparently, persuaded many Africans to join.

Now at his peak, Stirling organised a multiracial congress of delegates at Salima in Nyasaland in June 1956. The writer attended as a journalist.

On the shores of Lake Nyasa, a bamboo-hut village had been built with sleeping, eating and conference facilities for several hundred delegates. Among those attending could be found delegates of all races and of all political persuasions, including churchmen and African National Congressmen. All met in an atmosphere of partnership, speeches were full of brotherly sentiment.

At the end, delegates signed a contract outlining the high-minded principles of Capricorn policy. These included proposals for a qualitative franchise based on the multiple vote,

land reforms to give the African more ownership and hence more qualifications to obtain a vote, multiracial trade unions and more expenditure on African education.

But the Capricorn contract did not approve of universal suffrage and African support for it dwindled. The society's association with and support for the Federation finally ended its attraction for the African moderates and brought bitter attacks from the African Nationalist Congress parties. Soon the Capricorn Contract, an attempt at a liberal interracial consensus in Central Africa, was forgotten and the Salima negotiations condemned as the final rounds leading to the break-up of the Central African Federation began.

There would seem some similarities between the talks at Dakar and Salima. The actors were different, the political pressures different. But will the outcome of the Dakar talks be the same as the failure of the Salima talks? Will history repeat itself?

● The writer lectures in politics at the University of Bophuthatswana.

There are many pernicious words in the modern vocabulary of revolution, but the most cynical and mendacious by far is liberation. Emphatically, no political elite that has based its programme and popular appeal on this word (and its corollary "liberation struggle") has liberated anyone except itself.

The people of Nicaragua, Mozambique, Angola, Ethiopia and a host of other earthly paradises are no freer, and in most cases, considerably less so than they were under the regimes overthrown, however justly, in their name. Their leaders, on the other hand, enjoy a vast new array of choices, including what brand of luxury car to own, which palace to occupy and what miseries to inflict upon their new subjects.

It does not have to be so. What these elites fail to appreciate (or in many cases perhaps appreciate only too well) is the extraordinary capacity of people to liberate themselves. Indeed, it is because of that capacity that most undemocratic regimes (left or right, it hardly matters) feel the need to protect themselves with a rigid panoply of state control and elephantine bureaucracy.

The inherent drive of ordinary people to maximise their economic and political choices and to obtain better lives for themselves and their

children has attracted scant attention as a discrete phenomenon. It is, by definition, a vulgar subject (from the Latin "vulgus", a crowd), and its implications contradict too many cherished theories of political order, theories for the most part dreamed up by self-serving elites.

The gap is in the process of being corrected by Hernando de Soto, whose book *The Other Path* (El Otro Sendero) should be compulsory reading in South Africa as soon as it is translated into English. If the introduction, written by Peruvian novelist Mario Vargas Llosa and published recently in the *New York Times*, is any indication, it is a work of seminal importance.

De Soto's ideas began to gel in the seventies while he was working in Geneva as managing director of an international construction company. Returning regularly to his native Peru, he was struck by the almost organic evolution of communities along the road from Lima airport to his hotel. Over the years, what had started out as primitive, poverty-stricken shantytowns were rapidly transforming themselves into settled neighbourhoods of brick and mortar, bustling with cars, shops and small industries.

This growth was remarkable on two counts. First, the population had not changed: the

# Liberation does not always mean freedom

same people who five or six years earlier had been living in straw huts with nothing were now occupying solid houses under thickets of television aerials. Second, the state had not only provided no assistance whatsoever, it considered the community entirely illegal.

"It was obvious that in those slums there was industrial activity, a productive action going on," De Soto told Llosa. "That illegal world showed enormous energy. More than once I said to myself, if I find out what these informal markets do and what they represent, I may be able to understand once and for all what underdevelopment really is."

De Soto left his job and in 1980 established the Institute for Liberty and Democracy (ILD) to find out what was going on along the airport road and in hundreds of other similar places both in Peru and abroad. The results are contained in his book, whose title is a play on

the name of the local Marxist-Leninist guerrilla organisation, "The Shining Path".

Llosa writes: "Whenever people talk about the black market, they define it as a problem: clandestine, unregistered companies and industries that pay no taxes, that compete unfairly with law-abiding, tax-paying companies and industries. Black people, deprive the state of funds it might use to remedy social problems and strengthen the structure of society."

"But the real problem, as De Soto found in case after case, is the state, whose byzantine legal system seems designed to favour those already favoured and to punish the rest by making them permanent outlaws. The informal market is actually the solution to the problem: the spontaneous and creative response of the impoverished masses to the state's inability to satisfy their basic needs."

Perry's authoritarian regime may not practice apartheid in the racial sense, but in economic and political terms it comes quite close. De Soto estimates there are some 500 000 laws and regulations governing the daily social and economic life of every citizen. Only one per cent of the rules come from the parliament, the rest are edicts issued by the president and government departments.

The effect is that legitimate or state sanctioned business is possible only for a tiny elite minority with sufficient connections and capital. The rest are simply cut out of the action, condemned to poverty but for their own inventiveness and resilience.

To demonstrate this, De Soto had his institute attempt to set up a small sewing shop by the legal way, paying bribes only where absolutely necessary. Acquiring the necessary licence took a staff of four 249 days and set them back

Getting permission to build a house was an even more daunting task, ILD discovered. One group of families seeking government clearance to build on a vacant lot had to spend six years and 11 months petitioning the labyrinthine bureaucracy. It cost six years' minimum salary.

For all this, millions of ordinary Peruvians refuse to be fazed, going about business on a scale that makes the ruling elite and its doctrines virtually irrelevant, and setting themselves free in a manner galling not only the government but to its radical opposition.

In Lima, 439 000 people, well over half the population, depend for their livelihoods on the informal sector — 95 per cent of bus services are run by the black market which also accounts for 83 per cent of retail sales. The illegal economy has invested more than \$1 billion in vehicles and vehicle maintenance.

Most striking of all is housing. Between 1960 and 1984, the state spent \$173.6 million on low income homes. Over the same period, black market entrepreneurs are estimated by IDL to have erected houses valued at \$8.3 billion, nearly 50 times equivalent government expenditure.

This is a kind of popular revolution not mentioned in the text books, a between-the-intersices, almost unconscious revolution of a majority unlikely to benefit or be heard whatever the ideological favour of it rulers.

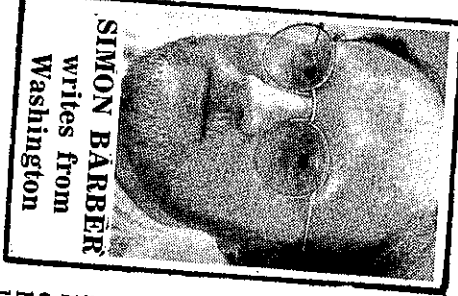
De Soto describes the system under attack as "mercantilist" and he might as well be describing South Africa, both as it now is and as the ANC would likely end up making it. "Mercantilism," explains Llosa, "means a bureaucratized state that favours redistribution of wealth over the production of wealth. Redistribution, which is supposed to mean the taking of money from the elite to give to the poor, actually involves the concession of monopolies or favoured status

to the elite, who depend on the good graces of the state, which is in turn dependent on the elite. "The names of those favoured individuals or groups (what De Soto calls redistributive coalitions) change with each new government but the system is always the same... the system not only condemns a society to economic impotence and stagnation but also imposes a cumscribed relationship between citizens and the state that diminishes the possibility of democratic politics."

De Soto is having some success in pushing his ideas in Peru. His hope is to persuade the state voluntarily to break the mercantilist cycle by incorporating the energy and exuberance of the informal sector into the formal economy. To do this, the state will have to surrender much of its power, but Perez seems cautiously interested.

Earlier this year, Llosa reports, IDL submitted a petition asking for changes in Lima's housing laws that would allow people living on illegally developed land — in effect squatters — to be given title within two years. Garcia agreed.

When will the South African government come to its senses and start accepting similar reforms?



**SIMON BARBER**  
writes from  
Washington

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# Probe into minister's suspension

*[Handwritten signature]*

Religion Reporter

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The Gereformeerde Kerk circuit in the Pretoria area is investigating the case of the Rev Theuns Eloff — who went on the controversial Dakar trip — after an announcement on Sunday that the minister had been suspended.

His co-minister in Brooklyn, Dr Michiel Venter, would not be drawn today on whether Mr Eloff was still under suspension.

## RAISED AT CIRCUIT MEETING

*SA Stan*

Dr Venter said the matter was still in its early stages of investigation. He confirmed that it was raised at a circuit meeting last night but said the issue had not been finalised.

Two objections were lodged with the Brooklyn con-

gregation's church council when it became known that Mr Eloff, who is also the chairman of the Reformatioal Movement of South Africa, had gone on the Dakar trip as a delegate for consultations with the African National Congress.

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He attended the meeting in his personal capacity.

On Sunday it was announced from the pulpit that he had been temporarily suspended — but it was later determined that a full investigation was necessary and "guilt" had to be determined before a minister could be suspended.

Mr Eloff is presently "on study leave" and all attempts to reach him were unsuccessful.

Mr Eloff was one of the Dakar delegates who received abusive phone calls on his return.

119

## UDF executives detained

PORT ELIZABETH — The government's latest list of detainees shows that almost the whole Eastern Cape executive of the United Democratic Front (UDF) is in detention under the state of emergency.

The list of 1363 names, which also features a number of prominent trade unionists and civic leaders, was tabled in Parliament last week by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok.

Many were detained

soon after the emergency was declared nearly 14 months ago and the UDF's Port Elizabeth regional offices were closed soon afterwards.

Some of the names of prominent leaders included on the list are:

● Mr Edgar Ngoyi, president of the UDF in the Eastern Cape;

● Mr Henry Fazzie, UDF vice-president and chairman of the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation;

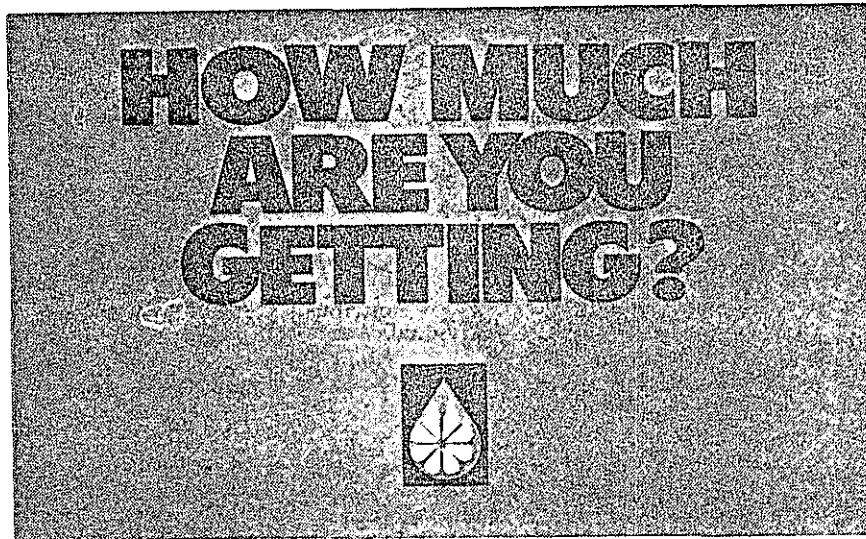
● Mr Mkhusele Jack,

president of the PE Youth Congress (Peyco) and spokesman for the PE Consumer Boycott Committee;

● Mr Mpumelelo Odolo, Peyco vice-president, Mr Michael Xhego and Mr Michael Nzotoyi, Peyco executives.

● Mr Tango Lamani, and Mr Ernest Malgas, executives of the UDF; and

● Mr Ihron Rensburg and Mr Mtiwabo Ndube, executive members of the Crisis in Education Committee.



cuttings 11/3/87

## Theuns Eloff suspended

JOHANNESBURG. A minister of the Gereformeerde Church at Brooklyn in Pretoria, the Rev. Theuns Eloff, has been suspended temporarily by the Congregational Church Council, after complaints from the congregation about his participation in the Dakar meeting with the ANC last month, SABC Radio News reports.

Mr. Eloff's assistant-minister, the Rev. Machiel Venter, says two other congregations will be asked to help investigate the complaints. Mr. Eloff's duties have been suspended until the outcome of the investigation is known.

JOHANNESBURG. — Stellenbosch singer Leslie Rae Dowling has been confined to bed with a fever on her first countrywide tour. But the star performer, faced with a string of Johannesburg shows, yesterday said she would go ahead with her performances. *CNC Times 12/28/77 11A*

## Friends of UDF launch

JOHANNESBURG. — The Friends of the UDF organization was launched at the Carlton Hotel here yesterday. The organization has been formed to collect funds for specific UDF projects. Its treasurer is Mr Azhar Cachalia. A patron of the UDF, Dr Allan Boesak, also addressed the launch meeting.

## Vance in hospital

NEW YORK. — Former Secretary of State Mr Cyrus Vance was resting comfortably yesterday after being admitted to Mount Sinai Hospital with chest pains, a hospital spokeswoman said. She said doctors do not believe he suffered a heart attack and expect to release him in a day or so.

## Queen back at palace

THE HAGUE. — Queen Beatrix left a hospital here yesterday and went back to her palace after almost a week of treatment for viral meningitis, a spokesman for the royal family announced.

Reports by Staff Reporter, Own Correspondent, Sapa-Reuter-AP and UPI.

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By CHRIS ERASMUS

THE message of the ANC to the delegates at the Dakar meeting was simply that they wanted to get the government to the negotiating table, according to Mr Franklin Sonn, president of the Cape Teachers' Professional Association and one of the delegates to that meeting.

Addressing about 500 people at the Bellville South civic centre yesterday Mr Sonn said the ANC's main aim was to talk to the government on the future of the country.

The ANC had adopted a strategy which included furthering its underground organization inside South Africa, supporting community organizations which rejected apartheid, isolating South Africa on all levels and continuing what it terms its armed struggle, he said.

It was his understanding that the majority of ANC delegates did not like to use violence and abhorred the suffering of innocent people who were its victims.

# ANC wants Pretoria to talk — Sonn



Mr Sonn

"I had the distinct impression that if the ANC could abandon violence tomorrow, they would be the happier. However, in every deteriorating relationship, whether that relationship be between husband and wife or between brothers, the end of the line is violence.

"What is important is to make sure the relationship doesn't deteriorate to that point. The violence is only the symptom of the situation, not the cause of it.

"If I am asked why I say all these things about the ANC, I will say that whether you, the govern-

ment or whomsoever likes it or not, the ANC is a reality. I'll also say that it will continue to be a reality because once an idea is in the hearts of people it cannot be obliterated with a gun."

Mr Sonn said it was necessary for "organizations like ourselves to try to use our influence to bring the government and the ANC together to talk".

He said he would tell the government that the ANC representatives he met in Dakar "aren't people with horns that want to kill without concern for the lives of innocents".



# Mandela in jail for 25 years

NELSON MANDELA was born into the Royal Tembu family in the Transkei on July 18, 1918.

He led a quiet life and attended the Healdtown Missionary School.

While other boys his age in the area stole pigs and roasted them in the mountains, Mandela was tending sheep and helping with the ploughing at his home near the Bashee River in the Transkei.

Mandela made up his mind at an early age that he wanted to be a lawyer. But becoming a lawyer was not so easy.

He had completed only two years of study for a BA degree at Fort Hare College when he was suspended for taking part in a boycott of the Student Representative Council which had been stripped of all its powers.

Mandela went to Johannesburg when the Chief warned him to stop his involvement in the boycott — he had also heard that the chief was planning a tribal marriage for him.

He found work as a mine policeman in Johannesburg; and, while looking for work as a clerk at the Native Affairs Department, he met a young Walter Sisulu.

Sisulu helped him to become an articulated clerk with a Johannesburg law firm while he studied towards a BA degree by correspondence. He completed the degree in 1942 and went to study law at the University of the Witwatersrand.

ON Wednesday, South Africa's most famous political leader, Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela, had spent 25 years in prison.

But the African National Congress leader, who turned 69 last month, has not been quiet or totally out of sight. From his Pollsmoor prison cell he has continued to influence events in South Africa. Locally and internationally, mass campaigns for his release have gained momentum.

In August, 1985, thousands of people took to the streets in the Western Cape to demand Mandela's release in a demonstration that drew one the biggest police and military responses of that year. He has constantly turned down offers by the State to release him on condition that he renounces violence.

The Release Mandela Campaign (RMC) has been formed as a national organisation to demand his release and that of other political prisoners. RYLAND FISHER looks at the man behind the legend.

Mandela became a member of the African National Congress Youth League and took the position of secretary in 1948.

In 1949, when the Youth League pushed through major changes in the ANC, Mandela, Sisulu and Oliver Tambo went on to the ANC national executive committee.

In 1950, Mandela became national president of the ANC Youth League.

In 1951, he set up a law practice in Johannesburg with Tambo and became Transvaal president of the ANC.

A year later he was Volunteer-in-Chief for the ANC's Defiance Campaign, which saw 10 000 volunteers defy apartheid laws and risk jail.

Mandela was arrested and given a nine-month suspended sentence. He was also banned for six months, the first of many restrictions on his freedom.

In 1956, Mandela was one of 155 people charged with treason. All the accused were eventually acquitted after a

marathon trial.

Even though Mandela was always in a prominent position in the Congress Movement since the 1949 congress, he stood out in 1961 and 1962, a period in which the ANC decided to abandon their non-violent strategy.

For many years before the sixties he was unable to play a full role because of banning orders and other restrictions. However, he had continued to work behind the scenes.

The Action Council called for a national convention and threatened a three-day stayaway from work as white South Africans prepared to celebrate the formation of the Republic of South Africa at the end of May 1961.

A warrant was issued for Mandela's arrest and for two months, he and Walter Sisulu toured the country secretly to organise the stayaway. He is believed to have visited opponents and supporters.

The government responded with all its might to the proposed stayaway.

Workers were warned they would be sacked and driven out of towns, and the police and army were mobilised. On May 29, 1961, thousands risked their jobs to support the stayaway.

In June 1961, Mandela and other leaders decided to form a sabotage group, Umkhonto weSizwe (Spear of the Nation). Its task was to sabotage selected installations. The first acts of sabotage took place on December 16, 1961, in Port Elizabeth and Johannesburg.

By that time, Mandela had slipped out of the country to tour most countries in Africa to speak to heads of state and to address the Pan African Freedom Movement Conference in Addis Ababa early in 1962.

He returned to South Africa and continued to work underground and became known as the Black Pimpernel. He was captured in August 1962, tried and sentenced to five years in prison for incitement and leaving the country illegally.

While he was serving his sentence on Robben Island, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki and other ANC leaders were captured at the Liliesleaf farm, near Rivonia on July 11, 1963. It is believed the farm was used as a base where sabotage acts were planned.

## Rivonia trial

All nine arrested were held in solitary confinement for 88 days, and when the famous Rivonia trial opened in October 1963, Mandela was Accused Number One. The charge was sabotage and recruiting people for training.

International attention was focussed on the trial. The United Nations carried a resolution against South Africa with 106 votes to one.

Mandela's speech from the dock on April 20, 1964, related the history of the struggle in South Africa, the different methods used throughout the years and the disillusionment at not seeing any changes in South Africa.

On June 11, 1964, Mr Justice de Wet found that Mandela was the prime mover in the formation of Umkhonto weSizwe.

On June 12, he passed sentence. The judge found all but one of the accused, Lionel Bernstein, guilty of treason. However, the state had charged them with sabotage, so he could not impose the death sentence. He sentenced them to life imprisonment. None of the accused appealed.

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# The 'war of attrition' continues

By VUYO BAVUMA

A VIRTUAL "war of attrition" has developed between African National Congress guerillas and security forces in the Western Cape over the past two years.

This was highlighted by the recent car bomb explosion in the heart of Cape Town and the killing of Ashley Kriel in Athlone.

Kriel's death has brought the number of alleged ANC guerillas killed in police actions in the Western Cape to ten.

The police said Kriel had been a trained member of Umkhonto we-Sizwe. He was allegedly trained in Angola and returned to Cape Town in April this year. They claimed a hand-grenade, a small calibre firearm and ammunition were found in the house where he had been shot.

In March this year two ANC activists, Zola Michael Dubani and Leslie Yengeni, died in police action.

Dubani was killed in Faure while uncovering an arms cache two days after he had been detained by police.

An inquest court last week found that no one had been responsible for his death.

Yengeni, of Paarl, was killed three days earlier at a house in New Crossroads. Police claimed they recovered ammunition and three firearms. He was buried in Paarl.

The past seven years has seen an upsurge of sabotage activities in the Western Cape, most reportedly carried out by Umkhonto weSizwe, popularly known as MK.

Last week the first car bomb went off in Cape Town in the courtyard of a block of flats housing Defence Force personnel in District Six.

Police suspect the explosion was



caused by a limpet mine. A second bomb, a mini limpet, was found nearby.

Another explosion took place at a Maitland petrol station and a limpet mine was discovered at a Plumstead garage.

A third bomb exploded at D F Malan Airport in the same week. According to police the bomb went off in the women's toilet.

Last Friday a limpet mine exploded next to the Stelenbosch railway line.

Two weeks ago the house of a Guguletu police constable, Mbulelo Majulaqara, was damaged in a hand-

grenade blast.

On January 10 this year, a policeman was killed and two others were injured after a hand-grenade attack in Nyanga.

In May, a powerful bomb rocked the Athlone Magistrates Court. Police said the act was in reaction to the jailing of the seven Wynberg youths who had been found guilty of public violence.

About three weeks ago, seven policemen, including five special constables, were injured after being attacked with a hand-grenade near the KTC squatter camp in Nyanga.

Attacks on various targets escalated

dramatically during 1985.

In June that year, a deputy minister of Population Development in the "Coloured" House of Representatives, Mr Luwellyn Landers, was injured after his house in Mitchells Plain was attacked with a hand-grenade.

Mr Fred Peters, another MP, was slightly hurt in an attack on his house during the same period.

On June 15, Roland Njoli, a community councillor, escaped unhurt when he was attacked with a hand-grenade. Njoli's house was again attacked twice this year.

On June 15 in Guguletu a man threw

a hand-grenade at police who tried to apprehend him. The man managed to escape.

A few days later in Elsie's River, a child, Rashaad Witten, was killed in a hand-grenade attack.

In another incident, soon after, a hand grenade, thrown at the Langa police station, damaged the charge office.

Joseph Mzukwa, an ANC guerilla presently on trial, admitted that he carried out the act.

On June 20, a house of Mr Leslie Kakaza, a former community councillor was attacked with a hand-grenade.

On November 11, three policemen were injured after a hand-grenade was thrown at them.

Attacks continued in 1986.

In February 1986, three soldiers were hurt when a hand-grenade was hurled at their parked Buffel in Guguletu.

On April 26, 1986, a toilet in the Mowbray station was destroyed by a limpet mine. Joseph Ngoma, an ANC guerrilla currently on trial, admitted in the Supreme Court that he had placed a limpet mine in the building.

In July a bomb exploded in the Mowbray police station injuring a policeman and a policewoman.

On August 2, the Lakeside post office was damaged after a bomb placed in a bin exploded.

On August 25 eight persons including a senior police officer, Major Dolf Odendaal, were injured in a hand-grenade attack in a Guguletu funeral of Sithembiso Mathiso.

In the same year the Langa Commissioner's Court, where thousands of blacks were convicted under pass laws, was damaged after a bomb went off in the building.

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# Death threat letter to Khan family

By RYLAND FISHER

A WELL-KNOWN Gatesville community leader, Rauf Khan, and his family received death threats from an unknown "Muslim" organisation this week.

"A letter containing the threats came a day after my 50th birthday party on Sunday. It is definitely not my idea of a nice present," said Khan, treasurer of the Thornhill Residents Association, vice-chairman of Rylands High School's Parents Teacher Student Association and a member of the Athlone Education Crisis Committee.

He is also a member of the Habibia Madressa Committee and involved in the Habibia Muslim College. He was detained for two weeks under the State of Emergency last year.

According to details on the envelope, the letter was posted in Alberton on Friday, purportedly by a Pretoria-based organisation calling themselves the "Islamitiese Tugkomitee van die Republiek van Suid Afrika" (The Islamic Disciplinary Committee of the RSA).

The "committee", which claims a membership of 49 000, said its duty was to "support the policies of Islam and to permanently silence people like you who work against Islamic policies".

The letter, written in Afrikaans, contains a "final warning about your social misconduct".

If he refused to listen, he and his wife and three daughters would be "sacrificed", the letter said.

"I am convinced it is not from a Muslim organisation. They made important mistakes about our religion which no Muslim would make," he said.

Thornhill Residents Association chairman Dullah Omar condemned the letter which, he said, was "a sheer act of intimidation".

"It is clear that the letter is not from a Muslim but from a vigilante type posing as a Muslim," he said.

Moosa Kaprey, chairman of the Western Cape branch of the National Education Crisis Committee, said Khan was a member of an NECC affiliate and "highly regarded for his contribution".



Mr Rauf Khan in Cape Town this week

# Mpetha 'won't accept conditions for release'

By RYLAND FISHER

11A

VETERAN trade unionist Oscar Mpetha, currently serving a five-year sentence for terrorism, has refused to renounce violence as a condition for his release.

Mpetha's eldest daughter, Esther, said her father had rejected the parole offer made by the Minister of Justice Kobie Coetsee.

Coetsee had said earlier parole for the 78-year-old diabetic could be considered "on humanitarian grounds provided the prisoner's co-operation with regard to parole could be obtained".

"In this case the denouncement of the propagation of violence could be a factor," Coetsee said.

Ms Mpetha said her father had refused to be released conditionally.

"He feels it will be the same as in prison. He will rather serve his whole sentence.

"We know he is not involved in violence and we cannot understand why he should be locked up like a criminal. The family feels very upset.

"The old man should just be released without any conditions being attached. He will never accept any conditions and we respect his decision," she said.

Ms Mpetha said the family had no celebrations to mark her father's birthday this week. "We will celebrate when he is released."

Mpetha, national president of the Release Mandela Committee, and former president of the UDF, has been permanently hospitalised.

He started serving his sentence in August 1985 and has been in Groote Schuur Hospital since April last year.

The RMC has re-iterated its call for Mpetha's unconditional and immediate release.

The Civil Right League issued a statement this week in support of the call for the release of Mpetha.

6-12/85 sent

# President expected to make announcements

# ALL EYES ON BOTHA

**THE clouds are gathering for an electric storm when President Botha addresses Parliament tomorrow at the start of the debate on his portfolio.**

Several major issues have been held over for Mr P W Botha to deal with personally and there have been conspicuous and sometimes ominous silences from the lower echelons on these matters.

As one opposition MP said in Parliament the other day, the word has gone out to the National Party from the top man: "Don't steal my thunder."

**SOWETAN  
CORRESPONDENT**



**PRESIDENT BOTHA**

11A  
Sowetan  
12/10/77

He was talking about Government reaction to the Dakar African National Congress safari but the remark could have applied to a number of issues.

Dakar will almost certainly be one of them and may well be the main thrust of the speech.

## Press

Opposition MPs expect some "horror stories" about the ANC to be theatrically unveiled, spiced with plenty of smears of the Progressive Federal Party and other liberal organisations seen to be "soft" on the ANC.

The speculation is still strong that Mr Botha may carry out his pre-election threat to cut off the life-giving foreign funds of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa) which organised the Dakar trip.

Another threat which has been hanging heavily in the air is that legislation may be introduced to curb the alternative Press.

## Threats

Home Affairs Minister Dr Stoffel Botha made some very threatening noises about them before the July recess.

PFP MPs are not confident that reform will figure strongly in the President's address but elsewhere it has been specu-

lated that he will deal with long-awaited National Statutory Council and even perhaps the Group Areas Act.

These are certainly the two obvious next steps on the reform road. National Party sources have confirmed that both will be dealt with in some way before the end of the current parliamentary session and if Mr Botha does want to keep the thunder for himself, he is likely to do so this week.

The President's Council report on the Group Areas Act which is understood to have recommended that local authorities be given the option of zoning "grey areas" for all races, will probably be published soon and Mr Botha may announce the date.

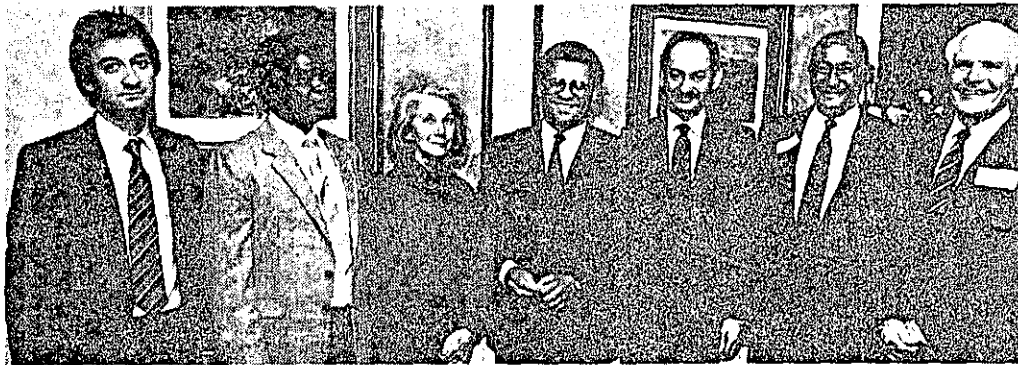
## Bill

Legislation on the National Council is also expected this session and it would be natural if Mr Botha chose to make the announcement himself.

He may also give some detail on one critical aspect of this Bill — the question of elections to choose urban black leaders to serve on the council.

Mr Botha referred to the possibility of these elections during the election campaign.

It has also been reported authoritatively that Mr Botha will also announce the release of the crucial Margo Commission report recommending reforms to the tax system.



Launching the UDF's support group are (from left) Mr Azhar Cachalia; Mr Curtis Nkondo, president of the National Education Union of South Africa; author Ms Nadine Gordimer; Dr Allan Boesak; Mr Yusuf Surtee, who featured prominently in the unbanned ANC advertisements row; Mr Archie Gumede, co-president of the UDF; and Sir Richard Luyt, former principal of the University of Cape Town. ● Picture By Ruvan Boshoff

## Govt aims to muzzle campuses

By Martin Challenor and Don Holliday

The Government's real reason for imposing the latest conditions on universities was to stamp out campus-based opposition to apartheid and not to uphold academic freedom, Mr Etienne Marais, president of the University of the Witwatersrand SRC said yesterday.

Research done at the liberal campuses and the political activities of students continued to challenge the bizarre but tragic system of apartheid, Mr Marais said.

The packed meeting in the Great Hall had been called to formulate a response to the conditions aimed at ending student unrest that were laid down by the Minister of National Education, Mr F W de Klerk, last week.

People concerned about the abuse of taxpayers' money would do better to examine the quantity and quality of research by some South African universities, Mr Marais said.

It was ironic that Mr de Klerk had expressed concern about academic freedom. His party was the architect of racially based education.

Mr Tiago Moseneke, of the university's Black Students Society, said Mr de Klerk had destroyed the black universities and was now trying to do the same to Wits in the name of academic freedom.

# Fund-raising body could cut UDF reliance on foreign aid

By Martin Challenor

The United Democratic Front has loosened its reliance on the foreign funding that opened it to State action, with the launch of an internal fund-raising body in Johannesburg last night.

The new organisation, called Friends of the UDF, will give people who are not members of affiliated organisations a chance to make regular financial contributions. This could widen its constituency.

In the opening address, author Nadine Gordimer said Friends "gives South Africans an opportunity to show their commitment to ending apartheid by helping to finance the projects of the UDF".

UDF national treasurer Mr Azhar Cachalia said that in October last year the Government declared the UDF an affected organisation, which cut off its overseas funds. This was set aside in the Natal Supreme Court in April this year but the State was appealing.

Even if the appeal was dismissed, the movement expected new legislation which would serve to ban overseas funding.

### GREATER SELF-SUFFICIENCY

Tens of thousands of people were willing to support the UDF, Mr Cachalia said. "This is an important step in moving towards greater self-sufficiency."

The UDF had been excessively reliant upon foreign funding, he said. This was partly because it drew support from "many people suffering to survive".

UDF leader Dr Allan Boesak said Friends of the

UDF "hopefully" will give us a greater voice in the white community".

There must be a great number of disillusioned whites and, he said, and he hoped they would understand there was a place for them in the non-racial democratic movement.

Of the 30 000 people jailed during the states of emergency, 80 percent were UDF activists, Dr Boesak said. The Government saw the UDF as a major threat to its existence.

The non-violent campaigns the UDF used to challenge the Government's legitimacy were met by State violence, he said.

### TIC takes on Rajbansi

The Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC) has decided to accept Mr Amichand Rajbansi's challenge to meet him in a public debate in Lenasia, but this would be subject to certain conditions.

The challenge was made by the chairman of the Minister's Council in the House of Delegates at a meeting in Lenasia on Monday after the victory of the National Peoples Party (NPP) candidate, Mr Mohammed Sadeck Shah, in the Lenasia by-election.

Secretary of the TIC Mr Ismail Momoniat said the "low 16 percent poll in the by-election showed that the majority of the people still rejected the tricameral Parliament".

The TIC would join in the debate if Mr Rajbansi accepted the final decision. "Mr Rajbansi and his NPP must resign their seats in the House of Delegates" if the meeting did not support him, he said.

YIK

UDF patron Allan Boesak called last night for tighter international sanctions against SA and demanded that foreign governments take events in SA more seriously.

Boesak said at the very least foreign governments should consider cutting air links with SA.

He was speaking at the launch of the "Friends of the UDF" at Johannesburg's Carlton Hotel. The organisation has been formed to collect funds for UDF projects.

National treasurer Azhar Cachalia said that, because of a Supreme

# Boesak sanctions call

PATRICK BULGER

Court ruling, the UDF was not at present an "affected organisation" — which would prohibit it receiving foreign funding. But government was clearly planning new legislation to cut off foreign funds.

Cachalia said an organisation like the "Friends" would increase the self-sufficiency of the UDF.

He said the funds would be admin-

istered by an executive committee, which would be elected at annual meetings.

Controversial Munnik Commission figure Yusuf Surtee, who came under the spotlight earlier this year for his role in funding the "Unban the ANC" advertisements, was also present. He told Business Day he had been approached to become a "Friend" and that he was considering it.

CAPE TOWN 12/1/87  
'Dakar' (11/87)  
Dominee  
free again  
to preach

PRETORIA. — The Rev Theuns Eloff, the "Dakar Dominee" of the Gereformeerde Church in Brooklyn, Pretoria, said yesterday he was "very happy" his temporary suspension had been lifted.

Mr Eloff attended the talks with the ANC in Dakar last month.

The Geref Church Council of Brooklyn and representatives of neighbouring congregations decided after a marathon sitting on Monday night to lift the suspension.

The decision to lift the suspension was taken because complaints against the dominee, who is the minister of the students in the congregation, "had not been investigated properly".

"All I want to say at this stage is that I am very happy to be able to continue with my duties," Mr Eloff said.

Two petitions against his participation in the Dakar talks had been submitted to the church council.

"I have no hard feelings. I protested against my suspension and it was lifted," he said.

The council will meet again on the issue later this week. — Sapa



By RYLAND FISHER  
POLICE visited the homes of at least two United Women's Congress executive members on the eve of this weekend's National Women's Day celebrations.

An UWCO spokesperson said their houses, in Guguletu and Woodstock, were searched on Tuesday morning but no one was detained.

She said UWCO's first chairperson, Ms Noma-India Mfeketho, had been held at Pollsmoor Prison under the emergency regulations since January this year.

UWCO is holding a

# UWCO plans big women's day rally

mass rally at the Samaj Centre in Gatesville on Sunday to celebrate the anti-pass laws march by 20 000 women on the Union Buildings in Pretoria on August 9, 1956.

The rally, which starts at 2.30pm, will include cultural activities like plays, choirs and songs.

Organisations which will form part of the proposed Cape Federation of Women have been invited to participate in Sunday's rally.

Buses are expected to come from the rural area, including the Boland and West Coast.

The rally will follow a lunch for the families of detainees on Sunday from 10am

National Women's Day activities will also be held at schools on Friday and at some churches on Sunday.

The UWCO spokesperson said the demands made by women 31 years ago had still not been met.

"Even though the pass laws have officially been abolished, there are more repressive laws and the State of Emergency which make living conditions even worse than in the 50s," she said.

*South 18/12/78*  
*(11A)*

# I helped UDF man, says Rajbansi

Weekly Mail Reporter

THE spouse of a "leading member" of the United Democratic Front had made use of his services, Amichand Rajbansi, chairman of the ministers' council in the house of delegates, claimed this week.

He did not name the UDF member and merely said the spouse "made use of my services".

Rajbansi added: "So the House of Delegates is no good, but it is all right for certain people who want to make use of the administration."

He also accused doctors, "associated with the UDF", of not wanting people to use the newly built hospital in Lenasia because they were directors of a competing private clin-

ic, Lenmed.

7-13/81/87  
These doctors did not want the hospital to function properly because "it will effect Lenmed" and he urged members to find out who the directors of Lenmed were.

"This is not because they are interested in the welfare of the community! There is an interest, yes, but there is more self-interest than interest in the community."

Rajbansi also said that although he could not agree with the manner in which the Transvaal Indian Congress was carrying out its task "I cannot disagree with its ultimate objective".

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~~scribble~~

Mail

WHICH is the more serious crime: high treason committed by an alleged ANC official, or his kidnapping from Swaziland by alleged South African agents?

This was a key question raised in an application brought by Ebrahim Ismail Ebrahim in a bid to prevent a South African court trying him following his illegal abduction from Swaziland last year.

Ebrahim, who has served 15 years on Robben Island for sabotage, has been charged with high treason. He was, according to the indictment, in charge of the ANC's Regional Political Military Committee, based in Swaziland, which co-ordinated the ANC's machinery in the Transvaal and Natal from 1984. This would make him the most senior ANC official to stand trial since Nelson Mandela and the other Rivonia trialists in the early 1960s.

According to the indictment, Ebra-

# Is kidnap more serious than treason?

The court would be saying: Kidnapping has taken place but we condone it.

By JO-ANN BEKKER  
In Piet Retief

him gave the instructions for ANC cadres operating in South Africa to plant landmines on farms in the Eastern Transvaal last year.

Ebrahim's advocate, Ismail Mahomed SC, argued that the law required a balance of public interests. "To break the bonds of international peace and good neighbourliness is far greater than the harm and prejudice to the community of a particular offender," he said.

Mahomed asserted that the court could not look at a particular accused and say in this case international obligations were peripheral. "The court must come to a scientific answer otherwise we will not have law but *ad hoc* justice."

However, Harry Prinsloo, who is appearing with Louiza van der Walt

for the attorney general, said Ebrahim was being charged with "the most serious crime a person can be charged with — high treason".

He said the court would have to weigh up the implications for South African-Swaziland relations — when Swaziland had not even protested at Ebrahim's abduction — and the implications for South African security if a person facing charges of treason could "walk free back to Swaziland". He asked for the court to find against Ebrahim.

Mahomed quoted legal precedents to support his assertion that if the country from which a person is illegally abducted does not complain to

the captive country, the individual still has the right to complain.

He added that, had Swaziland complained, the matter would have been heard not before a Supreme Court but before an international tribunal.

The crucial distinction in legal precedents, Mahomed said, was that an individual kidnapped by private citizens in another country had no right to complain to a court. But the victim of a state-sanctioned kidnapping had this right.

Arguing that Ebrahim's abduction was a clear case of the latter, Mahomed said: "To compel an accused to undergo trial in circumstances where his appearance is preceded by the criminal act of kidnapping is to sanctify international delinquency.

"If officials of the state were allowed to maraud the territory of other states, not only would the law be contravened, but it would have the gravest consequences for peace. What we do to our neighbours today, some of them may do to us tomorrow."

Prinsloo quoted legal precedents which effectively said "the alleged involvement of the South African government makes no difference. The applicant is before the court and he must be tried."

Mahomed argued that where there were contradictory interpretations of the same law, the court must abide by the one which favours the accused.

Mahomed was assisted by Shaun Naidoo and instructed by Priscilla Jana and Associates.

## From a Swazi garden to the 'police museum'

EBRAHIM Ismail Ebrahim was called to the door by his gardener. Two people wanted to borrow a wheel spanner as their car had broken down. He fetched his keys and went to his car outside.

As he was about to open his boot the men drew firearms and threatened to kill him if he made a noise. They said they were the South African Police.

These events on Monday evening, December 15, 1986 were the opening episode in a tale of how the most senior African National Congress official to be brought to trial since the Rivonia trialists in 1964, came to appear before the Piet Retief Circuit Court this week.

Ebrahim's alleged illegal kidnapping by men he claims were South African police or agents of the South African state also formed the crux of his application for discharge on the grounds that the court has no jurisdiction to try him.

In his founding affidavit, Ebrahim says the two men tied his hands behind his back and searched his house in Pine Valley, in the district of Mbabane. They removed R4 500, a cassette player, a lady's handbag and other items. He was blindfolded, gagged, made to lie down on the back seat of his car and driven away.

Shortly before a border post he was taken out of the car, his blindfold was removed and he was made to cross three or four fences. "I could see the bright lights of the border post," Ebrahim said. "I was now on the South African side of the border against my will."

His abductor, who said he lived in Soweto, told him he would have nothing to fear "if I co-operated with the police and that they would even furnish me with a passport to go to Zambia as an agent of the South African Police."

He told Ebrahim he had picked up his trail the previous week when a number of raids had been made into Swaziland. Ebrahim recalled that a Swiss couple had been abducted in those raids, allegedly made by the South African Police, and later returned after the intervention of South Africa's Department of Foreign Affairs.

Several hours later, Ebrahim was led towards two cars parked a short distance from each other. "As we approached the cars, I saw some white men closing in on me and they were armed with rifles. As I got to the cars, one white person put leg irons on my legs, my hands were untied and I was then handcuffed."

The metal container with the items removed from his house was put in the boot of the car.

Ebrahim was forced into one of the cars and both vehicles then drove away. The car he was in had a built-in radio and the two vehicles were in constant radio communication with each other. "It appeared to be some kind of official car and a code was used between the occupants of the two cars in contacting each other," he said. "As we began to travel, dawn was breaking and my interrogation commenced. The persons in my car asked me about the ANC, about people in Maputo and other matters.

In a remote town, the treason trial of a man accused of being a senior ANC official began this week. But the question of treason was not yet the issue. The court had first to deliberate on the strange route Ebrahim Ismail Ebrahim took to the court house. JO-ANN BEKKER reports from Piet Retief

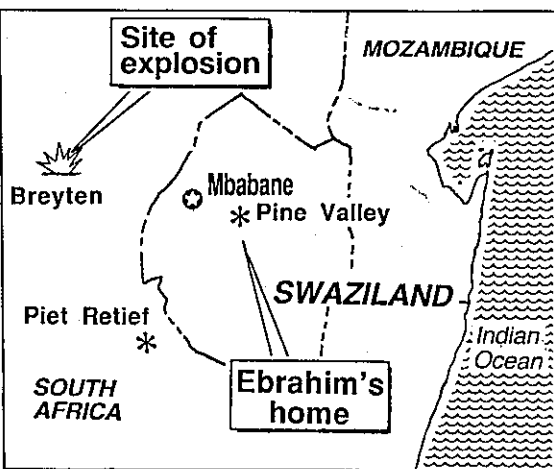
From the interrogation it appeared to me that these were security policemen."

When they approached an army roadblock, the escort car in front stopped at the roadblock and the car Ebrahim was in halted a short distance behind. "The driver of the escort car spoke to one of the soldiers. He then moved off and we were allowed to move through the roadblock without stopping. Nobody asked us a single question."

Ebrahim finally arrived in Pretoria. The white men radioed someone else and the vehicle parked beside a big building. A car then drew up behind them.

Ebrahim was transferred to this car, still in leg irons and handcuffs, and driven to a building in the city centre on which the words "Police Museum" were inscribed. "I have since discovered that these are the offices of the security police in Pretoria," he said.

He and his two escorts passed through strict security checks at the entrance of the building unhindered. He was then taken into a large office and introduced to a Brigadier Schoon and a Captain Britz.



From Pine Valley to Piet Retief: "an unbroken chain"

On the same evening of December 16, a Captain Naude and Warrant Officer Savage said they were going to be his interrogators. "I complained to the captain that I had been abducted from Swaziland. He stated that this was something that was allowed."

Ebrahim was informed he was being detained in terms of Section 29 of the Internal Security Act. Naude then brought in the metal container, asked Ebrahim to identify the contents and compiled a list of the items.

Ebrahim's lawyer, Ismail Mahomed SC, asserted there was "an unbroken chain leading Ebrahim from the border of Swaziland right inside the headquarters of the Security Police in Pretoria". He said either the South African Police or agents of the state

— acting within the scope of their professional duties — were responsible for the abduction.

The "circumstantial evidence suggesting official involvement throughout the journey in the form of facilitating passage through roadblocks, the use of radio links, the possession of rifles, the employment of leg irons and handcuffs and the suggestion that the abductors were interested in the type of information which would be the subject matter of police interrogation is also not disputed," Mahomed said.

Advocate Harry Prinsloo of the attorney general's office said police had refuted Ebrahim's specific allegations, as well as general allegations of police involvement which were

"blatant speculation". The police version is that two unknown men who had no connection with the South African Police brought Ebrahim to the offices of the security police in Pretoria and handed him over.

Earlier this year, when Ebrahim's brother brought an application to have his detention under Section 29 declared unlawful, attorneys for the Minister of Law and Order and Commissioner of Police arrived at a settlement with Ebrahim's lawyers, whereby Ebrahim would be released from detention and formally charged with treason, and the respondents would pay costs.

The presiding judge, Justice van Zyl, found unacceptable that the police had not told the court who the two men who brought Ebrahim to them in Pretoria were. He also questioned how the police were able to unlock the handcuffs and leg irons placed on Ebrahim before he arrived at the police office. The police, however, subsequently claimed Ebrahim was not wearing the handcuffs when they saw him.

Prinsloo insisted Ebrahim's Section 29 detention and subsequent arrest on charges of treason and imprisonment as an awaiting trial prisoner were legal.

Mahomed, however, said once an illegal abduction had been committed by agents of the South African state, it was not possible for this act to be legally sanctified by the same agents.


Judge H Daniels questioned whether the application should have been served on the attorney general's office, if Ebrahim intended charging the state with involvement in his kidnapping through its highest decision-making body, the cabinet.



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An incident in a day of controversy: The Lenasia by-election. NPP candidate Salem Mayet, left, confronts opponents  
 Picture: ERIC MILLER, Afrapix

## TIC to challenge Lenasia's poll

By MONO BADELA

THE Transvaal Indian Congress may challenge in court results of the by-election for the House of Delegates held in Lenasia, near Johannesburg, this week.

Only hours after the results of the by-election were made known, TIC spokesman Ashwin Shah told WM the congress had instructed its lawyers to consider the feasibility of a court application.

The application, he said, would be heard by a full bench of three judges in Pretoria. If successful, it would mean that Mohamed Shah (NPP) would be unseated and a new election would have to be held.

The Lenasia Central parliamentary by-election for the House of Delegates was won by the National Peoples' Party amid accusations of electoral irregularities.

Shah polled 609 of the total 1 333

votes cast. About 1 063 of the total were special votes. The percentage poll was 15,95 percent.

The new court challenge, if carried through, would come in addition to four successful court applications concerning special votes, heard by the Rand Supreme Court last week.

The TIC says it has a number of affidavits relating to cases of "undue influence, impersonation and treating" against the candidates who were involved in the by-election. These will form the basis of the new application challenging the validity of the election.

The TIC campaigned for a boycott of the election, claiming irregularities in the election and a "special votes racket". It also appealed to the Transvaal attorney-general to set aside all

special votes. Last week the Rand Supreme Court set aside several special votes.

The TIC believes the poll was very low, showing a significant loss of support for the tri-cameral parliament.

Police used teargas and quirts to disperse about 200 students who staged a protest march against the election. The police unrest report said Indian youths stoned vehicles and attempted to disrupt the elections.

Seven men and a woman were arrested and appeared in court on charges of convening an illegal meeting and assault.

On Tuesday, small groups of protesters gathered outside the heavily-guarded Lenasia polling booth and eyewitnesses reported several minor skirmishes between police and protesters.

TABLE AT  
KSHOPS

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# NEWSBRIEFS

## Shot ANC guerilla a former Cosas student

THE ANC cadre killed by police during a dawn shootout in a Port Elizabeth township last Wednesday has been identified.

He is Sonwabo Mdekazi, alias Thandi Malgas Khumalo of Cradock.

Mdekazi, 28, described by the police after the shootout at 44 Ntshekisa Road, New Brighton, as a 'foreign-trained ANC terrorist' was the only person in the house at the time.

Meanwhile, a Port Elizabeth unionist, Mawonga Vellam is being held under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act following the incident, the lawyer for the family, Silus Nkanunu, confirmed.

Police said they found a cocked AK 47 assault rifle with two fully loaded magazines and a Makarov pistol, also with a loaded magazine.

The S A Police public relations division in Pretoria refused to give details on the shootout's background.

Sources in Cradock said Mdekazi left the country in 1981. He was an active member of the banned Congress of South African Students (COSAS).

He was involved in the formation of Cosas in Cradock and in 1980 became a regional organiser while corresponding as a private student.

In 1977, he was arrested and jailed for three years for public violence. After being released, he left the country and joined Umkhonto weSizwe.

~~Shot dead while brushing teeth~~

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# Swedes slam UDF detentions

THE Swedish Government has condemned the detention of UDF officials Murphy Morobe and Mohammed Valli Moosa.

The Swedish Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Mr Pierre Scori, said Pretoria was closing all doors to dialogue by the latest detentions.

"Murphy Morobe is well known in Sweden. He has visited us several times in 1984. He was here to receive on behalf of the UDF the newspaper Arbetit's Let Live Prize

"Decisive action by the international community could still bring the government in South Africa to its senses. Breaking economic relations with South Africa can contribute to this end."



11A

South Africa

13-14-81

Police attack

# Memories of a foot-soldier in the women's army that occupied Pretoria

Hilda Tshaka: still itching for action  
Picture: Mono Badela

HILDA TSHAKA was not one of the generals on the Federation of South African Women's march to the Union Buildings 31 years ago.

She was one of the foot-soldiers of the women's army that marched through Pretoria on August 9, 1956 behind Lilian Ngoyi, Helen Joseph, Frances Baard and Amcena Cachalia to tell JG Strijdom: "Strijdom, you have struck the women — you have struck a rock."

When you talk about August 9, names like Ngoyi, Joseph, Baard, Sisulu, Matomela spring to mind. But there were thousands more women with them outside the Union Buildings on that historic day, many of whom have suffered the same hardships as those women whose names are known and remembered.

One such woman is Hilda Tshaka, from KwaZakhele outside Port Elizabeth.

Harassed, jailed, banned and banished — it was during her banishment that she lost her husband and a son — the 77-year-old woman dreams of the march through Pretoria and the banner she carried, bearing the words "Away with passes".

Although she is less active than she was in the old days, this tireless fighter of apartheid is still itching for action.

On the eve of National Women's Day, she said this week: "It is time the women of South Africa march to Pretoria again."

On Sunday, special services and rallies will be held throughout the country to commemorate the day 31 years ago when some 20 000 women marched to the steps of the Union Buildings — citadel of apartheid — and challenged the prime minister as part of a nationwide campaign against the proposed extension of passes to African women.

The women came from all over the country — from Bethlehem and Bloemfontein, Port Elizabeth and Paarl, from Durban, Cape Town and Johannesburg. They were women of all racial groups.

Tshaka was born in Grahamstown in 1910 and moved 15 years later to Port Elizabeth, where she worked for the old African Food and Canning Workers Union. In 1951 she joined the African National Congress and the

**We asked our men to stay at home and look after the children because we were going to march on Pretoria. They said we were mad ...**

following year was one of the hundreds of people in Port Elizabeth to take part in the ANC's defiance Campaign. As a member of the ANC Women's League, she was among the women who helped to organise protests against rent hikes. She was there when Fedsaw was formed in 1954.

She said when Bantu education came in, "women came together and we rejected it. I was part of the committee. We said we would take our children out of the schools and into the open veld; the shade under the trees would become the classrooms." In the event, "I had to open my house in KwaZakhele to make a classroom."

She said the children attending these makeshift schools were harassed. "They would be arrested and we would follow and demand our children."

When the government decided to extend the pass to women, "we asked our men to stay at home and look after the children because we were going to march to Pretoria to protest against it. They called us mad because we did

Hilda Tshaka, aged 77, carried a banner with the words "Away with passes" in the march on Pretoria this week, 31 years ago. She talks to MONO BADELA

not have money to travel to Pretoria. But we baked cakes and sold them to pay the fare. We were even prepared to sell our furniture."

She said the night before the march, the women gathered in houses and halls in the Pretoria townships. "Many brought their babies."

"On the morning of August 9, the women met at the Union Buildings in Pretoria. They were so many, it took two and half hours for them to file through the gardens in the Union Building Amphitheatre. Then they sang "Strijdom, Uthinta abafazi, uhint'imbokotho!" (Strijdom, you've struck the women, you've struck a rock."

Leaders were chosen to present the petitions to Strijdom. They gained entry to the building but the prime minister refused to see them, so they left their petitions in his office.

Later the leaders reported to the mass of the women waiting outside. The women rose to their feet. The women stood in silence for 30 minutes. All you could hear was the crying of babies.

Then they sang "Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika" and "Moroné Boloka". Slowly the women left the gardens.

Tshaka said women had seen what the passes had done to their men. They did not want the same thing to happen to them.

In their petition to Strijdom, they said that if passes were extended to women, homes would be broken up when women were arrested under pass laws; children would be left uncared for and mothers torn from their babies if they couldn't produce a pass; women would be humiliated and degraded by policemen searching for passes; and they would lose their right to move freely from one place to another.

The anti-pass campaign did not stop the extension of passes to women. But according to Tshaka, it made women aware of the new law and how it would affect them. It also gave women an idea of their strength.

When the ANC was banned in 1960, "we also went underground," Tshaka said. "We were not seen but our action was seen."

She was arrested in 1964 and charged with furthering the aims of the ANC. Her husband James Tshaka and two of her sons, Patrick and Siphetho, were also arrested. "Only my 15-year-old son and my 10-month-old baby were left behind." She was imprisoned for three years; when she was released she was put under house arrest for two years — until her husband and two sons were released from Robben Island, when the entire family was banished to Burnshill, a remote area near Keiskamahoek.

Her husband was ill, but their departure could not be delayed. They were merely given train tickets and when they arrived there there was not a house to live in; they had to build their own.

They were given a weekly food ration — which arrived irregularly — of two loaves of bread, two tins of jam, a pound of tea, condensed milk and 20 cents worth of sugar. They had to report at the police station once a week in Keiskamahoek. "We had to go through a dark forest. My husband died in Burnshill."

The family was transferred to another resettlement colony in Dimbaza in 1972, "where we



found conditions even worse than in Burnshill."

Dimbaza was really the last grave for the Tshakas — as for many others. Not only did she see her son Siphetho die in Dimbaza in 1974 but several of her colleagues also died

**The women rose to their feet and stood in silence for 30 minutes. All you could hear was the crying of the babies**

there. These included Emily Vara and her husband Richard Vara, Tabita Tuzana Tshaba, Vuyelwa Bissett, Grace Maqungo, Emily Qabela. Many of these women had served up to eight years in prison for being members of the ANC. They had all participated in the Pretoria march.

Women today are once again being called on to challenge "the monster that is apartheid" as did the women on the 1956 march, Federation

of Transvaal Women administrator Ohara Disko told *Weekly Mail* this week.

"Today as women we are daily suffering the pain of seeing our children detained, killed, maimed. Our men and brothers are being detained and brutalised. Again it is the women who feel the pain more when families are being evicted from their homes."

"The rock still stands today. The hand that rocks the cradle will rock the boat."

In the Transvaal, thousands of women will commemorate the day with a cultural programme at the University of the Witwatersrand starting at 10 am.

The theme of this year's celebrations is "Forward to national women's unity"; "We are calling on all women," Disko said, "to organise themselves in their local areas to help establish strong women's organisations."

She said Fedtraw was also calling on all women who are not already part of the United Democratic Front Women's Congress, and all women in other progressive organisations, to join a committee working towards reviving the Federation of South African Women (Fedsaw).

Disko said women today were organising under very difficult conditions.

"There is the State of Emergency and repression from the state. It is therefore difficult to speak in terms of numbers. But we are happy with the growth of the organisation. We see ourselves having taken big strides."

She said in order for the women to meet they had to arrange secret venues. "We have to work very guardedly if we want to make a move." But she hoped Fedsaw would be launched later this year.

The revival of the organisation would follow the launch of the UDF Women's Congress, inaugurated on April 26 by women from all sections of the country meeting in Cape Town.

## The woman who refused to carry a pass

A VETERAN women's rights activist died in New Brighton last Saturday night without ever having carried a pass, a reference book or an identity document.

Pauline Nombayiso Mbunye, 74, a founder and executive member of the Port Elizabeth Women's Organisation, died of natural causes at a friend's home.

Her refusal to carry an identity document disqualified her from housing, a formal job and, eventually, a pension.

A founder of the Federation of South African Women in the Eastern Cape and a member of the ANC Women's League, she worked in the

By EDYTH BULBRING, Port Elizabeth

anti-pass and anti-Bantu education campaigns. In 1956, she was one of the women who marched on the Union Buildings in Pretoria.

In a statement to the Black Sash two years ago, made in an attempt to obtain financial assistance, she said: "I am part of the struggle. I do not want to apply for aid from the state, especially now that I feel that the end is near for the state." A vegetable hawker, she said she had never asked for assistance from the state

because it would have necessitated application for a reference book, which she felt would compromise the beliefs she had fought for throughout her life.

She has no children and her husband died years ago.

Friends say she stopped wearing shoes when Nelson Mandela was imprisoned. She told them this made her more determined than ever never to carry a pass. Thus, she told friends, she would never have a job — and could not afford to become accustomed to wearing shoes. — ECNA

ON THE 25TH ANNIVERSARY  
OF THE BLACK LEADER'S  
IMPRISONMENT ...

# MANDELA

# TODAY

W/Mail  
7-138/87

*As told by a colleague  
who spent  
three years  
in prison  
with him*

By THAMI  
MKHWANAZI

*Journalist recently  
released after  
seven years  
in prison*



NELSON MANDELA has changed a good deal in appearance since he went to prison 25 years ago this week.

I spent three years in the same section of Robben Island prison he occupied while I was serving a seven-year sentence. I was released in March this year.

Mandela was imprisoned in 1962, although his life sentence was only handed down in 1964.

The man I saw on the Island had lost the lighter, coffee-coloured complexion of his youth. He is darker now.

Prison life has preserved him and others like him from the hazards of life outside prison, but he has not completely escaped the demands of old age. His 69 years have robbed him of some of the energy with which he conducted his legal practice in the hustle and bustle of the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court during the Fifties.

He walks slowly, looking straight ahead, as if in deep thought.

Nevertheless, Mandela is still a tall, powerful and fit man. He has a slight stoop and a lick of grey hair on his temples, but he is flat-bellied and has not developed the paunch that characterises many of his contemporaries in prison.

He no longer wears his hair with the deep side-parting that can be seen in pre-prison photographs of him.

The last time I had seen him was during his lawyer days when he used to frequent the Blue Lagoon, an ele-

●To PAGE 2

The contents of this newspaper have been restricted in term



“Often it seemed to me that my voice had put him to sleep, but when I challenged him, he would repeat everything I had said”

giant black-owned restaurant in pre-Group Areas Act Johannesburg. Since then he has developed two conspicuous wrinkles running on both sides of his mouth.

He is known to fellow prisoners by his clan name, Madhiba. Warders call him Mandela, though most inmates are simply referred to by their prison numbers. I remember one sergeant in particular even calling him Mr Mandela — unheard of on Robben Island.

He has the respect of prison officials.

Mandela is a soft-spoken man of good manners, a gentleman through and through. His impeccable English is tinged with a Xhosa accent.

He is proficient in both official languages and in “fly-taal”, the township parlance of the 1950s. He has the habit of saying, “Okay, boy”, to anyone and everyone.

Despite the tight security in his section of Robben Island, he is well-informed about all his fellow inmates and delves into the family history of whomsoever he meets.

In fact, he knows a good deal on almost every subject and is well-versed about political events in the world. His ideal is a classless society.

He is committed to the realisation of the Freedom Charter, which he describes as a “living document that reflects the will of the people”. The charter is, according to his vision, a foundation on which a new South Africa could evolve. The charter, he says, is not the end of the road; it is a means to an end.

Madhiba is well-read. His greatest interest is political economy and any information he can get on the struggles of people in other countries, such as Cuba and Nicaragua. He takes books of this sort out of the prison library and reads newspapers.

He is fond of classical music, particularly Handel. He can often be heard singing Handel’s “Unto us a child is born”, waving his arms around like a conductor.

He never participated in the annual year-end prisoners’ concert on Robben Island, but he always listened attentively, commenting and criticising.

He usually wears prison-issued fawn trousers and a green shirt. Often he can be seen in a blue toweling gown from the hospital — especially after exercising or when relaxing, reading and writing in his cell.

When we were both on Robben Island, Madhiba would rise early in the morning and skip for exercise. He was a boxer in his youth and can still be seen shadow boxing from time to time.

During the day, I would see him spending a lot of time walking up and down the prison courtyard, deep in conversation with one of his colleagues. His closest comrades are Walter Sisulu, Raymond Mahlaba, Ahmed Kathrada and Wilton Mkwayi, all of whom were involved in the Rivonia trial.

He always seems to be conversing with some prisoner or another. Many prisoners go to him with their problems, whether legal or personal, be-

cause of his wisdom and his leadership. He is consulted on political issues and current events, and his advice on matters of law is sought very often.

He continues to practice his law in prison. Inmates have all sorts of legal issues to tackle and he is often in consultation with his colleagues, a way of overcoming the difficulties prisoners have in seeing their legal representatives regularly. He often helps prisoners draft the instructions they send to their lawyers outside of prison.

In fact, he is so busy one often has to make an appointment with him if one wants to talk to him.

One can meet him anywhere in the prison — in the courtyard or bathroom — and a casual chat will lead to a need for a solid discussion. He keeps quiet for a while, thinking how and when he can squeeze you into his packed — though unwritten — diary.

He does not take matters lightly. Before a discussion, he consults the relevant available literature and prepares fully. Sometimes you ask him a question in conversation and he does not want to answer there and then; he goes off and thinks about it and

**My three  
years in  
prison with  
Nelson  
Mandela**  
From PAGE 1

sometimes even writes a lengthy paper giving his answer.

He is a good writer, though his words are always difficult to read. He writes in tiny, barely legible script, because, he says, of the scarcity of paper in prison.

I sat and ate with him in his cell when it was my turn to exchange thoughts with him. He would offer visitors to his cell what we called “niceties”, tinned food or nuts bought from the prison shop. Meanwhile, Madhiba, a simple eater, would often chew on some dry bread.

He never smoked — though he kept an ashtray under his bed for fellow prisoners.

He is a good listener. Often it seemed to me that my voice had put him to sleep, but when I challenged him he would repeat to me everything I had said.

He talks about everything from township life to prison, from his escapades in Africa when he left the country illegally in 1961 to his days in the ANC Youth League.

His Island cell was 2,5m square. As one entered, there was a three-

door wooden cupboard on the left, containing his clothes, and two shelves above it, packed with books. One would always find legal documents, notebooks and files in piles on top of his cupboard.

His cell was always one of the neatest on the Island, with every paper filed in its place. He is meticulous.

A high hospital bed, prescribed for him by doctors, was on the right-hand side of the room. Underneath the bed he stored cardboard boxes, filled with books and groceries.

Across the far wall of the cell, stood a table which spanned the width of the room. A wooden sculpture given to him by a prisoner stood on the table. A high back chair stood before the table.

A colour photograph of a traditionally-dressed African woman in rural surroundings, cut from Readers Digest, stood on the table.

A black and white picture of his family hung on the wall above his bed. Also on the wall was a homemade calendar with his studying programme.

Madhiba had in his cell a chair, also specially prescribed by doctors. The floor was covered by a standard prison felt mat.

Madhiba often speaks about his wife, Winnie, and his children. He calls his wife Zami, from her real name, Nomzamo.

For many years, he was concerned that prisoners’ children could only see their parents through a glass window. “How can a child grow up without ever touching its father?” he would say. He was always campaigning for a change in this rule, until it was finally granted a few years ago.

I never saw Madhiba angry. He always preached self-restraint and encouraged people in a crisis not to react immediately, but to wait till matters had cooled off.

However, he is not infallible. He is always ready to apologise or admit he was wrong. He can take criticism.

He often says, “If you are a member of the ANC, you must be in a position to defend its virtues and its vices” — what he called, jokingly, the double-v.

He has the habit of sleeping for a while during the day, and writing and reading late into the night.

On Robben Island, he usually attended the film screenings every Saturday, his favourite being the educational documentaries that are sent from the provincial library. However, he seldom lasted through the feature film, catching a number of catnaps or leaving quietly to relax in his cell or meet someone.

Madhiba often goes to church, regardless of the denomination of the priest in attendance that day. He is not a religious man, and I am not sure whether his trip to church is simply a token visit or whether he does it for the sake of contact with people from outside the prison.

Madhiba was transferred in 1983 from Robben Island to Pollsmoor Prison in Cape Town.

# 'Police kidnap' claim rejected

By JO-ANN BEKKER

SUPREME Court Judge H Daniels yesterday ruled that even if South African police had kidnapped senior ANC official Ebrahim Ismail Ebrahim from Swaziland, he could still be tried by a South African court.

The judge, sitting in the Piet Retief circuit court, dismissed outright Ebrahim's application contesting the court's jurisdiction to try him on the ground that his abduction by alleged South African agents was a clear violation of international law.

The judgement could have important implications for about 10 people — alleged members of the ANC's regional political military council in Swaziland — believed to be in South African prisons after similar abductions. The State is accusing Ebrahim of being the head of this council.

Judge Daniels found the police had properly denied any involvement in

Ebrahim's capture. He said the application had not made a case for the involvement of other state agents.

But, the judge added, even if Ebrahim "had been captured in violation of international law and the seizure was by the South African state or with its connivance, that would not impair the jurisdiction of the South African court" to try him.

Ebrahim's attorney, Priscilla Jana, said her client was considering appealing the judge's decision. He was also considering bringing another application.

Ebrahim, 50, who has served 15-years for sabotage on Robben Island, will now join three alleged ANC guerrillas in a major political trial due to begin in Piet Retief on Monday.

● See PAGE 9



W/Mail



7-13/87

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# PETITION FOR 32 ON DEATH ROW

THE South African Youth Congress yesterday started its drive to collect signatures as part of its campaign to save the lives of 32 people sentenced to death following unrest-related killings.

Sayco aims to collect at least 32 000 signatures by the end of this month — a thousand for each of the condemned people — to protest against the impending hangings.

The organisation held a Press conference yesterday where the first

## By SOWETAN REPORTER

protest letters were signed. First to sign was Mrs Albertina Sisulu, a president of the UDF and president of the Federation of Transvaal Women (Fedtraw).

Also present at the public meeting were representatives of some of the families of the 32 who are awaiting execution.

Among those who attended the meeting were Mrs Regina Sefatsa, wife

of Mojalefa Reginald Sefatsa, one of five people sentenced for killing a Vaal policeman two years ago; Mr Reuben Mokhesi, father of Francis Mokoena, who was sentenced in the same case.

Mrs Leah Mokoena, mother of Reid Mokoena, also sentenced in the same case; Mr Sonnyboy Tsawane, brother of Josiah Tsawane, sentenced last year for killing a Sebokeng policeman; and Mrs Millicent Ngidi, mother of Phillip Bekisizwe Ngidi, who was sentenced last year for killing a Soweto

policeman.

The family members of the 32, all signed the protest letters. Mrs Pauline Moloisi, mother of hanged ANC cadre Benjamin Moloisi attended the meeting and also signed.

Sayco's president Mr Peter Mokaba said his organisation had not lost sight of the fact that the "Save the 32" campaign was taking place during a time when miners were striking for better pay.

"Incidentally, three of the 32 who were sentenced to hang are members of the NUM. Sayco will call upon its youth structures to support the miners," Mr Mokaba said.

## Protest

Mrs Sisulu said the Government must be warned that the day would dawn when "legalised murder" would come to an end. "We are also keeping an eye on those governments who are supporting South Africa. They must know that we shall be free one day," Mrs Sisulu said.

Sayco will distribute letters of protest throughout the country for people to register their protest against the impending hangings. The organisation will also campaign at international level.

Sowetan  
August 13, 1987

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# Many prominent people support the fund-raising 'Friends of the UDF'

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Prominent people and anti-apartheid organisations have come out in support of the Friends of the United Democratic Front (UDF), launched in Johannesburg this week to raise funds for the movement internally.

The UDF is expecting the State to act against its foreign donors.

Among those who supported the Friends were:

- Ms Nadine Gordimer, author of 16 novels and short story collections. She is a co-producer and co-writer of a documentary film "Choosing for Justice" which is about Dr Allan Boesak.
- Sir Richard Luyt, who was principal and vice-chancellor of the University of Cape Town from 1968 to 1980.
- Mr Prema Naidoo, a member of the Transvaal Indian Congress and active in Lenasia community affairs. He was secretary of the Anti-SAIC Committee in 1981 and spent a year in jail for assisting an escaped political prisoner.
- Mr Ismail Ayob, a Johannesburg attorney who acts for Nel-

son Mandela and is secretary of the National Association of Democratic Lawyers.

● Mr Achmat Dangor, a writer of short stories, poetry and a play. He is on the executive committee of the newly launched Congress of South African Writers.

● Professor Jakes Gerwel, rector and vice-chancellor of the University of the Western Cape. He has published papers on literary, educational and socio-political matters.

● Dr Nthatho Motlana, former secretary of the ANC youth league and chairman of the Committee of 10 in 1977. He is the present leader of the Soweto Civic Association.

● Mr Eric Mafuna, managing director of a company.

### SUPPORT MESSAGES

Messages of support came from several anti-apartheid organisations.

The Organisation for Appropriate Social Services in South Africa which brings together progressive psychologists, psychiatrists and social workers

said: "The work of the UDF is of special significance to us as we believe the mental health of the majority of South Africans will only improve with fundamental political change."

The National Education Union of South Africa said it supported every development which strengthened the struggle towards a non-racial democracy in South Africa.

The National Education Crisis Committee said: "The crisis in the regime's camp drives it to desperation. Many South Africans who have been driven into exile are running for their lives from agents of death."

The Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee objected strongly to attempts by the Government to restrict the operations of legitimate anti-apartheid organisations.

Support also came from the Brotherhood Foundation, the National Medical and Dental Association, the Five Freedoms Forum, the Black Sash, the Detainees' Parents Support Committee and the Soweto Civic Association.

150 000 R 1 50 000

# Sisulu joins campaign 11A to save 32 on death row

By Jo-Anne Collinge

United Democratic Front (UDF) president Mrs Albertina Sisulu and relatives of four people on death row are among the first signatories of "letters of protest" in the South African Youth Congress (Sayco) campaign to save the lives of 32 people sentenced to death for politically related killings.

Mrs Pauline Moloise, whose son, Benjamin, was executed in 1985 for the murder of a Pretoria security policeman also put her name to a protest letter at a Johannesburg Press conference yesterday.

She signed a declaration that she rejected "the death sentence imposed on the 32 South African patriots for their opposition to apartheid". "I support Sayco's demand to have the death sentence ended."

At the end of the page she added her personal comment: "They are our future. A child who has wronged is not necessarily killed."

Mrs Regina Sefatsa, whose husband, Mojalefa Reginald, is one of the Sharpeville Six who were convicted of killing a councillor during the rent march of September 1984, wrote of the possible hangings: "Mr Botha, stop these legalised acts of terror."

## CONVICTED MAN'S MOTHER

Other relatives of the Sharpeville Six, whose appeal is to be heard in Bloemfontein next month, were also present. So was Mrs Millicent Ngidi, the mother of the man most recently sentenced to death for a political killing, Philip Bekisizwe Ngidi of Soweto.

Sayco will be distributing letters nationwide through its 1 200 local affiliates, it says. People in positions of leadership will be asked to sign publicly and efforts will be made to create a general awareness of the position of the 32, Sayco said.

In an appeal to people to add their names to the campaign Sayco president Mr Peter Mokaba asserts: "The lives of the 32 can only be saved by all peace-loving and freedom-loving people the world over."

He explains that Sayco is not only demanding that the 32 be reprieved but that a policy that no activists or political prisoners will be hanged in future should be adopted.

In addition the Sayco campaign incorporates a demand that all activists who are captured after taking up arms against the South African Government be given prisoner-of-war status.

# From Nationalist <sup>IR</sup>Organiser to delegate at Dakar talks

THE first time I met Phillip he was addressing a meeting on the campus of the University of Cape Town. The audience listened with the faint impatience of veterans indulging a new convert.

Until Phillip experienced his political turnabout, the bravest breakaway in his family was that of his father. Verster senior refused to follow in the military tradition of the rest of the family and became a dentist. It was a blow to his elders.

Phillip's grandfather was a general in the dreaded Bureau of State Security (BOSS) and one step away from being the country's intelligence chief.

"My grandfather has discovered me. He tells people that I am not his relative," said Phillip, who is studying engineering at the University of Stellenbosch.

"The dilemma of young white people like myself is that we have only minimal access to the South African reality. When we are exposed to the truth, it shocks us. We can either refuse to face the reality or become critical and unsure, all at the same time. The latter is what happened to me," he said. Phillip went to Afrikaans schools in Stellenbosch where everybody's parents voted for the National Party. For him and his family it was a logical next step that he should become a youth organiser for "the Party."

Most Afrikaner students are not brought up to be politically active. They accept what has been given to them. But if you do become involved in politics, you support the National Party. Nothing is ever questioned," said Phillip.

But several years ago he became uncomfortable with the government's homeland policy. "I began to realise that they did not have all the answers," he said.

At the same time he met a journalist who had been researching a book on the destabilisation of the black townships by the security forces. "I used to have a typical approach towards black politics.

PHILLIP VERSTER used to be a youth organiser for the National Party. Now, he addresses anti-government rallies and raises his fist in a black power salute.

Some members of his family are prominent officials in the South African Defence Force that has virtually declared war on the exiled African National Congress (ANC).

Recently Phillip travelled to Dakar to hold talks with the banned movement that some of his relatives are fighting. He is typical of a small group of Afrikaner youth who have taken tentative steps out of the laager of their right-wing upbringing into the arena of liberation politics. He told SYLVIA VOLLENHOVEN of his reasons.



Phillip Verster and Professor Andre du Toit singing the national anthem

PHOTO: RASHID LOMBARD

I put people into radical or moderate groups ... those who were right and those who were wrong.

"I believed Inkatha (the Zulu movement of Gashu Buthelezi) was the political future of South Africa," he said.

Later he met an Inkatha member who

told him that the release of jailed ANC leader, Nelson Mandela, was essential and the ANC had to be unbanned.

"I could not believe my ears when I heard a so-called reasonable, moderate man, calling for the unbanning of a terrorist organisation," said Phillip. He decided to visit black townships

and saw for the first time, how people fought a daily battle against poverty and oppression.

The first shock for Phillip's family was his resignation from the National Party. Then, almost single-handedly, he started the first branch of the National Union of South African Students

(Nusas) on the Stellenbosch campus. He tried to start a branch of the End Conscription Campaign (ECC), but it was banned by the university authorities.

"I decided there was no logic in not talking to the ANC. I managed to persuade about eight fellow students that we should travel to Lusaka and speak to this organisation about which we knew so little," he said.

The campus has about 7 000 students. When the government got to hear of the small group's plans to talk to the ANC all their passports were confiscated by the authorities.

Last month Phillip, who managed to get a temporary passport valid for six months, was part of the Dakar delegation. The group, led by former parliamentarian, Dr Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert, held talks with the ANC in Dakar, Senegal. "I sat around the table with the ANC, thinking that I have to remember these discussions very carefully because at the end of the day I would have to explain it to my father. When I came back I sat talking to him for two hours but he refused to say anything, except that I was being used by the communists."

"Now he has let me know that he would prefer it if I did not visit him," Phillip said.

He used to share a house with several other students in the university town. When the landlord heard Phillip was going to Dakar, he gave all the students notice to leave the house.

When Phillip came back he was given a week to remove his belongings and find another place.

"I am working against an inborn conviction that everything I say is part of the total onslaught to destabilise South Africa."

A day before we spoke, he had met a group of his father's friends at a party.

Phillip drew scant encouragement from one woman who told him: "But we know you, we saw you grow up in front of our eyes, so what you are saying can't be all that crazy."

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# The next king of the Tembus: Exiled, somewhere in Lusaka

THE man who usurped the throne of "Comrade King" Sabata Dalindyebo, the popular king of the Tembus, is on his deathbed — and his successor is in exile in Lusaka.

He is Chief Albert Bambilanga Mtirara, a half-brother of King Sabata Dalindyebo who, helped by former Transkeian president Paramount Chief KD Matanzima, ousted him in 1980.

Rumours have been circulating in the Transkei that Mtirara has died, but *Weekly Mail* ascertained yesterday that the man may die any day. He is suffering from cancer in its terminal stage.

The Tembu tribesmen, especially former councillors of Sabata reckon that Sabata's elder son, young Buyelekhaya, now at school in Lusaka, should be recalled and be groomed to take over if bloodshed is to be averted in Tembuland.

Buyelekhaya Dalindyebo is 23 years old. He and his younger brother followed King Sabata soon after he fled the Transkei in 1980.

The prospect of him returning from Lusaka to take up one of the most powerful hereditary positions in the Transkei is one that will cause much

By MONO BADELA

embarrassment in Umtata.

Former counsellors said the "blood of King Sabata was now talking" ... that it predicted "Bambilanga will not enjoy his rule because it was not his and never will be his. The ancestors will meet him."

They believe if young Buyelekhaya is not installed on the Tembu throne there will be "frightening confusion"

"Comrade King" died in Lusaka early last year without fulfilling his long-cherished dream of returning as Tembu king once apartheid has ended.

Sabata had spent the last year of his life serving the African National Congress' external mission.

His long fight against apartheid and the pro-separate development policies of former president Matanzima will not be forgotten, particularly in the Transkei.

Although he was the king of the biggest Xhosa tribe, Sabata regarded ANC President Oliver Tambo as his leader.

"The chiefs and kings were defeated long ago by the Boers and so we

must accept the new leaders," Sabata once said while in exile.

"The so-called Transkei independence means nothing for the people in terms of social and economic advancement."

Jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela was Sabata's uncle. He was a traditional leader of more than one million people.

Sabata, a half-cousin of Paramount Chief KD Matanzima was born in Tylara on November 25, 1928, only a month after the death of his father, Paramount Chief Sampu Jongilizwe Mtirara. Though he was born to be paramount chief, he grew up as an ordinary shepherd boy. Two of his uncles acted as regents before he was installed as paramount chief in 1954.

As a leader of the Democratic Party — the chief opposition in the Transkei — he was a symbol of opposition to apartheid and the homeland policy.

He fled the country on August 15, 1980, after being deposed by the Matanzima cabinet. Albert Bambilanga, his half-brother, was installed in his place.

Earlier Sabata had been fined R700 or 18 months for "injuring and violating the dignity" of Matanzima.

Cape Times 14/8/87

11A

# Niemoller named in kidnap case

From IAN HOBBS

LONDON. — Cape businessman Mr Johan Niemoller, who is alleged to be the mystery "fifth man" linked to the ANC kidnap plot case here, was formally named in court for the first time yesterday.

At Lambeth high security court, Mr Ben Conlon, counsel for three of four men accused of plotting to kidnap the ANC's London-based leadership and fly them back to South Africa, asked a remand hearing if Scotland Yard's Anti-Terrorist Squad (ATS) had obtained a statement from Mr Niemoller.

Mr Conlon pressed for an indication of when the police would have a statement from Mr Niemoller, who has extensive farming and military clothing business interests in Upington.

The counsel for the prosecution, Mr Michael Bibby, said the police position would be given as soon as possible. Police forensic scientists, he said, are still examining firearms, ammunition and a mass of some 2 000 documents and other material seized from

the homes of the accused.

Mr Conlon appeared for Briton Mr John Richard Wheatley, 28, a computer operator of Guildford, Surrey, and two men who have named themselves as father and son, Mr Frank Lynge Larsen, 53, a psychologist, and Mr John Terence Larsen, 28, a computer technician, both of Aldershot, Hampshire.

The magistrate ordered their continued remand in custody until they next appear on August 27.

## Conspiracy

An earlier remand was told the three accused were in possession of false passports and security warrant cards. The police were uncertain about the identity of the men named as Larsen but believed they came from Zimbabwe.

The three men and a fourth accused, Welsh-born Mr Evan Dennis Evans, 49, a former senior officer with the Rhodesian and South African armed forces, have been held in maximum security police cells since their arrest under the the Prevention of Terrorism Act.

Mr Evans has twice made failed applications for bail.

The four are accused of conspiring with others between October 1986 and July 10 this year to kidnap ANC members, including the movement's president, Mr Oliver Tambo, its white commander of the military wing, Mr Joe Slovo, and executive member Mr Thabo Mbeki, who led the ANC delegation that met white South Africans in Dakar last month.

Mr Evans, who says he returned to Wales in 1985 because he did not want his son conscripted into the SADF, has denied the charge and disassociated himself from the other accused. His counsel told the court he was approached to join the alleged kidnap plot by the "fifth" man, but told him to "get lost".

In a series of statements to the ATS, Mr Evans, who is co-operating with police, has named Mr Niemoller as the alleged "fifth man" and also given details of an alleged associated bid to stage a coup in the Seychelles.

The four accused were arrested in separate police operations last month.



## CHARTING A CHANGE

The African National Congress (ANC) hinted after the Dakar talks with Frederik van Zyl Slabbert's group last month that it might modify its "blueprint," the 1955 Freedom Charter, says a recent *Economist Foreign Report*.

It states that the substance of the discussions was economic policy as outlined in the charter. Whites voiced concern at the call for large scale nationalisation: "The mineral wealth beneath the soil, the banks and monopoly industry shall be transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole."

According to the report, the ANC side agreed that there was a distinction between ownership of minerals, which belong to the nation, and rights to extract it, which might be purchased. This section might have to be reworded, an ANC representative suggested.

"As for the nationalisation of banks and 'monopoly industry,' the ANC line was that the State already controlled a large part of the economy and that the ANC would like to use 'existing structures' to benefit blacks," says the report.

The group was also concerned about

land being "redivided among those who work it," to quote the charter. "They were told that, in the first place at least, such a plan would affect big farms near SA's northern borders, where guerrillas operate. These farms are now standing idle or run by managers."

The report says the idea of a "transition period," while blacks assumed power, was discussed.

The ANC said that what happened would depend on the circumstances: if it was a negotiated takeover, the transition would take place gradually and within the law; if blacks took power after a civil war, they would be likely to act more drastically.

The ANC team did not convince the whites of the rightness of its violent opposition to the government, even though it insisted that ANC guerrillas were not aiming at "soft" civilian targets.

The report concludes: "ANC delegates insisted that they did not intend to impose a one-party system. The constitutional future would be left to a constituent assembly. A one-party state was not, however, ruled out."

FIN 14/8/87

# The bore's non-invitation to the RAM

AMICHAND Rajbansi has made the Transvaal Indian Congress an offer they can't understand.

Rajbansi, chairman of the ministers council in the house of delegates, wants to stage a public debate in Lenasia with a TIC representative, preferably the president, Dr RAM Saloojee, to be held under certain conditions:

● Invitations must be issued jointly by the TIC and Rajbansi's National People's Party;

● Both parties must agree on a neutral chairman;

● Any person who misbehaves must be evicted.

Fair enough, except for the final condition: both speakers must speak, without notes, for one-and-a-half hours. Rajbansi it seems, has learned how to stack a deck.

He made one further suggestion: that Saloojee bring along his wife. "Dr Saloojee himself knows the reason for this," he said in his statement.

The TIC says Rajbansi can't be taken seriously. During the recent Lenasia by-election, they challenged Rajbansi, the NPP and other candidates to face the public at a TIC mass meeting "to explain why you are causing disunity by standing for election when 85 percent of our people reject the house of delegates.

"1 200 people attended and waited for them in vain," the TIC said. But if Rajbansi and the NPP, whose election meeting in Lenasia attracted 40 people, still wanted a debate, there was plenty to discuss, like the abuse of special vote and the meagre poll.

But, the TIC added, there would in-

By JOHN PERLMAN

deed have to be conditions. Rajbansi must ask the security forces to stay away. And after the debate, the matter should be put to the floor; if the house (or the Lenasia stadium,

should it be needed) votes against Rajbansi, he and the NPP must resign their seats.

"If Rajbansi believes he has the support of the people, then he should have nothing to fear," the TIC said. Now, there's an offer.

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## **A DAKAR REPORT BACK**

*given by members of the  
delegation:*

- Prof. Jacques Kriel
- Prof. Braam Viljoen
- Also speaking: John Matisson

**Date:** Sunday 16 August 1987

**Time:** 7.30 pm

**Venue:** Marie Curie Lecture  
Theatre  
Wits Medical School  
York Road, Parktown

(TIA) (S) 5/11/87 14/8/87

# Expert witness gives evidence at terror trial

## ANC attractive in '70s — Lodge

By Duncan Guy

The banned African National Congress (ANC) had been attractive to many black people in the 1970s because of a lack of constitutional outlets for their political and social aspirations and the effects of the 1976 Soweto uprisings, a Johannesburg magistrate heard yesterday.

Expert evidence on the ANC was given yesterday by a Witwatersrand University political scientist, Dr Tom Lodge, during evidence in mitigation for two members of the organisation's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, who have been convicted on two terrorism charges and one under the Internal Security Act.

Dr Lodge said Theodore Vuzimusi Bigboy Zwane (36) and Solomon Moloi Makape (34), unlike the generation ahead of them, were typical of ANC recruits when they left South Africa in 1976.

After 1973, when the economy had stopped growing, the cost of goods in black households rose by 40 percent.

"They expected more from their lives and, at the time, job reservation for whites had the impact of making it difficult for blacks to use their skills," Dr Lodge said.

The two men were literate, but they were only able to find work as labourers and, in Makape's case, influx control was another obstacle to finding employment.

"Although the education crisis at the time of the Soweto riots did not affect them directly, widespread rioting came to Zwane's township, Katlehong, where the Government's Cilliers' Commission of Inquiry recorded ten incidents."

Zwane, however, found Afrikaans a hindrance. The hearing continues.

# PW puts clamp on ANC talks

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — In a day of high drama in Parliament yesterday, President P. W. Botha scrapped the 1989 white elections and clamped down on future talks with the ANC.

He pointed out that when the new constitution was introduced he had predicted that this would happen and that the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, had denied that it would.

Mr Botha said the current constitutional situation, which called for simultaneous elections for all three houses of Parliament in 1989, was "unfair" on any house which had had an election within the prescribed maximum five-year period.

A five-year term of power was a "deeply rooted" parliamentary principle from which the government would not deviate, he said.

Legislation would be introduced this session but would not affect the President's five-year term in office or his right to dissolve Parliament at any time.

The House of Delegates and the House of Representatives still face an election in 1989.

On the recent Dakar safari led by the former leader of the PFP, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, Mr Botha said subsequent statements by the ANC and the Johannesburg bomb blast had shown the effort to have been a total failure.

He revealed that the government had been fully aware of the safari plans but had decided to let it go ahead so that people who had naively ignored his previous warnings about talking to the ANC could "learn for themselves".

The government knew exactly what had happened at the talks and people would be surprised if they knew who had informed them, he said.

"The ANC is laughing up its sleeve at the naivety of the 'useful idiots' who, as Lenin put it, can be used to further the aims of the first phase of the revolution," Mr Botha said.

The fact that the government had allowed members of the Dakar safari to "burn their fingers" should not be interpreted as meaning that the government would turn a blind eye to future talks with the ANC, he said.

More reports page 7

In a wide-ranging speech he:

- Warned of restrictions on passports, incoming foreign funds and the activities of diplomats involved with extra-parliamentary movements.

- Laid down guidelines for the release of security prisoners, removing the renunciation of violence as the key condition.

- Hinted that a former member of the ANC hierarchy, 76-year-old Mr Govan Mbeki, could be released soon.

- Announced the release of the long awaited Margo report on tax reform on Thursday next week.

- Said the state of emergency would remain "as long as revolutionaries create trouble".

- Said he hoped legislation for the creation of a National Council including blacks would be completed this session.

- Announced an economic summit in Pretoria on October 22 to map out long-term economic strategy.

Mr Botha also indicated that he would be dealing with the "delicate" SWA/Namibia situation and the Conservative Party's policy of "partition" when the debate resumes today.

His announcement that the constitution was to be changed to avoid another white election in 1989 provoked immediate and heated reaction from opposition parties, who described it as "undemocratic" and constitutional "gerrymandering".

The CP's Home Affairs spokesman said the party had been "shocked" by Mr Botha's announcement, which showed the government was scared to face the CP in another election in two years time because there were signs the CP would win.

"The CP will strongly oppose the move and will make use of every by-election to force the government to have an election in two years after all," he said.

The leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Mr Colin Eglin, said: "There is no way we can support this gerrymandering with the constitution."

11/11/87  
14/8/87  
MD

# Release of ANC national chairman under review

By PETER FABRICIUS  
Political Staff

GOVAN MBEKI, 76, now serving a life sentence at Pollsmoor for sabotage, and whose possible release from prison was mooted by President Botha yesterday, was national chairman of the ANC and secretary of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, when he was imprisoned in 1963.

He was among those arrested with Nelson Mandela during the police swoop on Umkhonto we Sizwe's headquarters on Liliesleaf Farm, Rivonia.

Before that in 1961 he had joined the Communist Party of South Africa, according to Sheila Gastrow's *Who's Who in South African politics*.

In December of that year he was arrested and charged under the Explosives Act, spending several months in solitary confinement before being brought to trial.

He was subsequently acquitted on a technicality. In 1963, ignoring a house arrest order, he went underground and joined Umkhonto we Sizwe, according to Mrs Gastrow.

During the Sharpeville emergency in 1960, Mbeki spent five months in detention.

On his release he took a leading role in the Orlando Conference which led up to

the All-in Africa Conference at Pietermaritzburg and the call for a national convention.

His son Thabo, is publicity secretary of the ANC and serves on the executive of the external mission of the ANC in Lusaka. He was one of the ANC leaders who attended the Dakar conference with South Africans lead by Dr Van Zyl Slabbert's Institute for a Democratic South Africa.

Mbeki was born in 1910 in the Nqamakwe district of the Transkei, the son of a chief who was deposed by the Government.

He obtained a BA degree in 1937 from Fort Hare and a diploma in education.

## Dismissed

He joined the ANC in 1935. After leaving university Mbeki taught at various schools and was dismissed from Adams College for political activity.

He then ran a co-op in Idutywa and was editor of the Territorial magazine from 1938-1944.

In 1943 he was elected to a four-year term in the Transkei Bunga as representative for Idutywa.

In the early 1950s he returned to teaching but was once again dismissed for political activity.

In 1955 he moved to Port Elizabeth as local editor of *New Age*, a left-wing newspaper.

## Deeply involved

Mbeki became deeply involved in Eastern Cape ANC activities, building its support in the area so much that it became the hub of congress support in South Africa.

Port Elizabeth became one

of the few areas in the country where the M Plan — a system of cell organisation devised by Nelson Mandela — was effectively implemented.

He helped planned the Congress of the People in 1955 and became leader of the ANC in the Eastern Cape.

He was elected National Chairman of the ANC in 1956.

DAVID BRAUN of the Political Staff reports that President Botha decreed that renunciation of violence would no longer be decisive in its own right in determining the release of security prisoners.

## Dramatic

In this dramatic break from previous policy, Mr Botha has already instructed the Minister of Justice to give attention to the case of Mbeki.

All other cases are to be given periodic consideration on the basis of scientific advice from statutory bodies and after consideration of what would be in the best interests of South Africa.

Mr Botha said Government initiatives in the constitutional field, and what had already been achieved as a result of them, had resulted in elements that propagated violence becoming increasingly irrelevant.

Since May 1982, 153 security prisoners had been released after all factors generally applicable in considering releasing prisoners had been taken into account.

The offer was made repeatedly and could have lead to the release of the ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

Some of these prisoners had renounced violence, while others sentenced to shorter fixed terms were evaluated on their prognoses.

Mr Botha said: "What has become important in such cases where violence has in fact been denounced is that some people have, according to available information, again become involved in revolutionary activities directly related to violence.

"In a specific case, an individual maintained a neutral stance in terms of the expectations for a few years and even acted in accordance with his declared intentions. Later he became involved in radical circles once again."

Mr Botha said it had therefore become necessary for him to re-determine Government policy on the matter on the basis of the experience so far.

The Release Advisory Council had just issued an advice on the release of prisoners which coincided largely with the policy followed over the years. However, it emphasised that policy concerning ordinary criminals and security prisoners should be the same.

"This means that the renunciation of violence, like any other single positive factor, could contribute towards a good prognosis, but is not decisive in its own right.

## Guided

"What still has to be taken into account is, among other things, the intentions of the punisher, the interests of the community and the State, the nature of the crime and its motive, the duration of the sentence, previous criminal record, the prisoner's reaction to the sentence imposed and the general composition of the personality and approach of the person himself.

"This means, furthermore, the State will have to be guided in every case."

# MBEKI MAY

14/8/87 Saweta

**Coetsee to look into possibility**

# BE FREED



SIAMESE twins Mpho and Mphonyana enjoy a drink together. Their mother will soon be out of a job and without a home. Meanwhile the twins continue to grow. Read about them on Page 4.

## Mum stranded

MOTHER of Siamese twins, Miss Sophie Mathibela, will be without a home and a job at the end of the month.

She has been working as a maid for Mrs Lana van Pletzen since 1981 and now her employer is planning to sell her house and move to a flat in Klerksdorp.

Not only will Miss Mathibela lose the R80 monthly income supplemented by the R40 she earned from doing laundry for Mrs van Pletzen's neighbours, but she will also lose the little room which has been her home since 1981.

She said Mrs van

By SONTI MASEKO

Pletzen had long made plans to sell her house to live elsewhere but when Miss Mathibela fell pregnant with the twins, she shelved her plans.

She had told Miss Mathibela that she would not dump her while pregnant as she would not be able to find a new employer.

Miss Mathibela said she was faced with having to find a home for herself and her other children, a boy aged 15 and a girl aged 13 years old.

Her son and daughter are living with her sister

on a farm in Klerksdorp.

While she does not know yet how she will bring up her children without a job, she said that she hoped she would be able to spend more time with her babies at the hospital.

Mrs van Pletzen, who has been trying to get Miss Mathibela employed by the new owners of her house, said she prayed for her every day.

"I worry about Sophie, you know, the other day I said to my son 'my hart is stukkend' oor Sophie. I worry about where she is going to go to." Mrs van Pletzen said.

THE State President, Mr P W Botha, said in Parliament yesterday he had asked the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, to look into the possible release from prison of Govan Mbeki.

SA Press Association

Mr Botha also said the renunciation of violence alone would not be decisive in procuring a release from prison for long-term security prisoners.

He spelt out Government policy with regard to the release of security prisoners during the debate on his Budget vote yesterday, announcing that he had asked the Minister of Justice to look into the possible release of 76-year-old Govan Mbeki, who has been in prison for over 20 years.

### Principles

He and others would be released in terms of certain principles contained in an advisory note issued by the release advisory council advice which coincided largely with policies followed over recent years.

The principles emphasised that the policy regarding ordinary criminals and security prisoners should be the same.

"This means that the renunciation of violence, like any other single positive factor, could contribute towards a good prognosis, but is not decisive in its own right.

### Motives

"What still has to be taken into account, is among other things, the intentions of the punisher, the interests of the community and the State, the nature of the crime and its motive, the duration of the sentence, previous criminal record, the composition of the personality and approach of the person himself."

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## UDF 'sees all people as equal'

The State President and Government Ministers often spoke about "democracy"; but they saw "democracy" differently from the United Democratic Front (UDF), who saw all people as equals.

The general secretary of the UDF, Mr Popo Molefe (35), said this in cross-examination in the Pretoria Supreme Court. He and 18 other high-ranking members of the UDF, Azanian People's Organisation and local civic organisations, are charged with high treason, terrorism, subversion and murder.

Mr Molefe said when the Government spoke of democracy, it meant whites had their own vote while blacks could only vote in the national states.

The policy of the UDF was not to drive whites out of the country or into the sea, but to incorporate all people in one constitution.

The UDF only referred to the Government and its structures "implemented to further apartheid" as the "enemy" and not to whites in general, he said.

~~SECRET~~ 11A

# WARNING ON ANC

THE mere fact that the Government had allowed Dr van Zyl Slabbert and company to "burn their fingers" in Dakar should not be interpreted as though the Government would turn a blind eye to future talks with the ANC, the State President, Mr P W Botha, said in Parliament yesterday.

"Let Dakar be a lesson to all South Africans," Mr Botha said during the debate on his vote.

If some South Africans did not wish to pay attention to his earlier warnings, he wished to put these warnings in plainer English, so that everyone could understand what was at issue.

"A leopard (the African National Congress-South African

Communist Party Alliance) never changes its spots. Don't judge by appearances."

It was a fact that several forces were at work, directly or indirectly, to try to wreck South Africa's future or to inflame political events in their own self-interest.

"They will persist in this way, with even greater insensitivity and

with more sophistication."

The State President said the Government would therefore have no choice but to consider taking certain steps to prevent South Africans from becoming victims of this process.

These would include the following:

- The consideration of stricter control with regard to the issuing and renewal of passports for South Africans who collaborate with South Africa's 'enemies';
- The consideration of amendments to legislation to restrict the flow of funds from abroad to be used for undermining the State and promoting extra-Parliamentary politics;
- The appointment of a joint Select Parliamentary Committee of Inquiry into activities and funding of extra-Parliamentary groups;
- Just as the Government of the United States of America is taking steps to bring the staff of embassies who are acting off limits in that country under control, or to restrict their movements, similar steps can be considered in South Africa with regard to certain members of staff of specific embassies.

Mr Botha said that during the past few weeks

there had been widely divergent reactions to the "low-profile" the Government had taken in regard to the Dakar safari.

He wished to remind members the Government had on several previous occasions explained its stand, on the basis of hard intelligence, with regard to safaris to meet the ANC.

Dr van Zyl Slabbert, head of Idasa, has firmly

rejected accusations made by President P W Botha that the Dakar conference was held 'to co-ordinate strategies and to find out what the ANC expects of the democratic patriots.'

And he has challenged the Government to reveal any details it wants about the financing of his institute for a democratic alternative for South Africa.



CAPL Trans 14/8/72

# Treurnicht rejects talks with the ANC

## HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY.

— The white man's freedom in his own fatherland was not negotiable, not with a peaceful ANC that wanted a black government, and even less with a violent ANC that was contemplating a bloodbath, the Leader of the Opposition, Dr Andries Treurnicht, said yesterday.

Speaking in committee stage debate on the State President's vote, he said the CP did not recognize the ANC's "so-called peoples' power" because it went directly in the face of the white man's claim to his own country and his own government.

But what was more, the ANC's idea of "one black nation" was not generally accepted in black circles.

"Further we say it is now also the time that full self-determination for whites be recognized by all reasonable people — at least the same right as the Swazis, Sotho, Venda, Tswana and Xhosa have."

It was ironic that black self-governing states, according to the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, could make agreements with other governments and get greater exclusive powers within a single constitutional dispensation together with whites, he said. They had the best of two political worlds, but for the whites there was only one recipe: Give up your independence in a multi-racial state on the road to a black majority government.

Dr Treurnicht said the CP rejected the double standards whereby any other group could get independence, but the right of whites was subject to the consensus of people who denied and fought against the white man's rights. — Sapa

# Plain-speaking P W puts squeeze on ANC visitors

THE State President, Mr Botha, has made his intentions plain. The advocates of a negotiated compromise with the ANC will be driven out of public life if they persist in their reconciliation efforts.

Speaking on his Vote in the House of Assembly this week, Mr Botha indicated that those who carry on talking to the ANC and disregard his warnings can expect their passports to be seized.

Then there is also to be a Select Committee to investigate extra-parliamentary organizations and their sources of funds. This exercise promises to outdo the Schlebusch Commission of unhappy memory in unleashing a McCarthyite witch-hunt against advocates of dialogue wherever they are found.

There will be legislation, inevitably, which could cripple the activities of organizations such as the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa) and a wide range of bridge-building institutions such as the Black Sash and the SA Institute of Race Relations and perhaps even the Christian church and church-related bodies.

Mr Botha said in the plainest possible language that he had no time at all for extra-parliamentary movements seeking to change things in this country. Parliament was the place for bringing about change.

The trouble is that he has introduced a constitution which makes evolutionary change virtually impossible and in fact produces the ideal conditions for the white Right to gain control.

By separating the races in three racialy-defined chambers of Parliament and entrenching ultimate control in the hands of the white chamber Mr Botha has spurned the electoral support which would be forthcoming for orderly reform from middle-class elements in the coloured, Indian and black communities.

A further shift to the Right in the white electorate could bring Dr Treurnicht and his assortment of friends into power.

So Mr Botha has opted to duck the 1989 election for the House of Assembly, opening himself to charges from Left and Right that he is no democrat.

The rightward trend in the white electorate is indeed disturbing; the irony is that Mr Botha himself is the principal promoter of that trend.

Consider his performance in the Assembly this week, presenting the ANC in simplistic terms as a compliant tool of the South African Communist Party and its mentors in Moscow, asserting that it was in business to seize power in a bloody revolution and would only "negotiate" as a means to that end.

Displaying a communist phobia remi-

information contained in the departure forms filled in by the Dakar party at Jan Smuts in which a variety of destinations short of Dakar were given and in which the stated purpose of travelling likewise varied considerably.

This information is supplied for statistical purposes and is generally regarded as private. Citizens completing official forms for statistical purposes may be warned that their privacy is not respected in Mr Botha's South Africa. That kind of official decency has long since gone by the board.

Is the State President proud of the fact that leading South Africans in business and academic life need to resort to subterfuge to ensure that their freedom of movement is not restricted by an authoritarian regime? The fact that some decent people chose to name their intermediate rather than their final destination on an official document of record shows just how far this country has travelled down the authoritarian road.

What was the truth about the Dakar consultation? Were Dr Slabbert, Mr Botha and Mr Sonn indeed a group of innocents abroad who were duped and misled? In matters of this sort I would rate a considered statement by Mr Franklin Sonn, a disinterested, level-headed and prudent educationist, as enjoying rather greater credibility than Mr Botha's oratorical performance this week.

Mr Sonn is nobody's fool or dupe. He was in Dakar with Dr Slabbert, Mr Botha was not, and Mr Sonn said this week that the plain message of the ANC to the Dakar delegates was that they wanted to bring the Nationalist Government to the negotiating table to talk about the future of South Africa.

This is the key question: what is the purpose of the ANC's "armed struggle"? Is it to seize power in a revolution, with negotiation merely a means to that end, or is it a fight to get the Government around a table?

It would be unrealistic not to accept that the ANC, like the National Party, has a Left wing, a Centre and a Right wing. There are certainly ideologues in the ranks of the ANC as there are in the NP. Which will prevail?

I am inclined to accept Mr Sonn's assessment. He says most ANC delegates disliked violence and would abandon it tomorrow if they could. Presumably they see no other way of getting the Government to the table.

Mr Sonn is right, furthermore, when he says the ANC is a reality. Once an idea is in the heart of a people, he says, it cannot be blown away with a gun.

What is the future for South African leaders like Franklin Sonn who favour dialogue with the ANC?

In the short term it is going to be a rough ride. In the longer run, who can say?



Political Survey  
By GERALD SHAW



Mr Franklin Sonn



Mr PW Botha

niscent of the United States in the '50s, Mr Botha sneered at the Dakar expedition as a bunch of "useful idiots", in Leninist parlance, who had been misled, manipulated and exploited by wily ANC/communist propagandists.

Being somewhat xenophobic at the best of times and tending to see international relations in the '80s in stark '50s Cold War terms, Mr Botha is thoroughly in tune with an electorate which has been angered by car bombs and landmines and stampeded into a thoroughly reactionary frame of mind.

It was by reverting to the old Red-bashing politics in the last fortnight of the election campaign and whipping up the country into an anti-ANC/communist frenzy that he did so well at the polls in May.

In the process he gave the rightward trend an enormous impetus which is still in train. Playing the same game in Parliament with telling effect, Mr Botha is in danger of witch-hunting himself out of business, driving the white electorate into Dr Treurnicht's arms.

Consider his performance on Dakar, in which he earned a few cheap laughs by reading out the

No. 17562

Target

HOW many words of four letters or more can you make from the letters shown here? In making a word, each letter may be used once only. Each word must contain the white letter. Each word must be at least one ton-letter word in the list. No plurals; no foreign words; and no proper names.

4	5	6	7
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# Clark: Violence obstructs talks

JOHANNESBURG. — The Canadian Foreign Minister, Mr Joe Clark, yesterday said failure to agree on a suspension of violence obstructed possible negotiation between the South African government and the African National Congress.

"The question of the suspension of violence remains a very difficult question," Mr Clark told a news conference before flying from here at the end of a five-day, four-nation African visit.

He faced reporters after meeting two-and-a-half hours in Pretoria with the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha.

Earlier in the week in Lusaka, Mr Clark met officials of the ANC and the president of Zambia, Dr Kenneth Kaunda.

"I have raised with the ANC and the South African government the negotiating concept, but it is clear from both conversations that the reason the concept had foundered in the past was the question of the suspension of violence, and it remains a very difficult question," Mr Clark said.

"We think that failure to seek and find some means to end this by negotiation will be catastrophic for all people on this subcontinent."

The subject of apartheid is set down on agendas for October summits in Canada of Francophone and Commonwealth nations, Mr Clark said.

Neither Pretoria nor the ANC ruled out negotiations, he said. "The question was about the conditions under which it might most usefully proceed."

Earlier, Mr Botha told reporters after the meeting that "we disagreed on the causes of violence and the pace of reform".

"He (Clark) told me the Canadian government does not expect this government to negotiate the installation of a Marxist regime and they were against the use of violence to achieve political objectives," Mr Botha said.

Mr Clark said Canada did not intend to implement further sanctions.

But he said that Canada had initiated some sanctions and if no better method to bring about an end to apartheid could be found, his country would "disrupt diplomatic and economic relations".

Mr Clark, who left for Nairobi shortly after the conference, said his talks with Mr Botha had been candid. — Sapa

11A

# Accused admitted planting bomb says major

Dispatch Reporter

EAST LONDON — A man who allegedly bombed a Queenstown shopping centre openly admitted to the security police that he planted the explosives, the Regional Court here was told yesterday.

Giving evidence on the fifth day of the terrorism trial a state witness, Major F. J. Venter, said the accused, Mr Fikile Owen Gwadana, voluntarily accompanied him to the police station and was "spontaneous" in answering questions.

Mr Gwadana and Mr Mzwiabantu Errol Dapula have been charged with terrorism and 15 alternative charges

after allegedly bombing the Fred Pettit Centre in Queenstown on June 28 1986.

Major Venter said he and Warrant Officer N. A. Jordaan had not questioned the accused in the car on the way to the police station.

Major Venter said that when they confronted the accused at his place of work he would have been perfectly within his rights to refuse to accompany them to the police station.

When asked by Advocate J. Poswa whether he had told Mr Gwadana that he did not have to accompany them, Major Venter replied that he had not.

He said they had searched Mr Gwa-

dana before he got into the car because it was "normal procedure".

When they got to the police station they asked the accused if he knew Mr Luvuyo Leruma — an African National Congress (ANC) member who had been killed in a shootout with the South African Police on the main East London/King William's Town road in June last year.

Major Venter that said when they brought the accused to the police station they had treated him as a possible witness, which was why they had not read him his rights.

Major Venter said the accused spoke "spontaneously" and freely told them that he had bombed the

shopping centre. They warned Mr Gwadana only after he mentioned the bombing.

Advocate Poswa asked him if the accused had started talking without knowing that he was going to be charged. Major Venter replied "it could have been like that".

"By the time you warned him, he had already put his foot in it," Advocate Poswa said.

Major Venter said they only warned him after he mentioned the bombing.

The case continues on August 19.

The magistrate was Mr D. Cronje and the prosecutor was Mr J. du Plessis.

NEWS

SPECIAL REPORT

# Making of a terrorist

by JEREMY DOWSON  
Weekend Argus Reporter

JOSEPH Ngoma was 15 when he had his first taste of buttered bread.

Before that the grandmother-raised Langa youngster's basic diet was dry bread, sugar water and samp.

Now 28 and a former community organiser for the Red Cross, Joseph Ngoma was jailed for life on Wednesday for detonating two limpet mines at Mowbray railway station last year.

Ngoma is just one of hundreds of people, men and women of all races, convicted of terrorism in South African courts over the years.

For many South Africans, court cases such as the one which finally ended in Cape Town this week provide rare glimpses into the lives of African National Congress cadres. One who admitted being the commander of the Western Cape branch of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the ANC military wing, described his life as being that of "a typical African child".

Weekend Argus took a look at aspects of the backgrounds, including some specific incidents, of some of the individuals involved in recent Internal Security Act cases.

### Common factor

Factors common to many of the often lengthy pleas for mitigation are deprived backgrounds, anger at racist attitudes, frustration with working conditions and hatred for what they see as being ultimately responsible for all these: the Government.

One such case is that of Durban's Robert McBride, 23, sentenced to death three times for his part in the bombing of the crowded Mago's Bar on the Durban beachfront last year with his girlfriend and co-accused, Greta Apelgren, 30. Three young women were killed in the blast.

Brought up in the coloured township of Wentworth, one of the city's most depressed areas, McBride told the court: "When I was 17 I decided to 'try for white' ... (and) joined the white Northlands Rugby Club.

"Many insults were directed at me. When I made the A team, the player replaced was consoled by another who said: 'Don't worry, he's only a bushy.'"



know whether we attended school ...

"But she was the one who took care of the children of her white employer. She had more time for the children of her white employer than she had for us. Those are the children whom she reared, and I think they are the kids who grew up to shoot my mother's own children in the townships ..."

### Humiliation

Mzukwa got a job with a chain store where he encountered injustice and humiliation.

"Who likes to be called 'kaffir' or 'baboon' 20 or 30 times a day?" he asked.

Mzukwa said he "boiled inside" when he heard men 60 years old called "boy" by white youngsters who had to be addressed as "baas" or "sir".

After being sacked for absenteeism, he got a job at the Athlone power station cleaning boilers. "There would be dust in your nose, in your mouth, in your eyes and everywhere. It made you sick."

He contracted TB and was eventually sacked for being off sick, receiving neither compensation, nor wages nor leave pay. He made repeat

"He told me he was not interested in my stories; he had heard enough lies from us Bantu."

Veldtman was jailed for 15 years for helping with the importation of arms.

### Typical life

In the same trial Lizo Bright Ngqungwana, 27, Western Cape Umkhonto we Sizwe commander, told how his "typical life of an African child" had paved the way for his joining the ANC.

Ngqungwana, of Crossroads, was found guilty of receiving military training, training others politically and militarily, commanding all the activities of Umkhonto we Sizwe in the Western Cape, controlling the importation of arms into the area and their distribution among ANC members, and being in possession of arms. He is to serve a 25-year life sentence.

Born in Ladysmith, Natal, Ngqungwana told of how he had come from a big family.

"As a child I used to see the manner in which my father struggled to fend for our upbringing. There were times when he used to move from place to place looking for casual jobs to provide us with clothing, food and education."

In the early '70s his family moved to the Eastern Cape, settling in Port Elizabeth and then Alice. In 1976 the country was hit with peaceful demonstrations waged by students against the Bantu education system.

"As a student I read and heard with horror how the so-called maintainers of law and order, the police, dealt with these peaceful protests. These events made a great impact on us."

The students at his school joined the rebellion against Bantu education. He was expelled and moved back to Port Elizabeth, where he registered at Cowan High School. He joined the South African Students Movement (Sasm).

He took part in the student demonstrations which "shook PE".

Ngqungwana described how he had witnessed the "brutal manner" in which such protests were suppressed.

"To crown it all, most, if not all, extra-parliamentary bodies were banned. I realised that the oppressor would never hesitate to use force when threatened and that force was also the *modus operandi* of the government. I then decided to join the ANC."

He left school in 1970 because he could not afford to continue and wanted to change his "school pass" to one for a worker. An official at the Langa township office refused to alter his pass and said he would have to return to Cape Town as a contract worker or migrant labourer.

"Even though I had been born and lived all my life in Cape Town I was told I had no rights here because my parents had in the meantime left for better accommodation in King William's Town."

He ended his mitigation plea on a personal note, asking Mr Justice Nel in the Cape Town Supreme Court: "I wonder what you would do, my lord, if you were in my position in our country?"

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"Many insults were directed at me. When I made the A team, the player replaced was consoled by another who said: 'Don't worry, he's only a bushy.'"

### Ghetto

He described the area in which he grew up as being a gang-ridden ghetto in which 60 000 people lived in one square kilometre.

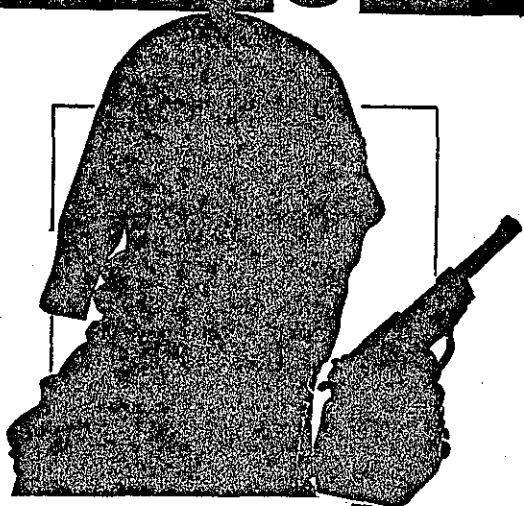
"If there had been facilities there would have been no gangs. Violence was the result of frustration building up within the people."

Another case is that of Theophilus Mzukwa, 26, like Ngoma, a former pupil of Langa High School. Like Ngoma, he was jailed for life this week for activating a limpet mine outside the Langa police station and throwing hand-grenades at the charge office and a patrolling Caspir in 1985.

Mzukwa explained he had left school early to help ease the burden on his domestic servant mother, who earned R60 a month. His father had died when he was 13. There were five children in the family.

"She never saw her own house during day time. In fact so much did she have to work for us that she hardly had time for us. She would only see the children over weekends.

"She did not know what we were eating while she was away slaving for us. She did not even



know whether we attended school ...

"But she was the one who took care of the children of her white employer. She had more time for the children of her white employer than she had for us. Those are the children whom she reared, and I think they are the kids who grew up to shoot my mother's own children in the townships ..."

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He contracted TB and was eventually sacked for being off sick, receiving neither compensation, nor wages nor leave pay. He made repeated efforts to get the money to which he believed he was entitled.

"On the last day I became so furious that I refused to leave without my money. The whites looked at me as if I was a criminal. They were scared that I might do anything.

### Robbing me

"They were right because I was in a mood to do anything to get my money. My whole life was one big robbery and now they were robbing me again."

Another of those convicted of terrorism in the Mowbray bomb trial was Sazi Veldtman, 29, a Nyanga post office clerk whose mother died when he was two. He was brought by an aunt to Cape Town where for two years he was refused entry to schools because he was "not legal" in the city.

At the age of 14 he was arrested for not having a pass.

When at 16 he applied for a pass he was ordered out of the Western Cape by a government official. Veldtman tried explaining to the official about the death of his mother.

"He told me he was not interested in my stories; he had heard enough lies from us Bantu." Veldtman was jailed for 15 years for helping with the importation of arms.

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In the early '70s his family moved to the Eastern Cape, settling in Port Elizabeth and then Alice. In 1976 the country was hit with peaceful demonstrations waged by students against the Bantu education system.

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"To crown it all, most, if not all, extra-parliamentary bodies were banned. I realised that the oppressor would never hesitate to use force when threatened and that force was also the *modus operandi* of the government. I then decided to join the ANC."

Dr Vijay Ramlakan of Durban was one of two doctors convicted of terrorism in the trial that followed a series of bomb blasts in Durban in 1984, one outside the home of the chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Delegates, Mr Amichand Rajbansi.

A staff doctor at the black King Edward VIII Hospital, Dr Ramlakan told the court that because of a severe shortage of staff and beds, doctors at the hospital chose which patients would live or die. Seriously ill patients were accommodated between and even under beds.

"Patients have to stand in a queue for up to 14 hours before they are seen by a doctor. I found myself ignoring men, women and children in need of help because there were others about to die."

Gladwin Mabengeza, 35, a scooter driver from Guguletu, was convicted in the Cape Town trial of harbouring or assisting members of the ANC and jailed for eight years.

Mabengeza described how his family was moved from the mixed area of Kensington in 1961 as a result of the Group Areas Act and how he suffered hardship through the pass laws.

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# UDF, Inkatha at funeral of ANC man

OWN CORRESPONDENT 114

DURBAN. — The "symbolic funeral" today of an African National Congress commissar who died in London three weeks ago will see top leaders of the rival United Democratic Front and Inkatha sharing a platform at Maphumulo, near Stanger.

Mr Masabalala Yengwa, 64, who went into exile in the 1960's, died apparently of natural causes in his London home. His body was cremated and given a "hero's funeral" a fortnight ago.

This week his sisters, Khululiwe Mkhwanazi and Thumamina Vilakazi, arrived back in Durban with the ashes.

Top Inkatha member and the Deputy Speaker in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, Mr Simon Mthimkhulu, and the UDF president, Mr Archie Gumede, will address the funeral.

KwaZulu has donated an ox and R1 000 for the traditional ceremony.

Mr Yengwa left the country in 1960 for Swaziland while under a banning order and later moved to London where he joined the External Mission of the ANC.

He was born at KwaMaqumbi, in Maphumulo, in 1923.

# Botha warns Clark: Whites won't let SA become Marxist state

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha said he told Canada's Foreign Minister, Mr Joe Clark, today that South African whites would not capitulate and were not prepared to turn the country into a Marxist state.

Mr Botha told an impromptu Press conference at the Union Buildings after a 2½-hour meeting with Mr Clark that whites were, however prepared, to share power and remove discrimination.

He had told Mr Clark in a "serious" meeting, which lasted an hour longer than scheduled, that the Government would not, however, negotiate with the African

National Congress if it said it would stop its terror campaign only for the duration of the talks.

He warned Mr Clark if foreign governments maintained their campaign against the South African Government they would create "A Greek tragedy".

Mr Botha told Mr Clark that South Africa felt betrayed by the West, and that its punitive measures delayed reform.

"He (Mr Clark) told me the Canadian government does not expect this Government to negotiate the installation of a Marxist regime and they were against the use of violence to achieve political objectives. — Sapa.



Star 15/8/87

Goven Mbeki — a man of strong intellectual

Govan Mbeki, the Robben Island prisoner whose release is under consideration by President Botha, is no political lightweight.

A former national chairman of the ANC and a leading member of the South African Communist Party, Mbeki was a member of the high command of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the underground army established by the ANC and the SACP after the ANC was banned

in April 1960.

The son of a Transkei chief, he was arrested with his fellow-leaders of Umkhonto we Sizwe at Rivonia in 1963. With Nelson Mandela, Mbeki was one of eight men sentenced to life imprisonment for sabotage in the Rivonia trial of 1963-64.

When Mandela and three co-trialists at Rivonia — Walter Sisulu, Ahmed Kathrada and Ray-

mond Mlaba — were moved from Robben Island to Pollsmoor Prison in 1982, Mbeki was left behind on the island. Two Rivonia men, Elias Motsoaledi and Andrew Mlangeni, stayed with him.

No explanation was given for the decision to split the Rivonia men after they had served nearly 18 years together on Robben Island.

Former political prisoners be-

**PATRICK LAURENCE**

lieve it was an attempt to divide them into "nationalists" and "communists", with the "nationalists" going to Pollsmoor and the "communists" remaining on the island.

Now 76, Mbeki, the holder of an honours degree in economics, was at different stages in his long life a businessman, a journalist, an au-

thor and even a lawful politician (as distinct from a revolutionary activist).

He owned a store in Idutywa, Transkei; worked as a reporter on, and later editor of, *New Age*; wrote a book on Transkei, completing parts of it on lavatory paper while an awaiting trial prisoner; and served as an elected member of the old Transkei Bunga or Council.

A man of strong intellectual prowess, his interest in communism was aroused in the 1930s by Dr Edward Roux, a university lecturer and author of "Time Longer Than Rope", a book which traced the black man's quest for freedom in South Africa.

But Mbeki did not join the Communist Party until 1961, more than a decade after it had been banned.

Mr Botha's announcement that he had asked the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, to investigate the possibility of releasing Mbeki, whose eyesight was said to be failing, was made during his reply in the debate on his budget in Parliament on Thursday.

In the same speech, Mr Botha castigated the nearly 60 men and women who went to Dakar for talks with the ANC.

PROWESS

# Doctor fears 'suspicious' men

SKW 15/8/87

(HDX) ~~15/8/87~~

## **BARNEY MTHOMBOTHI**

Popular Pretoria doctor and community leader Dr Abe Nkomo is living in fear of his life after suspicious-looking white men were seen this week inquiring from residents about the exact location of his house in Atteridgeville.

It has been established the vehicle the men were travelling in belongs to the SA Defence Force. Lawyers acting for Dr Nkomo yesterday sent an urgent message to the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, threatening to seek an urgent court interdict unless an assurance that Dr Nkomo would not be harmed was received within 24 hours.

This was done after the registration of the bakkie was traced to the SADF.

## **FRIEND OF DR RIBEIRO**

Dr Nkomo, chairman of the Atteridgeville and Saulsville Residents' Association and prominent figure in the United Democratic Front, was a personal friend of Dr Fabian Ribeiro, who was assassinated together with his wife Florence in Mamelodi in December last year.

Dr Nkomo was released recently after more than a year in detention. His surgery was damaged by arsonists a number of times in 1985.

A neighbour of Dr Nkomo said in an affidavit he was stopped by three white men in civilian clothing, driving a white bakkie, registration number KWJ993T, and asked which house belonged to Dr Nkomo. He pointed out the house to them after which the men drove off.

Dr Nkomo told The Saturday Star yesterday he feared for his life.

"I'm a civilian and a non-combatant, and live outside the operational area. I'm mystified as to why they should show an interest in me. It makes

## **Lawyers ask for assurance from SADF**

me feel very uncomfortable; that something very sinister is about to happen."

Lawyers, acting for Dr Nkomo, have established that the vehicle, an off-white Nissan bakkie, was registered on March 10 1986, by the Department of Defence Private Bag X160 Pretoria, Karl Kling Building, Vermeulen St.

An SADF spokesman confirmed to The Saturday Star last night the vehicle was theirs but said "the question (on Dr Nkomo's house) was asked as a matter of routine in the execution of normal duties."

In a telexed message to General Malan, the Legal Resources Centre in Pretoria said Dr Nkomo had no business with his department and required clarification as to the purpose of the surveillance "which prima facie was by members of your department."

The lawyers said Dr Nkomo was a prominent figure in his community and a personal friend of Dr Ribeiro, who was murdered in mysterious circumstances last December.

"In the premises, we request reassurance that you or your servants or agents will not further interfere, harass, disturb or otherwise undermine or jeopardise the privacy, peace and tranquillity of our client."

# ANC kidnap four remanded

LONDON — Four men accused of conspiring to blow up the ANC's London office and kidnap ANC leaders were again remanded in custody by Lambeth Magistrate's Court, the semi-official Ziana news agency reported.

The four are due to appear on August 27.

They include two men who are believed to be Zimbabweans, a psychologist, Dr Frank Lynge Larsen (53), and his son, Mr John Terence Larsen (27), a computer technician.

Their co-accused are Mr Jonathan Wheatley (28), British and possibly a former soldier, and a Welshman, Mr Evan David Evans (48).

The two Larsens and Mr Wheatley first appeared on July 15. Mr Evans on July 20. — Sapa.

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Parliament

# Botha sinks low, says safari MP



Mr Peter Gastrow

## Political Staff

THE MP for Durban Central, Mr Peter Gastrow, who was one of the Progressive Federal Party members in the Dakar safari, yesterday hit back at the State President for questioning his patriotism.

He said Mr P W Botha had showed, in raising the matter in Parliament, that he was prepared to sink to the lowest level of debate.

Mr Gastrow said he rejected with contempt anybody trying to decide his patriotism for him.

"This government, or its successors, will have to have their own Dakar one day," said Mr Gastrow.

There were millions of blacks

in South Africa who sympathized with the ANC even though they did not favour violence.

Mr Gastrow provoked rounds of interjections as he told Mr Botha he would be surprised how many of his own Nationalist members had stopped to question him about the Dakar talks and what had happened there.

Mr Botha had also referred to the departure form he had filled in at Jan Smuts Airport, insinuating that he had lied or tried to deceive someone that he would be attended a conference in the United Kingdom.

He had, however, checked with travel agents who had said he had filled in the form correctly in that he was going to a conference and that he was departing for the

United Kingdom.

The form did not ask for his final destination.

Mr Gastrow said he had returned from Dakar "a little wiser" and with greater understanding of where there was a possibility for compromise.

He agreed the SA Communist Party had an influence in the ANC but he was not "totally convinced" that it was under the total control of Moscow.

Nothing would stop him from playing a role in creating a future for his family. He would do it within the law and without violence to which he was totally opposed.

"I will not allow the State President to intimidate me, paint me or taint my integrity," he said.

114 (207) (83)

# PW urged to meet Mandela, then free him

Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT P W BOTHA should meet Mr Nelson Mandela — and release him, Mrs Helen Suzman told the president in Parliament yesterday.

Mrs Suzman, who has visited Mr Mandela in jail a number of times, said Mr Botha would be "astonished" at the ANC leader's moderate approach after spending 25 years behind bars.

Speaking during the State President's vote of the budget, she said Mr Botha

would be struck by Mr Mandela's lack of bitterness and desire to negotiate.

Mrs Suzman welcomed the government's change in policy regarding the release of political prisoners in terms of which the rejection of violence is no longer the overriding factor affecting the prospects for release.

Rivonia trialist Mr Thabo Mbeki appeared to be the first person to benefit from the new policy.

"It will be the greatest thing for South Africa if Mandela is the next person," she

said.

Speaking later, Mr Wynand Malan (Randburg Independent) said the revised conditions for the release of political prisoners should be used to draw leaders into the political process and not to destroy their political influence.

Replying to the debate, Mr Botha did not refer to Mr Mandela, but said Mrs Suzman should "stop moving on the brink of constitutional government and interceding for those for whom she knows she should not intercede".

# Last bid to save 32 on death row

16/8/87 C/Press

(1)A

By SELLO SERIPE

IT was silent as the parents of the 31 men and a Sharpeville woman currently on death row signed petition forms to be sent to State President PW Botha, begging him to reprieve their children.

For 30 minutes, only the rustling of petition forms filled the small hall at the Union Centre in Johannesburg as the parents made their last bid to be reunited with the children.

The campaign to try to save the 32 was initiated by the South African Youth Congress, who approached the parents and families of the condemned for their support.

The 32 were sentenced to death by South African courts for their roles in "politically motivated"

acts. These included violence, arson, malicious damage to property and the murder of councillors, policemen and alleged informers.

The only woman among the 32 is Theresa Ramashamola, who is among the group known as the Sharpeville Six, condemned to death for killing a Sharpeville policeman.

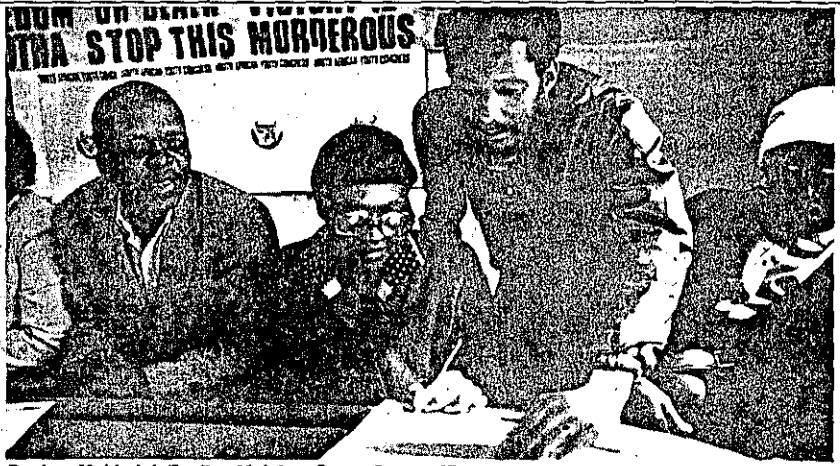
Also included in the 32 is Phillip Ngidi, of Soweto, who, at 19, is the youngest prisoner on death row.

Phillip was condemned to death by the Rand Supreme Court in April this year for his role in the murder of a Soweto policeman.

If no mercy is shown he will be the second youngest South African to face the hangman's noose, after Solomon Mahlangu, who was 18 when he was hanged.

Leah Mokoena, Reuben Mokhesi, parents of two accused, and Regina Sefatsa, wife of one of the condemned, were some of the family members who added their signatures to the petitions to try to save their loved ones.

Mokoena and Mokhesi's sons, Reid and Francis, together with Sefatsa's husband, Mojalefa, were condemned to death for their role in the murder of a



Reuben Mokhetal, Pauline Moloise, Sayco Press officer Kganhele Lekhoru and Leah Mokoena signing the petition asking for a reprieve for the 32 on death row.

Vaal councillor in 1984 when the rent boycott started.

While the parents were signing the petition forms, Albertina Sisulu and Pauline Moloise arrived to give them support and to add their signatures to the "Save the 32" campaign.

Sisulu's husband, Walter, is serving a life sentence for ANC activities, while their son, Jongimuzi, is serving five years for terrorism, and another son, Zwelakhe, is in detention. The Sisulu's eldest son, Max, and their daughter, Lindwe, have left the country.

Moloise's son, Benjamin, was hanged 1985 for terrorism.

Martha Mahlangu,

mother of Solomon, the youngest person in South Africa to be hanged, is also expected to support the campaign.

Sayco Press officer Kganhele Lekhoru said they were aiming to collect at least 32 000 signatures, 1 000 for each of the condemned.

Lekhoru said the petitions would then be presented to the State President, begging him to reprieve those on death row.

"We will also send petitions to the United Nations and the Organisation for African Unity, appealing for their support.

"Various member countries of the two bodies will be expected to ask their communities to sign the petition forms and send them to Botha to plead with him to spare the lives of our compatriots," said Lekhoru.

Albertina Sisulu said it would be a first degree murder should the 32 compatriots hang.

"The Geneva Convention says no political prisoner should be sentenced to death and if Pretoria turns a blind eye to that clause, this would be murder," she said.

She said no parent would venture to kill his or her child even though the child had caused serious embarrassment to the family.

CP Correspondent

A SECOND Potsdam resident has died following the attack on residents by vigilantes last month.

Mbeko Mavalanti, 25, died at Cecilia Makiwane Hospital in Mdantsane eight days after the attack.

The first victim, Zola Nozweu, was killed instantly during the attack.

According to Mbeko's father, Mhlabathi Mavalanti, his son had suffered two serious wounds on his head and one on the right shoulder.

Mbeko had undergone two operations to his head during his stay at the hospital. His father said his con-

## Attack claims second victim

stop him. The five were then attacked.

Residents have alleged that the vigilantes had joined forces with the Ciskei police.

No arrest has yet been made and no date has been set for Mavalanti's funeral. - Elnews.

## A second bomb scare

CP Correspondent

STANDARD Bank staff in Church Street, Grahamstown, evacuated their building on Wednesday after a bomb threat.

The evacuation was the second in a week, both at midday.

A security guard at the bank said the threat was made on the phone at about 12.15am.

The bank manager refused to comment and the police also did not have any comment on the matter. - Albany News Agency.

## 188 strike get the sack

CP Correspondent

CONFUSION reigned at East London's Mercedes-Benz plant on Tuesday when management announced that 188 workers had been dismissed.

However, National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa officials said they had not been informed of the dismissals.

The company had issued an ultimatum for the workers to end their strike, which had started on Monday, and return to work by Tuesday morning or face dis-

missal. The workers and the company dismissed 188.

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The company expel them", hoped the other work. There a

## Bank Investment Corporation

On August 7 1987 that an agreement had been reached with South African institutions of the 39 per cent Bank Investment Corporation (SBIC) and Standard Bank plc (Stanchart) of London.

## 'Forced' ANC Support

(11A) C/Pre 216/8/87

## Killed ANC man identified

### CP Correspondent

AN alleged ANC member, killed by police in a dawn shootout in Port Elizabeth's New Brighton township, has been identified as Sonwabo Mdekazi, alias Thandi Malgas Khumalo, of Cradock.

Mdekazi, 28, who was described as a "foreign trained ANC terrorist", was the only occupant of the house at the time of the shooting.

Meanwhile, a Port Elizabeth unionist, Mwonga Vellem, is being held under Section 29 of the Internal

Security Act in connection with the incident.

According to Jane Rweqana, whose daughter, Nombulelo Rweqana, owns the house, nine people were detained in a police swoop an hour before the shooting took place.

They were released on Friday, but Vellem is still being detained.

In a statement released after the incident, the police said they found a loaded and cocked AK47 rifle with two loaded magazines, plus a loaded and cocked Makarov pistol in the

house.

The news of the shootout has sparked a wave of violence in Cradock's Lingelihle township.

The police directorate in Pretoria has confirmed that three women were attacked by a group of youths armed with knives and stones.

One of the women, Nomachule Nomavuka, is believed to have been critically injured in the incident and admitted to the provincial hospital, while the other women were treated and released.



One of the many woman speakers at the Women's Day festival at Wits addressing the crowd.

# Women must unite and be more active in struggle

KERRY CULLINAN reports

THE Women's Day festival at Wits University, organised by the Federation of Transvaal Women, did not just celebrate the 1956 women's protest march, but also encouraged women to unite and play a more active role in the struggle.

And a strong feeling of unity was forged between the gathered women - ranging from those in traditional Ndebele dress to women in faded jeans.

Winnie Mandela, one of the speakers, emphasised this unity when she described how another of the speakers, Albertina Sisulu, had helped her in prison in 1958 when she was pregnant with her first-born.

Mandela also appealed to Fedtraw to establish a trust fund in the name of Lilian Ngoyi to help families suffering because of apartheid.

But perhaps the most touching moment of the day was when the mother of Robert McBride, an ANC member currently on death row, addressed the crowd.

After a rousing welcome, Doris McBride said that she had just returned from visiting Robert in Pretoria Central Prison and made a strong appeal to the crowd to "support the campaign to save Robert and the other 31 political prisoners on death row".

Another speaker, Derek Hanekom, himself an ex-political prisoner, then paid tribute to all political prisoners, including his wife, Patricia, currently serving a three-year prison sentence for contravening the Internal Security and Publications Acts.

Many speakers also spoke of the hardships facing mothers with children involved in the struggle, and mothers in T-shirts reading "Hands that rock the cradle rock the boat" expressed support for their children who were either in prison or had left the country.

The refrain from a women's group song, "No more can women say 'No, (I can't join an organisation) I'm going to a stokvel'", was greeted with much laughter and appreciation, as women dressed in the black and green Fedtraw uniforms represented a constant appeal to the gathered women to join the organisation.

Besides listening to various speakers, the crowd was also treated to live music, singing and poetry.

Various stalls, selling books, clothes and food were also set up outside the hall and women wearing "Free the Children" T-shirts were on hand to relieve weary mothers of caring for their children for a few hours.



Doris McBride received a warm welcome.



~~NUM~~ 11A ~~NUM~~

S

THE student wing of the Black Consciousness Movement, the Azanian People's Organisation, this week said it "supported the living wage campaign being waged by the Congress of South African Trade Unions".

Azasm has in the past strongly criticised Cosatu and the United Democratic Front for not fighting for the black people of South Africa.

## More support for NUM

The movement also initiated several black trade union movements: now affiliated to the black consciousness National Council of Trade Unions, which stands in opposition to Cosatu.

In a statement released

this week, Azasm pledged its solidarity with the more than 340 000 black mineworkers of the Cosatu affiliated National Union of Mineworkers who started a nationwide strike on Sunday at 44 gold and coal mines in demand for better working conditions and higher wages.

The statement slated attempts by the mining authorities to "employ scab labour".

# Strange bedfellows

**Sunday Times Reporters** LEADERS of the UDF and Inkatha, who have a bitter history of antagonism towards each other, met and shared a platform yesterday in what appeared to be a peaceful memorial service for an ANC member.

The ashes of Mr Massabala Yengwa, 64, former ANC secretary-general, were buried next to his father's grave at Mapumulo, Natal.

Mr Yengwa, a Durban attorney, who fled SA shortly before the ANC was banned, died in London two weeks ago. His ashes were returned to his home last week.

A senior Inkatha member, Mr Simon Mthimkhulu, was one of the speakers at the funeral, as was UDF president Mr Archie Gumede.

The joint attendance is the first time for months that UDF and Inkatha have been

together and coincides with what appears to be a slight warming of relations between the two organisations.

Police manning a roadblock near Mapumulo, in the Stanger area, stopped a Sunday Times reporter and photographer from proceeding to the service.

A police captain, who refused to give his name, said journalists were not permitted to attend funeral services "in terms of the emergency".

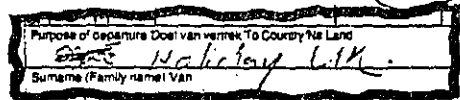
The Pressmen and their vehicle were searched.

A bus load of Durban mourners on their way to the service were also turned away at the roadblock.

A man who attended the service said there had been no incidents at the burial.

# Dakar cleric: I was framed

11A



Part of the departure form showing the alteration

By NORMAN WEST

A DEPARTURE form signed by a prominent member of the Dakar delegation was mysteriously altered to give a false reason for his overseas trip.

This was used in Parliament this week by President Botha to ridicule the South Africans who visited the ANC — to the amusement of National Party members.

Now an outraged Rev Theunis Eloff is demanding explanations why his stated purpose for leaving the country was deliberately falsified — and by whom.

When Mr Eloff left South Africa with other members

of the Dakar mission he gave as his purpose of departure "sake" (business in English).

The form was handed directly to an official and not to one of the other members of the delegation.

Copies of the original departure form now in the hands of Mr Eloff, however show that the word "sake" was roughly scratched out and the words "Holiday, U.K" written alongside in a cursive and quite different handwriting.

It was this reason President Botha used in Parliament to support his claim that some of the Dakar travellers had no qualms about violating the truth or showing how uninformed they were.

### Misery

Yesterday Mr Eloff told of the "misery" he had endured because, of the suggestion that he, a member of the clergy, had deliberately lied to immigration officials.

Shocked at President Botha's statement, he had asked the Department of Home Affairs for a copy of his departure form and received it on Friday.

It clearly showed the falsification of his statement.

"I find it particularly odd that the State President presented this false information to Parliament as the truth and that it was conveyed as such by the media".

A spokesman for President Botha's office said yesterday he had no comment.



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**ICE AGE?** Page 21

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# **ANC man's ashes come home at last**

By S'BU MNGADI

THE symbolic funeral of a former London-based ANC commissar, Masabalala Bonnie Yengwa, 64, to be held at his traditional home of Kwamaphumulo, on the North Coast, tomorrow is poised to bring together warring Inkatha and UDF supporters.

Yengwa died peacefully at his home in London three weeks ago. His sisters, Khululiwe Mkhwanazi and Thumanina Vilakazi, arrived back in Durban this week with his cremated ashes, following a hero's funeral in London.

The funeral of Yengwa, who was instrumental in organising the historic meeting between ANC and Inkatha leaders in 1979, is viewed by many people in Natal as a challenge to the UDF and Inkatha to choose between burying the hatchet and turning the funeral into a bloody showdown.

Inkatha has delegated its senior official and Kwa-Zulu Legislative Assembly's Deputy Speaker, Simon Mthinkhulu, to represent it at the funeral, while the UDF and Natal Indian Congress have pledged to give Yengwa a hero's funeral.

Yengwa was highly respected by a wide range of political organisations. To tribalists within Inkatha he was a representative of the "Zulus" in the ANC, while the UDF's Archie Gumede spent most of his recent stay in London at Yengwa's home.

Before fleeing the country in the 60s, Yengwa was Chief Albert Luthuli's close confidante.

He then left SA, settling first in Swaziland, then in London.

Yengwa was born in Kwamaqumbi, Kwamaphumulo, on December 5, 1923. He received his primary and secondary education there before matriculating at Indaleni.

He was involved in the trade union movement until he became a bookkeeper for the Lakhani Chambers' headquarters.

He then registered for a BComm degree at Sastri College in Durban, but was served with banning orders for his ANC activities.

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CPA

16/8/87

# Niemoller mentioned in ANC kidnap trial

By JEREMY BROOKS

London

SOUTH African businessman Johan Niemoller, who has denied involvement in an anti-ANC kidnap conspiracy, was mentioned in a London court this week.

Mr Niemoller, a young Uppington businessman with a distinguished military record, was named by the Sunday Times two weeks ago as the mysterious "fifth man" and alleged mastermind behind the plot.

This week Mr Ben Conlan, one of the London lawyers defending the three accused, asked if Scotland Yard's anti-terror units had obtained a statement from Mr Niemoller.

## Depositions

The South African's name is mentioned in certain depositions submitted to the defence.

Prosecutor Michael Bibby could not give an immediate answer — but said that he would find out as soon as possible.

In the dock were psychologist Frank Larsen, 53; his son John, 28, a computer technician; and John Wheatley, 28, a computer operator.

Former South African army officer Dennis Evans did not appear. Two bail applications launched by his attorneys have failed.

ARGUS 17/8/82

114 ~~100~~ ~~200~~

## I'll swear I didn't know — Dakar dominee

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Rev Theuns Eloff is prepared to make a sworn affidavit that he did not know of the alteration to his passport before he left South Africa for the Dakar talks.

The vilified NG dominee, who fears that an accusation against him by President Botha may cost him his job, yesterday said he did not make the alteration and that it was not done in his presence or with his knowledge.

Mr Eloff is also prepared to call in handwriting analysts to prove the change was not made by him.

In Parliament last week President Botha read out the contents of airport departure forms filled in by some of the South African delegates who met the African National Congress in Dakar last month.

### CROSSED OUT

Mr Eloff, he said, declared that he was going on holiday in Britain. A copy of the departure form obtained by Mr Eloff shows that he originally wrote "sake" (business) but that this was crossed out and that "Holiday UK" was added in English.

Mr Eloff said his job was in jeopardy because Gereformeerde Kerk law provided for the permanent suspension of a minister who publicly brought the church in disrepute.

"Violating the truth" is an example of such action.

*CAP-Timbs 17/8/87 (112) 257*

## Press barred from ANC funeral

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — Police barred 11 journalists from covering the funeral of the former African National Congress secretary-general, Mr Mahalalala Yengwa, in Maphumulo near Stanger on Saturday.

The extraordinary symbolic funeral saw leaders of the rival United Democratic Front and Inkatha sharing the same platform.

The funeral was addressed by the UDF president, Mr Archie Gumede, Mr J N Singh, of the Natal Indian Congress, and Mr Simon Mthimkhulu, a senior Inkatha member and deputy speaker in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly.

Mr Yengwa died in London three weeks ago.

## Swiss admit contribution

BERNE. — Switzerland helped finance the Dakar meeting, a Swiss government spokesman said at the weekend.

Berne contributed the equivalent of \$29 000 (about R58 000) with the remaining \$150 000 (about R300 000) coming from the Norwegian, Swedish and Danish governments, as well as a number of individual groups, he said.

The spokesman said the Swiss government had received no protest from Pretoria. — Sapa-Reuter

CAPE TOWN 17/11/87 (114) ~~114~~

# Most in SA support ANC — Slabbert

By CLARE HARPER

RESEARCH had shown that most people in South Africa supported the African National Congress — and white South Africans had to accept this, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert told about 1 200 people at Rocklands Civic Centre yesterday.

He was speaking with University of the Western Cape history lecturer Dr Andre Odendaal at a Dakar report-back

meeting, organized by the Mitchells Plain branch of the United Democratic Front.

Dr Slabbert said the National Party did not accept that the ANC had been in existence long before them — “we have to accept that reality”, he said.

He said it was clear from discussions that there was a way out of “senseless bloodletting”.

Recounting an incident in Ghana, when the ANC were asked whether they trusted the (white) Dakar delegates, Dr Slabbert said: “The ANC replied to the 2 500-member audience that the colour of a man's skin has nothing to do with his politics.”

The ANC were unanimous that the release from prison and detention of leaders and the unbanning of negotiations were pre-conditions for talks.

“The people who went to Dakar cannot negotiate — only the government has the power to change these circumstances,” he said.

He said that the role of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa) was not to compete with the leaders of any organizations — “but to persuade as many whites as possible that a non-racial democracy is in the interests of the majority, and in their interests as well”.

Dr Odendaal said he went to Dakar because it was important to illustrate to other whites the need to talk to the ANC and to “break out of the straitjacket of propaganda”.

He said that one of the particular aspects of the ANC that struck some of the 57 delegates was “their preparedness”.

“When questions were raised about why they turned to violence, the ANC recited a poem about a Boer child who died in the British concentration camps,” he said.

The ANC, he said, was not engaged in armed struggle because it liked violence but because it emanated from a system in South Africa, from the days of colonialism. “For the first 50 years after the ANC was formed, it tried every means to bring about peaceful change.”

## Eloff was not framed, says dept

Political Staff

THE Department of Home Affairs last night denied that the Rev Theuns Eloff, one of the South African delegates to the Dakar talks with the ANC, had been “framed” by a mysterious alteration to his departure form.

Last week the State President, Mr P W Botha, told Parliament that some of Dakar delegates had not hesitated to “violate the truth” in stating the reason for their departure from South Africa.

Among others he mentioned Ds Eloff's had said “Holiday. UK”.

### Changed

However, at the weekend Ds Eloff disclosed that a copy of the form he had obtained showed that he had stated in Afrikaans that the reason for leaving was “business”. This had been changed to state in English “Holiday. UK”.

He could not be contacted last night to react to a statement issued by the Director General of Home Affairs, Mr GBS van Zyl, who said the alteration had been done with Ds Eloff's knowledge by an immigration official.

Mr Van Zyl said the official, who was “competent, experienced and trustworthy”, had been interviewed but could not remember the specific case.

However, she had freely admitted that she had changed the form in her own handwriting.

She had explained that often forms were improperly completed and that it was standard practice to correct them after questioning the traveller.

Mr Van Zyl denied that Ds Eloff had had to threaten court action to get a copy of the form.



Claremont's Pick 'n Pay centre this

# Death: Police blamed

PIETERSBURG. — Nine Lebowa riot squad policemen have been found responsible for the death of the United Democratic Front Northern Transvaal regional president, Mr Peter Nchabeleng.

The finding, which will be handed over to the Transvaal Attorney-General, who will instruct on a prosecution, was handed down yesterday at Seshego Magistrate's Court by Mr C Mkoenyane.

The nine policemen are Sergeant Mokheudi Marokane, who died in November last year after being "necklaced", and Constables Mashilo Maifo, Alfred Chiloane, Lesetja Ramaoka, Abraham Radale, Segotola Modiba, Malose Seemane, Abel Maboke and Molebogi Cheoeu.

Professor H D Loubser, a pathologist, testified at the inquest that Mr Nchabeleng died as a result of assault.

Mr Nchabeleng died on April 11 last year, 12 hours after being detained by Lebowa police at the Schoonoord police station in Sekhukhuneland.

Earlier during the hearing Mr Nchabeleng's brother, Chief Moloke Richard Nchabeleng, told the court that his brother died after being interrogated by police.

Chief Nchabeleng said his brother looked fit when he first saw him on the morning of his detention, between 7am and 8am.

"About two hours later I saw him again in the company of policemen. He did not look well, walking as if drunk." — Sapa

## Red Indians to promote holidays

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CATG TMB 18/8/87 (119) (118)

# Brutus refused UK entry, sent back to US

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Exiled South African sports campaigner Mr Dennis Brutus was denied entry to Britain when he arrived at Heathrow Airport on Sunday from the United States, where he now lives.

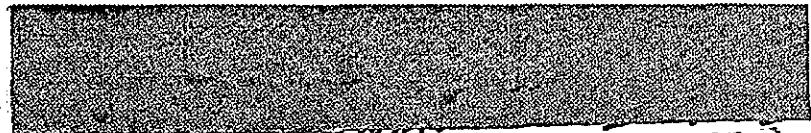
He was told by immigration officials at Heathrow that he did not have the necessary visa to enter the UK and was put on a return flight to New York, after being detained for some hours at the airport.

Mr Brutus is president of the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee (Sanroc). He is also head of the black studies department of the University of Pittsburgh.

He carries a US travel document, and is registered as a "resident alien".

A Home Office spokesman said yesterday that with such a travel document, he needed a visa.

Mrs May Brutus, who lives in the UK, said yesterday that her husband had come to visit her because she had been unwell.



MR BRUTUS

ARC-45 18/8/87 11A

## Essop quits DWP, joins Labour Party

MR Anver Essop (DWP Nuweveld) crossed the floor and joined the Labour Party in the House of Representatives.

Mr Essop told the chairman of the House, Mr Philip Sanders, yesterday that he was no longer happy in the Democratic Workers' Party and that he wished to join the Labour Party.

To cheers and applause from Labour Party members, he crossed the floor and was welcomed by the chief whip of the LP, Mr Willie Dietrich, and several others.

Mr Sanders told members they were not permitted to applaud Mr Essop's defection, but could voice their approval by saying "Hear, hear."

Mr Essop had been a member of the DWP since the inception of the tricameral parliamentary system in 1984.

The DWP now has only two members in the House — Mr Yusuf Rhoda (Bokkeveld) and Mr Dennis de la Cruz (Ottery), who with members of the Freedom Party, Democratic Party and an independent, make up the opposition in the form of the Democratic Alliance. — Sapa.

The Bureau wishes to apologise to Parliament and the hon the State President for supplying incomplete figures in this regard.

We do not hesitate to put things right when we discover a mistake.

#### Females detained

\*4. Mrs H SUZMAN asked the Minister of Justice:

Whether any females were being detained in terms of section 28 of the Internal Security Act, No 74 of 1982, as at 31 July 1987; if so, how many?

The MINISTER OF JUSTICE:

No.

#### Females detained

\*5. Mrs H SUZMAN asked the Minister of Law and Order:

Whether any females were being detained in terms of section 29 of the Internal Security Act, No 74 of 1982, as at 31 July 1987; if so, how many?

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

Yes—22 females.

#### British Consulate, Johannesburg: alleged arrest

\*6. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Law and Order:

- (1) Whether, with reference to his reply to Question No 9 on 23 June 1987, the South African Police have established who was responsible for the alleged arrest outside the British Consulate in Johannesburg in May 1987 of a certain person, whose name has been furnished to the South African Police for the purpose of the Minister's reply;
- (2) whether the South African Police have received any reports that this person was abducted; if so, (a) when, (b) from whom, (c) what action was taken as a result and (d) what is the name of this person;
- (3) whether this person has been found;

if so, (a) where, (b) when, (c) what were the circumstances surrounding his disappearance and (d) who was responsible for his abduction; if not, what action is being taken in this regard?

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

- (1) Yes.
- (2) No.  
(a) to (d) Fall away.
- (3) Fall away.

Note: I refer the hon member to my oral reply to Question No 1 on 11 August 1987.

\*7. Mr S S VAN DER MERWE—Law and Order. [Reply standing over.]

\*8. Mr S S VAN DER MERWE—Law and Order. [Reply standing over.]

#### Promotion of adult education

\*9. Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister of Education and Development Aid:

- (1) Whether his Department has (a) developed and (b) implemented any programmes to promote adult education; if not, why not; if so, (i) (aa) when and (bb) in which areas were they implemented and (ii) what have been the results to date;
- (2) whether he will make a statement regarding adult education for Black persons in the Republic and the self-governing territories?

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF EDUCATION:

- (1) (a) Yes.  
(b) Yes. Programmes have been implemented to promote literacy, to help in-service teachers to obtain a Std 10 certificate, to help all Black adults who want to study (from post-literacy to Std 10) in their studies and to promote personal enrichment (e.g. A Practical Course for Housewives and Domestic, Prepare your child for school, etc.)

(i) (aa) Since 1975.

(bb) In altogether 410 centres in schools and technical colleges in all 59 circuits of the seven regions of the Department of Education and Training and 161 centres at industries where programmes of this Department are utilised.

(ii) An average of 8 000 literacy certificates are issued every year.

The number of teachers without a Std 10 certificate has already been reduced from 73,6% in 1983 to 56,10% in 1986.

Private candidates for the National Senior Certificate entered by departmental centres for Adult Education obtained 31 269 subject successes in the November 1986 examinations.

The personal enrichment courses are very popular.

The literacy courses developed by the Department are also used by the private sector.

(2) No.

#### United Democratic Front

\*10. Mr J M BEYERS asked the Minister of Justice:†

- (1) Whether consideration has been given to declaring the United Democratic Front an unlawful organisation; if not, why not; if so, (a) when, (b) by whom and (c) with what result;
- (2) whether a decision has been taken in this connection; if not, why not; if so, (a) what decision, (b) by whom, (c) when and (d) in terms of what statutory provisions;

(3) whether this decision has been made known; if so, (a) when and (b) in what manner; if not, why not;

(4) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

The MINISTER OF JUSTICE:

The circumstances in which an organisation may be declared an unlawful organisation on matters related thereto are set out fully in the Internal Security Act, 1982 (Act 74 of 1982). Section 4, 6, 7, 8, 9 and 10 are particularly relevant. In section 4 it is stated, *inter alia*, that the declaration of an organisation as unlawful takes place by notice in the *Government Gazette*. Such declaration can therefore not take place without public notice. The considerations which can give rise to such declaration are set out in section 4 (1) (a) to (d). The government institutions and functionaries which are concerned with security matters, are constantly monitoring organisations and persons who are or may be active in that sphere. Should their activities have an effect on the security of the State or maintenance of public order, a wide variety of *modi operandi* are considered. Although it may be found that a particular organisation's activities render it liable to be declared an unlawful organisation, it is, of course, not to say that declaration as an unlawful organisation is the most suitable *modus operandi* or that it is part of the most suitable *modus operandi*.

Against this background it will be impossible for me to obtain, and to furnish comprehensive details which can cover a long-continued period to the hon member. In addition hereto the hon member will understand when I tell him, as I am now doing, that it will not be in the interests of effective handling of such cases to furnish the type of information which he requests in respect of specific organisations. I, however, point out the United Democratic Front was declared an affected organisation on 9 October 1986 by public notice. I would also like to point out that should any member have a *bona fide* interest in security matters, I would be pleased to discuss it with him confidentially.

their statutory responsibility to maintain law and order.

- (3) (a) and (b) No, but as a result of reports in the media, the Police took note of the expected presence of leftist and rightist radicals, and consequently took the necessary preventative measures.
- (i) to (iii) Fall away.
- (4) Yes.
  - (a) An officer of the South African Police directed a warning with a megaphone to the persons in English and Afrikaans in terms of section 72 (c) of the Internal Security Act.
  - (b) The persons dispersed peacefully.
- (5) Yes, a request was directed to the persons.
  - (a) Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche and Dr Alex Borrairie.
  - (b) and (c) The request which was directed at the two persons, was intended to promote the statutory responsibility of the South African Police, namely to maintain law and order.

Whether persons convicted of offences in terms of the Internal Security Act, No 74 of 1982, are entitled to (a) remission and (b) parole; if not, why not; if so, how many persons (i) had applied for and (ii) had been refused (aa) remission and (bb) parole as at the latest specified date for which information is available?

†The MINISTER OF JUSTICE:

(a) and (b), (i) (aa) and (bb) as well as (ii) (aa) and (bb): The Prisons Act, 1959 (Act No 8 of 1959), and the Regulations promulgated thereunder do not establish a right for any prisoner to be released prior to the expiration of his or her sentence.

The statistics as required cannot be kept due to the fact that one prisoner's possible conditional release, on parole or probation, can be considered and or reconsidered and recommended by the Institutional Committee or the Release Board on more than one occasion.

For the hon member's information, however, it can again be mentioned that 153 security prisoners were released since May 1982 prior to the expiration of their sentences. The hon member is also referred to the hon the State President's speech in which he dealt comprehensively with related matters.

New Questions:

Alexandra: serviceman shot

\*1. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Law and Order:

Whether, with reference to his reply to Question No 430 on 23 February 1987, the investigation into the shooting of a national serviceman in Alexandra Township on 1 January 1987 has been completed; if not, (a) what progress has been made in this investigation and (b) when is it anticipated that it will be completed, if so. (i) what were the findings and (ii) what action has been taken as a result?

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

No.

(a) The suspect(s) in the case have not yet been identified or traced.

Mr D J N MALCOMESS: Mr Speaker, arising out of the answer of the hon the Minister, can he perhaps tell us at what stage this warning to disperse was given, and how long after the warning had been given the AWB members vacated the airport premises, where they were gathered in fairly considerable numbers?

†The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, I would suggest that the hon member formulates in a question the further particulars he requires and have it placed on the Question Paper. I will then go into the matter of the specific times etcetera which he requires, and give him my reply.

Remission/parole

\*16. Mrs H SUZMAN asked the Minister of Justice:

HOA Howard 18/8/87

Howard 18/8/87

(b) All possible endeavours have been made to trace the suspects(s), but no indication can be given of when the investigation will be finalized.

(i) and (ii) Fall away.

(3) No.

(a) to (c) Fall away.

(4) No, the investigation is continuing.

(5) No.

Guguletu: death of ANC terrorists

\*2. Mr S S VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Law and Order:

(1) Whether, with reference to his reply to Question No 43 on 20 February 1987, the investigation into the deaths of suspected ANC terrorists in Guguletu on 3 March 1986 has been completed; if not, (a) what matters remain to be completed and (b) when is it anticipated that the investigation will be completed; if so.

(2) whether a copy of the post-mortem report on C Piet has been made available to his family since the date of the reply referred to above; if not, why not; if so on what date;

(3) whether any further requests for copies of the post-mortem reports have been received; if so, (a) from whom, (b) when and (c) what was the response thereto;

(4) whether the investigation into the escape of any person or persons during the confrontation with the Police on 3 March 1986 has been completed; if so, what were the findings;

(5) whether any persons have been arrested as a result of this investigation; if so, what are their names?

†The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) Yes.

(a) and (b) Fall away.

(2) No. I wish to point out to the hon member that if the family of a deceased wished to obtain a copy of such a report, they can apply for one to the clerk of the court where the inquest was held. The South African Police has no jurisdiction to furnish documents of this nature to interested parties or their representatives.

HOA

18/8/87 Howard

11A

Communication programme; total cost

\*3. Mr P G SOAL asked the Deputy Minister of Information:

(1) (a) What was the total cost of the communication programme including the song "Together we'll build a brighter future" and (b) what specified items are included in this total;

(2) whether this programme is continuing; if not, (a) when and (b) why was it stopped; if so, what aspects of the programme are still in progress?

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF INFORMATION:

(1) (a) R8 718 797 for the financial year 1986/87 which includes R4 373 652 expenditure on the "Together we will build a brighter future" project and; an expenditure of R4 345 145 on the "Rent and Services" project.

R3 007 319 for the financial year 1987/88 for outdoor advertisements for both campaigns.

- (b) TV commercials
- Radio commercials
- Press advertisements
- Outdoor advertisements
- Posters.

(2) Yes. The outdoor advertising campaign will continue until the end of the 1987/88 financial year.

(a) and (b) Fall away.

Note: It will be noted that the figure as in 1 (a) above (R8 718 797) differs from the figure as supplied by the hon the State President in reply to oral Question 1 of August 11, 1987, for R7 412 000.

Expenditure on outdoor advertisement of R1 306 852 for the 1986/87 financial year was inadvertently not included in calculating the total costs of the communication project.

Howard 18/8/87

# 9 riot policemen responsible for UDF man's death

By Jo-Anne Collinge

SESHEGO — Nine members of the Lebowa riot unit have been found responsible for the fatal assault on United Democratic Front Northern Transvaal president Mr Peter Nchabeleng.

The finding was given yesterday by Seshego inquest magistrate Mr N C Nkoenyane.

Mr Nchabeleng (59) died on April 11 1986, within 12 hours of being taken into custody by the riot unit and held at Sekhukhune Police Station.

Medical evidence was that extensive bleeding caused by blows with hard instruments caused Mr Nchabeleng to lose consciousness and suffocate while in that state.

## 'Conspiracy to cover up events'

Chief State Pathologist Professor J D Loubscher testified yesterday that it was the extent of the beating rather than the force of any particular blow which proved fatal. "The cumulative effect is the deadly effect."

Mr Nkoenyane found: "The deceased's death was brought about while he was in the hands of the riot squad of which Sergeant Mokhudi Bernard Marokane was in charge.

"It was Sergeant Marokane and other members of the riot squad who assaulted the deceased."

Sergeant Marokane died before the inquest commenced. The other eight members of the riot unit are: Constables Mashilo Charles Maifo, Alfred Lecklos Chiloane, Lesteja Paul Ramaoka, Abraham Mokgopana Ratale, Segopala Simon

Modiba, Malose Charles Seemane, Abel Motale-tale Maboki and Molebogi Jacob Chueu.

Counsel for the Nchabeleng family, Mr Bob Nugent, submitted that a "conspiracy was hatched" by members of the riot unit to cover up the way in which Mr Nchabeleng died.

Mr Nugent said it had been shown that all of them had lied in written statements to the police, omitting the interrogation of Mr Nchabeleng from their affidavits.

He asked the court to declare two other policemen — riot unit head Captain Abraham Moloto and the officer investigating the death, Warrant Officer Maredi James Molapo — accessories to the criminal assault on Mr Nchabeleng.

Although Captain Moloto denied being at the police station on the morning Mr Nchabeleng was interrogated, the occurrence book and evidence of several other policemen stated otherwise, said Mr Nugent.

The captain was fully aware that an assault had taken place. If it had taken place while he was there this must have been with his acquiescence, Mr Nugent argued.

Warrant Officer Molapo, he added, was an accessory after the fact as his "conduct shows clearly" he was trying to avoid the truth about Mr Nchabeleng's death being revealed in the course of his investigation.

Mr J H Wessels, for the Lebowa Minister of Law and Order, submitted that only those who participated in the assault or who had been shown in court to have witnessed it could be held responsible.



By Duncan Guy

# Two ANC officers are sent to jail

Two high-ranking officers who served in African National Congress (ANC) training camps in Angola from 1977 to 1982, were today jailed for 11 and 12 years respectively by a Johannesburg magistrate.

Solomon Moloi Makape (34) and Theodore Vuzimusi Bigboy Zwane (36) were found guilty on two terrorism charges and one under the Internal Security Act.

Zwane was sentenced to a year more than Makape because he is charged with having more firearms in his possession at the time of their arrest in Bophuthatswana last year.

### MILITARY TRAINING

Makape was found to have been "chief of defence" and Zwane "chief of ordinance" at the camps in Angola.

They were further charged with having left South Africa in

1976, and having joined the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, and having undergone military training in the Soviet Union.

They pleaded not guilty initially, but changed their pleas to guilty after a secret witness, who was one of their trainees, had testified that he recognised them.

Makape and Zwane were arrested last October in Bophuthatswana on a mission which they said involved observing houses in the Northern Transvaal to accommodate ANC members.

The magistrate, Mr I J J Luther, said although the men had grievances against the system in South Africa, it was not for the court to decide whether they were justified in joining the ANC.

Giving evidence in mitigation of sentence, Makape testified that before 1976 he had been harassed by police in Soweto because his girlfriend was not entitled to be in the township.

He said he worked for poor wages on the mines, some of the time as an assistant nurse.

His original plan when he left

South Africa was to study medicine in the United States.

In his evidence, Zwane recalled being a victim of a forced removal as a child and finding it difficult to get work because of job reservation.

He recalled seeing his ill mother being "arrested like a thief" because she owed R18 to a shop.

### HEAVILY ARMED

The magistrate said the men were armed with hand grenades and an automatic weapon, which they would have used against security forces if they had been cornered.

He referred to evidence in mitigation by an expert on the ANC, Dr Tom Lodge, lecturer in political science at the University of the Witwatersrand, that Makape and Zwane were typical of people who left South Africa after the 1976 Soweto uprisings with only a vague idea of the aims and objectives of the ANC.

The magistrate said: "While your personal grievances might have made it easier to join the ANC, you were both adults and intelligent and knew the goals of Umkhonto we Sizwe."

## DAKAR ROW ON THE BOIL

Business Day Reporter

THE war of words over the controversial departure form used by President P W Botha to ridicule Dakar delegates continued yesterday. *B. van der Merwe (P)*

Reverend Theuns Eloff yesterday reaffirmed his intention to get a sworn affidavit that his departure form for the Dakar talks was not changed from "business" to "holiday, UK" in his presence or with his permission, and he would get a witness to do the same to clear his name.

And the Department of Home Affairs yesterday also reaffirmed it was satisfied its staff had correctly carried out the procedure by which, if the reason for departure was changed, it was done only after questioning the passenger.

Eloff faces possible suspension from his church, the Gereformeerde Kerk in Brooklyn, Pretoria, for his participation in the Dakar talks.

The church has appointed a commission of inquiry to which members of the congregation can report. The inquiry is to sit until the weekend. The church council will then decide on Eloff's fate within the church.

□ The President owed Eloff an apology for casting aspersions on his honesty, Tian van der Merwe (PFP Green Point) said in the House of Assembly yesterday, SAPA reports.

Botha should at least have given Eloff the chance to explain before calling him a liar, Van der Merwe said.

It was typical of the whole tenor of the debate so far that Members were concentrating on affairs of party political points scoring, and not on more important issues.



(11A) (11) Sowefer 18/8/87

**A** NEW book, *Biko: No Fears Expressed*, by American Millard Arnold, reminds us of what Steve Biko stood for — and died for.

The book, a collection of the Black Consciousness leader's writings and sayings, is to be released in South Africa by Skotaville Publishers of Johannesburg.

Millard says in the book's foreword: "Indeed, when one looks at the South Africa of today, 10 years after the death of Steve Biko, the need for this book becomes all the more apparent."

"It is a time of rising tensions, unrelenting anger and increased potansation. Tens of thousands of people are detained, many of them for over a year. Many too are children — eight, nine, 10-year-olds who have been traumatised and embittered by an experience that humbles even adults . . ."

"This small book is but a poignant reminder of the clarity of Biko's thinking. The thoughts that are extraordinary when one realises that they were written over a decade ago; yet they are as timely and relevant now as they were then."

### Struggle

"It more than anything else illuminates the breath of Biko's understanding and his continued relevance to the ongoing struggle in South Africa."

Millard writes: "To some degree the life and death of Steve Biko epitomises the age-old question of whether the man creates the times or the time creates the man."

"In the case of Biko, there is no answer to the riddle but it can be said with the greatest of assurance that he was a man of *his times*, perhaps THE man of his times."

Millard says Biko seemingly burst upon a nation unprepared for his daring, his genius, his succinct understanding of the nature of the political process.

### Astute

His emergence as a bold, calculating, astute political operative jolted whites unaccustomed to a black man with such an acute sense of comfortable assertiveness.

Here was a man who tweaked their noses intellectually, laughed at their displeasure and had the audacity to recognise his superiority.

Millard says Biko had the vitality of youth which compelled him to regard with disdain any attempt to undermine his dignity or the dignity of black people.

He was the prototype of the black nation to come.

Millard says: "Biko's contribution bridged the difference between resistance and apathy. Like Robert Sobukwe, he was the necessary intellectual link that

# Steve Biko - a man of his times

## FOCUS

By **THEMBA MOLEFE**

makes and sustains a revolution.

"He was, and is, the catalyst that binds the ANC with South Africa's black youths' forging a link between the defiance of the past and the determination of the present," says Millard.

Perhaps the author hits the nail on the head when he concludes his analysis of Biko:

"Black Consciousness, Biko's most significant contribution, provided a framework for political emancipation."

*Biko: No Fears Expressed* tries to demystify the Black Consciousness ideology,

a thinking that has been misconstrued since its introduction in South Africa.

The book says it clearly: a struggle - any political struggle or otherwise - is about the process of controlling fear. For the oppressor, fear is the weapon that permits subjugation; for the oppressed, fear is what makes repression possible.

### Resistance

When resistance to apartheid took a new turn on June 16, 1976, Biko said: "The lack of fear is a very important determinant in political action. We must remove from our vocabulary completely the concept of fear."

as being apartheid. They argue that in order to oppose it we have to form non-racial groups. Between these two extremes, they claim lies the land of milk and honey for which we are working."

On remedies for apartheid: "... To get the right answers, we must ask the right questions; we have to find out what went wrong . . ."

On politics: "The essence of politics is to direct oneself to the group which wields power."

"This type of politics calls upon us to provide our own initiative and to act at our own pace and not that created for us by the system."

On the politics of change: "We believe we have interpreted history correctly, that the white man anyway is going to eventually accept the inevitable."

And on the question of the franchise: "The attitude is a simple one, an open society, one man, one vote, no reference to colour . . . There will be a completely non-racial franchise. Black and white will vote as individuals in our society."

This book is a must for those who have always wanted a better understanding of Biko.

"To understand me correctly, you have to say that there were no fears expressed."

Fifteen months after 13-year-old Hector Petersen became the first victim of June 16, 1976, Biko died violently in detention.

Millard reflects by quoting Biko: "You are either alive and proud or you are dead. And when you are dead you can't care anyway."

Physically Biko was gone, psychologically he was everywhere, writes Millard.

Here are some of Steve Biko's thoughts as written in Millard's book:

On apartheid: "Apartheid - both petty and grand - is obviously evil. Nothing can justify the arrogant assumption that a clique of foreigners has the right to decide on the lives of a majority . . ."

"The basic problem in South Africa has been analysed by liberal whites



STEVE Biko: "We must remove from our vocabulary completely the concept of fear."

# NUM backed

THE Pan Africanist Congress, the African National Congress and the United Democratic Front have re-affirmed their support for the National Union of Mineworkers as it continued with its wage strike at gold and coal mines.

A statement said the office of the PAC's chairman, Mr Johnson Mlambo, had sent a message of solidarity to the NUM on behalf of the Azanian Trade Union Coordinating Centre (Atucc), the sub-organ of the exiled organisation's labour department in Tanzania.

## Apartheid

The African National Congress said in Harare that mine owners were "eager to collaborate with apartheid to crush the strike." The ANC said their actions belied their periodic mouthings of opposition to apartheid.

The United Democratic Front has sent a telex to the State President, Mr P W Botha, demanding that the Government and the police should not be involved in the dispute.



MR JOHNSON Mlambo . . . PAC.

*(Handwritten scribble)*

*(Handwritten scribble)*  
11A

*(Handwritten scribble)*  
Sweep

18/8/87



# SHOCK VERDICT

THE verdict handed down by the Seshego Magistrate's Court on the death of United Democratic Front president Peter Nchabeleng, is the second inquest finding in two months which implicates the Lebowa police in the death of a detainee.

In June this year Magistrate Mr M B Mabuza found that 12 policemen based at the Mahwelereng Police Station were responsible for the death of journalist Makompo Lucky Kutumela, a member of both the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) and the Media Worker's Association of South Africa (Mwasa).

**For the second time in two months a court has found that a detainee has died at the hands of Lebowa police.**

Mr Kutumela died of loss of blood and internal brain haemorrhage. Evidence led at the inquest was that seven people, all Azapo members, were detained by police at the Mahwelereng police station on the night of April 4. Some of them, including Mr Kutumela, were severely assaulted during the night. Mr Kutumela died the following morning.

The inquest also heard that a command "to hunt and kill comrades" had been issued to the police

on the day the arrest and the assault took place.

Mr Nchabeleng died six days after Mr Kutumela at a police station about 100 km away. Evidence led was that he had been taken to a garage at the Sekhukhune police station where he was interrogated.

## Screams

Witnesses who were at the police station at the time said they heard screams and sounds of beatings emanating from the garage during the time Mr Nchabeleng was

interrogated. A magistrate who took down a "confession" and saw Mr Nchabeleng two hours before he died, testified that the deceased "looked sick and did not concentrate. He kept falling asleep", he said.

There are at least five other inquests of people who allegedly died at the hands of Lebowa police members still pending. One, resulting from the fatal shooting of Mr Moss Magae on March 7 last year, is due to resume today at the Mokopane Magistrates Court.

Still pending are inquests into the deaths of:

- Isaac Mafokwane, who died of bullet wounds after clashing with police at the University of the North on June 16, 1985;
- Ngwako Ramelepe who died at Kgapanane, near Duiwelskloof, on October 18, 1985 following alleged police beatings;
- Mavis Malatji who died of bullet wounds at Namagale, Phalaborwa, when police allegedly disrupted a Sharpeville commemoration service on March 23 last year; and
- Lawrence Kodi Tseka who died of bullet wounds in May last year at Gamasemola in Sekhukhuneland.

# HOW UDF MAN DIED

18/8/87  
Saveta

17A

**FORMER** Northern Transvaal president of the United Democratic Front, Mr Peter Nchabeleng, died of severe injuries inflicted by members of the Lebowa riot unit, an inquest magistrate found yesterday.

Mr C N Nkweonyane made the

**By MATHATHA TSEDU**

finding at the Seshego Magistrate's Court. Mr Nchabeleng died at the Sekhukhune Police Station on April 11 last year — less than 13 hours after he was arrested by riot unit members.

• To Page 2

# How Peter Nchabeleng died

## • From Page 1

Earlier yesterday the Chief State Pathologist, Professor Johan David Laubser, presented his post-mortem findings in which he stated:

- Mr Nchabeleng was assaulted by "at least two" different instruments;
- If one of the

instruments was a sjambok, then it was used in an inverted position — with the tip used as a handle;

- There were "at least 35" bruises on his body;
- The "cumulative effect" of the beatings had caused bleeding under the skin leading to shock which induced unconsciousness; and

• Mr Nchabeleng had vomitted when he was unconscious and had inhaled his own vomit which then blocked his respiratory system.

Professor Laubser said the effect of the beatings could have killed a younger man. Mr Nchabeleng was 59.

Mr J A Wessels, for the police, said it was "common cause that the injuries that caused the death were inflicted while the deceased was in the hands of the riot unit". He said it was difficult to pinpoint which members of the riot unit were actually responsible. "We know that Sergeant Marokane was in charge and that he interrogated the deceased," he said.

Sergeant Morokane died last year.

Counsel for the Nchabeleng family, Mr Bob Nugent, said there was an attempt "at a very high level" by the police to conceal the perpetrators. "No inquiry was made until three months after the death and no explanation was given

for this.

"The investigating officer, Warrant Officer Molapo, only investigated the riot units after receiving the post-mortem report showing that there were severe assaults. But all the statements he took do not mention any assaults or interrogation," added Mr Nugent.

In his findings Mr Nkweonyane said "the post-mortem report states that the deceased died as a result of assault. We know that the deceased was a healthy man with no injuries when he was arrested."

"We know that most of the time he was in the hands of the riot unit with Sergeant Marokane in charge. The injuries were therefore inflicted while he was in the hands of Sergeant Marokane and the riot unit.

My findings therefore is that Sergeant Marokane and other members of the riot unit assaulted the deceased," he concluded.

• See Page 4.

## Weather

THE Weather Bureau's forecast summary for today:

Transvaal: Fine and mild but cold overnight with frost over the southern half.

Orange Free State: Fine and cold overnight with severe frost becoming somewhat warmer later in the day.

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18/8/87 Sheriff

Lucky

TUESDAY, AUGUST 18, 1987

9/17/77 18/18/77 (11/1/77)

# Govt sources deny 'secret negotiations' with ANC

Political Staff

A UNITED STATES report that talks between a South African government envoy and exiled leaders of the ANC are imminent has been dismissed in government circles.

Government sources said yesterday that President P W Botha had repeatedly stated there could be no negotiations with the ANC unless it renounced violence.

Yesterday the Washington Times claimed South Africa had opened secret negotiations with the ANC and said this could lead to the release of ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela within three months.

Sources in the South African cabinet were reported to have told the Times that a South African government envoy would meet exiled ANC leaders in Lusaka to discuss the release of Mr Mandela and "other issues".

□ AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche has con-

gratulated Mr Botha for his stand last week in Parliament on the Dakar delegates and told him the AWB is government's biggest ally against the ANC and communism.

In a telegram sent to Mr Botha at the weekend Mr Terre'Blanche said he looked forward to immediate changes in the legislation to end "collaboration with the enemy".

The contents of the telegram were divulged yesterday by AWB official Mr P W Bingle.

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# AWB lauds PW's stand on Dakar delegates

DOMINIQUE GILBERT

AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche has congratulated President P W Botha for his stand last week in Parliament on the Dakar delegates and told him the AWB was government's biggest ally against the ANC and communism.

In a telegram sent to Botha at the weekend, Terre'Blanche said he looked forward to immediate changes in the legislation to end "collaboration with the enemy".

He said: "Their (the collaborators') misplaced pronouncements proves you right, namely that they are being used as useful idiots.

"I repeat my assurances, as made on public platforms, that in the case of conflict and struggle against the ANC and communism, the AWB is still the government's and the armed forces' greatest ally."

Relaying the contents of the telegram yesterday, AWB official P W Bingle said the AWB was, as yet, unaware of any effective police investigation into the organisation or activities of its members.

Police recently said an investigation had been launched into alleged threats made by AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche against the Dakar delegates upon their return from west Africa.

Bingle said: "All we know about the investigation is what we read in the Press."

PAC  
name  
APLA  
man

PRETORIA. — The Pan Africanist Congress yesterday identified two men killed in a shoot-out with police in Corlett Drive, Johannesburg, on August 4.

One of them was from Guguletu.

In a message apparently telexed by the PAC from Dar-es-Salaam, the organization said the men were Mr Neo Koza of Guguletu and Mr Tshepo Lilele, of Welkom. It said they were members of the PAC's Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA).

A police media liaison officer for the Witwatersrand, Lieutenant Pierre Louw, said the claims had been discussed with the head of the security branch in Johannesburg, Brigadier G Erasmus, and police "at this stage did not want to comment".

The PAC statement relates to the incident in Johannesburg, which included a high-speed car chase. After a shoot-out three men, armed with Scorpion machine pistols, were found dead in the car.

● A report received from Maseru by the SABC last night said Lesotho police were investigating the firing of several shots at a house of the PAC representative in Maseru on Saturday. — Sapa



CAPG Times 19/8/87 11A

# Govt silent on prospect of UDF ban

By BARRY STREEK  
Political Staff

THE Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, declined yesterday to disclose whether the government had considered banning the United Democratic Front (UDF).

He said it would "not be in the interests of effective handling" of cases of declaring an organization unlawful if information about these cases was disclosed.

But he warned that organizations and people who were active in the sphere of considerations which gave rise to being declared unlawful were "constantly" monitored.

He also pointed out that the UDF had been declared an affected organization on October 9, 1986, by public notice.

Mr Coetsee had been asked by a Conservative Party MP, Mr J M Beyers, who represents Schweizer-Reneke, whether consideration had been given to declaring the UDF an unlawful organization and if not, why not.

He had also wanted to know whether a decision had been taken in this

connection, by whom the decision was taken, when it was taken, in terms of what statutory provisions, and whether this decision had been published.

Mr Coetsee said the circumstances in which an organization could be declared an unlawful organization and related matters were set out fully in the Internal Security Act.

The declaration of an organization as unlawful was published in the Government Gazette and this declaration could therefore not take place without public notice.

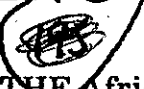
"The government institutions and functionaries concerned with security matters are constantly monitoring organizations and persons who are or may be active" in the sphere of the consideration of declaring an organization unlawful.

"Although it may be found that a particular organization's activities render it liable to be declared an unlawful organization, it is, of course, not to say that declaration as an unlawful organization is the most suitable modus operandi or that it is part of the most suitable modus operandi," Mr Coetsee said.

Cape Times 19/8/87

# No Mandela talks — ANC

By CHRIS STEYN

 THE African National Congress (ANC) yesterday rejected as "absolute nonsense" rumours that the organization had opened secret negotiations with the South African government to negotiate the imminent release of Mr Nelson Mandela.

They were reacting to a report in the Washington Times which quoted sources in the South African cabinet as saying that a government envoy would meet with exiled ANC leaders in Lusaka to discuss the release of Mr

Mandela in three months' time.

But an ANC spokesman told the Cape Times yesterday that the report was "absolute nonsense".

The negotiations report follows State President P W Botha's speech to Parliament last week in which he announced that political prisoners would no longer be required to renounce violence as a condition for release and that the government was considering releasing ANC leader Mr Govan Mbeki after 24 years in prison.

# Lenasia by-election up the pole

11A

13-19/8/87 South

*(Handwritten scribble)*



A day at the polls . . . scene at the parliamentary by-election for the House of Delegates in Lenasia recently.

Picture: AFRAPIX

JOHANNESBURG. — The UDF-affiliated Transvaal Indian Congress is poised to go to court after last week's Lenasia by-election for the House of Delegates produced one of the most bizarre polls in the history of this country.

The official poll was 16 percent — but of that figure, about 80 percent was special votes.

The TIC has alleged irregularities in the special voting and it is now certain to go to court within the next fortnight to have the results set aside.

In the 1984 general election, the turnout was just under 10 percent. The TIC believes the increase in this week's poll was to a large extent due to the abuse of special votes.

The Rand Supreme Court declared invalid the special votes of six applicants in the run up to the election who said they were obtained irregularly.

The TIC subsequently wrote to the Attorney General asking him to institute prosecutions. A lawyer, Mr Krish Naidoo, said no reply had yet been received.

The TIC has also asked the director-general of Home Affairs to set aside all the special votes cast, or to investigate each of them.

Naidoo said he was informed this week that the director-general had referred the matter to the State Attorney.

The TIC also published a list of names and addresses of all who had allegedly cast special votes. Subsequently, a number of people have come forward to insist they had not voted.

More than half of the students at Lenasia's five high schools boycotted classes in protest against the by-election. A rally was addressed by, among others, Cosatu's Jay Naidoo and Faried Esack.

In overall terms, however, Amichand Rajbansi's Party received only eight percent of the registered electorate's vote.

A supporter of Cabinet Minister Amichand Rajbansi's National People's Party, whose candidate won, allegedly fired a shot at an activist.

The NPP's candidate polled 609 votes, but his three opponents together polled 725.

MANY meetings and cultural activities will be held next week to mark the fourth anniversary of the United Democratic Front (UDF).

The main event will be a rally at the University of the Western Cape on Sunday, August 23.

Dr Allan Boesak, Moulana Faried Esack and advocate A M "Dullah" Omar will speak at the rally, which starts at 2.30 pm. Other possible speakers are the Rev Beyers Naude, former general secretary of the South African Council of

Churches, a national executive member of the Congress of SA Trade Unions (Cosatu) and a speaker from the South West African People's Organisation (Swapo).

There will also be speakers on youth and the education crisis, according to UDF Western Cape publicity secretary Hilda Ndude.

All activities would have a strong emphasis on the

Freedom Charter, she said.

The anniversary of the launch of the UDF in Rocklands, Mitchells Plain on August 20 1983, will be celebrated from Wednesday night with a public meeting at the Samaj Centre, Gatesville, hosted by the Thornhill Residents Association.

Student rallies will be held on Thursday at schools and universities, a UDF anniversary dance in

Bonteheuwel on Friday night and many smaller activities are planned by UDF affiliates for the weekend.

This week UDF activists planned to distribute 150 000 pamphlets and several thousand posters advertising the anniversary activities.

"We are focussing on our fourth anniversary to show that the UDF is still around

in spite of repression and the propaganda onslaught by the SABC.

"We want to state strongly the UDF's rejection of the tri-cameral parliament and our desire for a democratic education system.

"We reiterate our belief that there can be no thought of negotiations until our basic demands are met. These include the unbanning of the African National Congress, the release of political prisoners and the end to the state of emergency," Ndude said.



Lizo's father, Mr Melani Ngqungwana, a retired priest, and his daughters, from left: Loli, Nomonde and Ndileka.



Lizo's mother, Mrs Nomthandazo Ngqungwana, in her garden in Alice

# Lizo, the early years

THE sickly father of Lizo Ngqungwana ended an eight-year search for his son in the Cape Town Regional Court in October last year.

His son had left him and joined the ANC in 1978 when he was 18 years old.

In his six years with the ANC, Lizo soon rose to the position of commander of the Western Cape unit of Umkhonto weSizwe. He received military training in Angola, the Soviet Union, Maputo and Lesotho.

Lizo's mother, Mrs Melani Ngqungwana, a 70-year-old retired priest, travelled from Alice to see the son.

"It was like a miracle to see him alive after he had been missing for eight years. He was a bit stockier than when I last saw him. He was in fine spirits and made me feel strong as well," he said.

Lizo's mother, Mrs Nomthandazo Ngqungwana, a nurse at Victoria Hospital in Alice, could not attend the trial in Cape Town because of her work. Lizo's three brothers and two sisters could also not attend.

Lizo was born on April 15 1960 at Stetsville location in Ladysmith.

One of his two sisters is a student nurse in Alice and another is an unemployed teacher.

In the early 1960s the Ngqungwana family stayed at a "council house" in Ladysmith.

At that time, Lizo's mother was working at a provincial hospital in Natal. His father preached at a local Presbyterian church and the young Lizo was brought up in a strict Christian environment.

"I used to tell my children to rely on the Lord. They all attended church services regularly. Lizo was one of the choir members. At home I used to punish him if he transgressed my rules," his father said.

Loli, Lizo's elder sister, recalled the

## THE main accused in the trial of the ANC 13, Lizo Ngqungwana, comes from a small town in the Ciskei. VUYO BAVUMA went to Alice to trace his roots

early days:

"Lizo liked to eat. When our mother laid the table, Lizo used to sing to try and impress her and get a bigger chunk of meat," she chuckled.

His favourite play-mates were his elder half-brothers, Thamie and Phumlani. Both of them skipped the country in the early 1970s.

In 1966 he started schooling at Jabavu Lower Primary, about two kilometres from home.

In 1971 the family moved to the Eastern Cape.

The family stayed in a four-roomed "matchbox" at a small village called Emakhaleni about 10km outside Alice.

In 1971 Lizo enrolled for standard three at Lovedale Higher Primary, a training school for student teachers of Lovedale Teachers College.

In 1974 Lizo passed standard six and moved to Jabavu Secondary which was a training school for the students teachers at Fort Hare University.

SOUTH spoke to teachers who taught Lizo.

One described him as a bright pupil. "He liked to read books. Lizo and his peers from the village were like any typical village boys."

Another teacher said: "I remember Lizo as introvert but one could not fail to notice him. He always made a contribution when something was being discussed. We had no SRCs at that time so we could not see his leadership qualities.

They also attended some of the students' meetings at the campus.

At that time the Eastern Cape was hit by a wave of political protests generated by the Black Consciousness movement and the schoolchildren "often witnessed police activities against the students".

He said most of Lizo's peers left the country to join the ANC.

A former Jabavu sports-trainer said: "I remember him as young lad with thin legs. He was a regular in the second rugby team but never rose to the first team. He used to play as a wing and was nicknamed 'Mafukuzela' because of his hefty figure."

Lizo later left Jabavu and went to Port Elizabeth. He continued his studies at Cowell High School in Kwazakhele township.

His mother said: "I took my child to PE because I wanted him to be educated. I did not want him to be illiterate."

At that time there was a wave of protest actions against Bantu Education. These actions increased after the death of Steve Biko in September, 1977.

Amid the turbulent times Lizo passed standard nine. In the following year the Cowell High was closed after being hit by strikes.

He was expelled and later returned to his family in Alice.

Lizo's mother described the day he finally left home in July 1978.

"One day Lizo wanted to visit his father in PE where he was delivering a sermon. There was nothing unusual about that so I just gave him permis-

sion to go.

"He took along some clothes as usual and some money. But a few days later his father returned and said he did not meet Lizo.

"Immediately we contacted our relatives in PE who said my son was not with them. We then became worried as he never stayed away from home. We started to search for my son but we could not locate him," she said.

Lizo's father said: "I went to places like mortuaries and police stations in East London and PE but with no success. I also visited relief organisations. All along the years we kept on praying and my family was confident that Lizo was alive and well.

"In May 1986 I received an anonymous letter saying my son had been held in Cape Town. We asked our cousin in Langa to investigate the matter. Later on I left for Cape Town.

"I first went to offices of the Western Province Council of Churches. I was given a description of Lizo. Immediately I realised that they were describing my son who I had not seen for eight years," he said.

"I then started to contact police stations but I did not succeed in locating him. I became angry and frustrated but I refused to give up. Later I heard that he was going to appear in court.

"I was deeply worried about the serious nature of his charges. But he told us to be brave. He kept on telling us not be worried.

"Initially I did not approve of his actions because I used to teach him to rely on God's Word. Honestly, I did not expect my son to take this path," he said.

"My son was a sweet and a quite child who gave us no problems."

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Reed Macozoma's son, Lungisa Professor, with his mother, Mrs Mandisa Macozama

# Portraits

## 'My son will not die'

THE mother of Theminkosi Mzukwa slid back into the chair and described herself "as strong and not worried because I know my son will not die".

Mrs Dorcas Mzukwa, an unemployed mother of five, said her biggest worry was to support her family.

"Things were better when I was still working at Parow. I was earning R170 a month but was sacked after I couldn't come regularly to work. This was because I attended the trial," she said.

Her son, a self-confessed ANC guerilla, admitted throwing two hand-grenades at a Langa Police Station and a Casspir. Mzukwa also admitted planting a limpet mine near a police building.

He son was born in Cape Town in 1960. His father died when he was 13.

He attended school at Xolani Lower Primary in Guguletu, Themani Lower Primary in Langa, and Mbekweni Higher Primary in Paarl where he passed standard six in 1976.

He spent three years at Langa High where he passed standard eight. He left the school because he had to assist his mother in supporting the family.

Mzukwa was unemployed at the time of his arrest.

### Even the young children know

EVEN the youngest child of Anderson Ncivata knows what the ANC is.

"This followed after a 'group of men' came to arrest their father because he was involved in the organisation.

Olga, Anderson's wife, said: "The awareness of the children is just one of the things I noticed during television news bulletins. My children used to react in a 'hostile' way when the ANC was being slated. Nobody has taught them to do that."

Olga Ncivata works at a creche in Langa and earns R350 a month. She said they were experiences "great difficulties" because she supported the family on her own.

Ncivata was born in a rural community in Transkei 35 years ago. His father died after he was five years old and he started his schooling in 1960.

Later Ncivata moved to Cape Town where he stayed with his uncle in Guguletu. His uncle managed to register him as a "resident of Cape Town."

In 1974 he got married but his wife had to return to Transkei to "arrange" rights to be in Cape Town. She finally got "rights" to be in the area in 1982.

Described by friends as quiet but humorous, Ncivata remained in the area and worked at various firms.

He joined Food and Canning Workers Union in 1986.

Ncivata, a Langa branch member of the Western Cape Civic Association, was arrested in September last year.

### Better when their 'father was around'

THE last time Douglas Myanya's four children saw their father was when "strange-looking men" came to take him away while they visited him in prison.

Myanya, a social-worker and post-graduate part-time student at UCT, was arrested last year in April. His family saw him after four months in October.

His wife, Mavis told SOUTH about the how they were coping.

"It was better when my husband was around. We use to be able to meet the children's needs as he was earning more than I do. Now I have to feed my kids with my salary, which isn't much.

"The responsibility of looking after everything rests on my shoulders. But I am managing to keep the four children at school," she said.

Mavis said the family missed Myanya "terribly".

"Lungeka, the youngest, asks me when are they going to bring daddy home".

"My other children never comment, but I can see that they are very sad. But now, like me, they have become strong," Mavis said.



Mrs Adelaide Macanda, mother of Siseko

### Uphill for mom of scooter driver

THE wife of Mithetheleli Mabengeza finds supporting her six children an uphill struggle.

Mrs Cynthia Mabengeza, a quiet-spoken mother, works at a Housing League project in Rondebosch.

Her husband worked as a scooter driver when he was arrested last

year. "We used to pay our monthly rentals on time when my husband was with us. But now we are three months behind.

"The main problem is buying groceries. Sometimes my sister helps me but the problems are endless," she said.

Mrs Mabengeza said the children were badly affected by the arrest of their father.

"Shortly after he was arrested the children kept on asking when their father will return. I decided to tell them the truth."

Mabengeza was born in Kensington 36 years ago, one of seven children of a poor family.

He went to school at Litha Lower Primary and Vukukhanye Higher Primary where he completed standard six.

During this period Mabengeza also worked as a "garden-boy" at houses where his mother was a domestic servant.

Mabengeza, described as a popular person, is a member of street funeral committee.

### Baby of 7 months

REED Zwelethu Macozoma's son was seven months old when he was detained.

Born in Cape Town 27 years ago, Macozoma started schooling in 1967 at Esikhobeni Lower Primary in the rural village of Engcobo in Transkei.

He returned to Cape Town in 1973 and enrolled at Zingisa Higher Primary School. He completed standard six at Hlangisa and enrolled at ID Mkize High where he left during standard seven as his parents could not cope with his school fees.

He worked for various construction firms but was unemployed at the time of his arrest in April, 1986.

He was a member of the South African Allied Workers Union (SAAWU).

### Mother tearful

THE mother of Siseko Macanda shed tears when she spoke about her son in the ANC trial.

Adelaide Macanda, a bread-winner of four, was arrested in September last year.

"He is sweet child who used to help me in support my other children. I can't afford to meet the demands of my family, his mother, the unemployed mother of four, said.

Mrs Macanda, a diabetic, said her condition worsened after the arrest of her son. "I now have to undergo treatment at the Langa Day hospital."

Macanda was born in 1957 in Rylands. His parents separated when he was still about seven years old.

Macanda was working at Porter Sigma earning R57 a week until the time of his arrest.

# of ANC guerillas

THE ANC trial, which started in October 1986, ended this week in the Supreme Court when 13 of the original 15 trialists were jailed for between three and 13 years. Two of the accused were released in May. SOUTH spoke to the families of some of the accused. VUYO BAVUMA, RYLAND FISHER and SAHM VENTER report.



LEFT: Mr Jacob Esau and his wife Maria last visited their son, Cecil, a "couple of months ago". BELOW: Patricia Smith, the fiancée of sentenced trialist Cecil Esau, says they will apply to get married. The couple's wedding plans were stopped by Esau's detention last year. "He wasn't taken for robbery or murder, he was taken for his commitment and belief. And because I share it with him, I will wait for him. I am very proud of him and I'll stand by him come what may," she said.

## 'Champion of underdog'

"MAYBE I gave my son a dream," said Mr Jacob Esau, father of Cecil Esau who was sentenced this week under the Terrorism Act.

Speaking from his small home in River View in Worcester only days before his son was sentenced, Esau remembered how he used to have "little talks" with his four children when they were small.

He told them of the hardships he suffered working as a farmworker from the age of 15 in the Robertson area.

"As a little child Cecil remembered these things. Maybe he thought that one day when he grew up, he would be able to change these things ... I don't know."

In his statement to the Supreme Court, Cecil Esau said his father was the first person who "kindled an interest in politics" in him.

As Jacob Esau and his wife, Maria, are both elderly and sickly, they have found it difficult to visit their son in prison and to attend the court proceedings.

Mr Esau, 68, last visited Cecil "a couple of months ago".

He believes unless his health improves, he will not be able to see his son again.

Parental visits are left up to Mrs Esau, 73, who is recovering from a stroke. She also suffers from high blood pressure and arthritis.

"I'm worried about how many years he's going to get because I don't think I'm going to live for so many years," she said.

As a two-year-old Cecil contracted polio. To this day he can't run or do physical training and has to wear boots.

"But he is one of the strongest characters in this house," his father said.

Cecil, according to his parents, is a "champion of the underdog" who would never refuse anyone help or advice.

"He cares for us and worries about us and his friends more than he worries about himself."

Born in Worcester 31 years ago, he attended the AME School and then Esselen Park High School. From there he went to the University of the Western Cape where he studied law.

He was a founder member of the Cape Youth Congress (Cayco) and UDF regional organiser.



Mrs Debbie Michels ... 'strengthened'

## The only option . . .

QUENTIN MICHELS belongs to "the people".

Although he and his wife, Debbie had only been married for two years and face years apart, she said she had been strengthened by his commitment.

His involvement in community organisations arose out of his commitment to "the people", she said. Michels, the former Silverstream Afrikaans and History teacher had been active in the formation of the Bonteheuvel Youth Movement and the Bonteheuvel Civic Association and later the Cape youth Congress (Cayco).

He was also UDF Bonteheuvel area committee co-ordinator and was involved in the Moravian Church.

In his statement to the Supreme Court during the trial, Michels said: "A disciple of Christ should love and sacrifice unconditionally even if it means laying

It is this love and sacrifice that characterised Michels, according to family and friends. It formed the basis of his commitment to end the evils of the apartheid system.

One of a family of 10 children, Michels was born in Genadendal but grew up in Bonteheuvel. He was 16 when his father, Jacobus, a City Council clerk who had a great political influence on him, died.

Michels matriculated from Bonteheuvel High and began studying for a teaching degree at the University of the Western Cape in 1978.

He started teaching in 1982 but state repression particularly in 1985 made Michels disillusioned with the potential for peaceful through teaching and extra parliamentary organisations.

He found that the only other option was revolutionary struggle.

## Two fathers unable to touch babies

FOR Joseph Ngoma and Sazi Veldtman, being convicted of terrorism means they may only be able to touch their youngest children for the first time once they have completed their sentences.

Both their wives were pregnant when they were detained last year and both men have only been able to see their children through thick glass windows at Pollsmoor Prison.

Ngoma, 29, of Langa, a community worker for the Red Cross Society, was detained on May 25 in Crossroads.

"He was not at home when the police came for him at about five that morning, later I heard Joseph had been detained," said his wife, Sheila.

"I next saw him when he appeared in the Cape Town Regional Court on October 22. He saw our baby, Qabane Nelson, for the first time when we went to visit him at Pollsmoor because I was not allowed to take the baby into court.

"I was seven months pregnant when Joseph was detained. Our baby was born on September 11." They have two other children,

Thandile, 10, and Siyanthanda.

"Thandile understands what is going on. She goes with me sometimes to visit her father. She says she sometimes dreams that her father has come home," she said.

Veldtman, 30, a post office worker, was detained at his Nyanga home on May 22 last year.

He alleged in court that he and his wife, who was seven months pregnant at the time, were assaulted by the policemen who arrested him.

Veldtman sustained an eye in-

jury and had an ear operation in March this year.

For Lynette Veldtman, 28, a cashier at a Cape Town hotel, her husband's arrest meant anxiety and many sleepless nights.

"I was hysterical and nervous. I was afraid to go outside the house and had to be escorted whenever I went to the toilet.

"Our baby, Toivo Mkhutuli, was born on September 22, a month before Sazi and the others appeared in court. Our other child, Noxolo, is nine years old and she understands what is going on," she said.

WOMEN'S DAY

# Women 'won't knock again'



The mother of Ashley Kriel, Mrs Ivy Kriel, at the Women's Day rally at the Samaj Centre on Sunday. Picture: BIEN KARLIE

THE next time the women go to the Union Buildings, they will not knock on the door — they will open it, Advocate Dullah Omar, UDF Western Cape region chairperson, told over 700 cheering people at the weekend.

Omar was one of the many speakers addressing the United Women's Congress (Uwco) National Women's Day celebrations at the Samaj Centre in Rylands.

Omar delivered a message of unity from the UDF.

"Lay down your differences. Because as a united force we can fight — and we can win," he said. The audience of mainly women were dressed in the Uwco colours of green and black.

Omar told how even in 1910 women united to successfully resist passes. "In Bloemfontein, Winburg and Jagersfontein women put up a tremendous fight against the pass laws. Some of the male leadership tried to stop the women. They said 'you are being too militant'."

The battles against removals from Cato Manor in Natal in 1960 were fought under the leadership of the women and the ANC, Omar said.

"Women have taken the struggle much more seriously than men," he said.

"We will never rest until we have got the freedom of our children, justice and security," said Mama Holo of Uwco, formerly of the Federation of South

THIRTY-ONE years ago ON Sunday 20 000 women from all over South Africa marched to the Union Buildings in Pretoria to protest against the extension of passes to women. The song they sang after their leaders delivered petitions to Strydom's office — "Wathint' Abafazi", Wathint' Imbokotho" (You strike the women, you strike a rock) is as appropriate today as it was in 1956. Women are singing those words with more urgency than ever. SAHM VENTER reports.

African Women (Fedsaw) in the 1950s.

"There is no time to sit, there is only time for action if we want to be free," she said.

Through their organisations, women today were following in the footsteps of women such as Lillian Ngoyi, Annie Silinga and Dorothy Nyobe, the publicity secretary of the UDF and Uwco member, Hilda Ndude, said.

## Federation

The famous August 9 march in 1956 is today seen as a symbol of the march to freedom. The newly formed UDF Women's Congress is spearheading a national campaign for the re-launching of the federation.

Transvaal, Border and Natal have already launched regional structures and the launching of the Cape federation will take place soon.

The issues women throughout the country have been organising around include: an end to the State of Emergency, the rent boycott, an end to high prices, higher wages and worker rights, an end to gutter education, no to ID books and influx reforms and an end to sexual harassment, rape and wife-battering.

Ashley Kriel's mother, Mrs Ivy Kriel, was given a standing ovation when she took to the stage and said: "Long live the spirit of Ashley Kriel."

"There is no time for tears anymore," she said.



Cheryl Carolus, former UDF executive member, at Sunday's women's day rally in Cape Town. Picture: RASHID LOMBARD

## 'The young lions will be there'

From MONO BADELA

JOHANNESBURG. — Federation of South African Women's stalwart and United Democratic Front patron, Frances Baard, warned Pretoria that the next action to be taken by women in the fight for liberation would be a march to the Houses of Parliament in Cape Town.

She was speaking at a Women's Day rally at the University of the Witwatersrand on Sunday.

The president of the militant South African Youth Congress (Sayco), Peter Mokaba seconded Mrs Baard and said: "This time our mothers and sisters will not fail because we shall be there, the Young Lions will be there to make sure that we succeed".

The rally and the cultural festival attended by nearly 2 000 people was organised by the Federation of Transvaal Women (Fedtraw) as part of several rallies held throughout the country to commemorate the National Women's Day.

Earlier Winnie Mandela, wife of jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela, told wom-



Mrs Mandela

en that the time for rhetoric had passed.

Mandela said the war for people's liberation should not be fought in black townships, in Soweto and Uitenhage, it should be taken to white areas.

"In Pretoria, that's where the war should be waged."

The emotive rally at the University of the Witwatersrand on Sunday, was punctuated by the singing of freedom songs, chanting of political slogans and poetry recitation.

Earlier convicted ANC cadre Robert McBride's mother appealed to those present to "help us popularise the campaign to save the 34 men and women now on death row. Your strong support is most desperately needed".

McBride is on death row after being convicted of planting a bomb at a bar in Durban, killing one person and wounding others.

The United Democratic Front Women's Congress leader, Albertina Sisulu, said there would never be a reform in South Africa until those oppressed bring it about themselves.

## Ruth Mompoti recalls the march

From MOIRA LEVY

LONDON. — "I felt now that I can go to the women of South Africa and tell them that we have the support of our sisters the world over."

It was these words by the ANC's national executive committee member, Ruth Mompoti, that brought the crowd of 6 000 to their feet at the ANC's Women's Day rally in London at the weekend.

They cheered and stamped their approval as Mompoti praised the Transvaal mineworkers "who chose today, the 31st anniversary of the women's march to Pretoria, to begin their strike".

Mompoti spoke under a giant ANC banner, flanked by Adelaide Tambo, wife of the ANC president, Angela Davis, American black civil rights, campaigner, and Dianne Abbott, the first black woman MP elected to the British Parliament.

"Black women did not choose to become part of the political struggle. We were battered and beaten,

murdered and maimed before we knew we were involved in the struggle for our country," Mompoti said.

Looking down on the the crowd packed into the giant marquee in Finsbury Park, North London, she said the scene reminded her of the 20 000 women who marched on Pretoria 31 years ago.

"We pledged that we would not rest until we had won for our children fundamental human rights."

Later at a press conference Mompoti described the August 9 march as "the culmination of years of struggle and organisation".

"It meant we had to work nights and weekends to get to the women in the rural areas and the towns throughout the country. Transport was poor. Sometimes we had to leave our children with other people," she said.

"Helen Joseph, who was restricted at the time, travelled around the country hidden under canopies in the back of lorries to get the message to the women."

Mompoti had the task of meeting delegates at the railway station. She marched with the last arrivals to the Union Building.

"We marched up the amphitheatre to the offices. I remember I felt so proud of the will of the women. We showed the men who did not think we could make it. I felt strong, that as the women we had succeeded."

Mompoti stressed that women were fighting alongside the men for national liberation: "There can be no national freedom if women are not free," she said at the rally.

Angela Davis paid tribute to women in South Africa "like Winnie Man-

dela and Albertina Sisulu".

"Black women in the ANC carry the torch for the emancipation of women all over the world," she told the crowd to applause and cheers.

Davis called for total economic sanctions and disinvestment, and demanded the release of Mandela and reprieve of Theresa Ramshola, only women among the 32 prisoners on the death row for political offences.

## US dollars

She reported that United States investment in South Africa was down by half since the boycott movement began.

"But United States dollars are still dripping with the blood of apartheid, as are British pounds and German marks."

For more than three hours members of the British Anti-Apartheid movement, MPs and local government and Swapo, expressed solidarity with the women of South Africa.



# ANC should define its monetary aims — Dr

By JILL JOUBERT

GRAHAMSTOWN — It was common for so-called liberation movements not to define their economic policies clearly, Dr Matthew Cobbett, of the Development Bank of South Africa, said here yesterday.

He was one of a series of speakers who will address economics and commerce students here during Aiesec (Association of Economics and Commerce Students) Commerce Week.

Dr Cobbett was answering a question from the floor on the nature of the economic policy of the African National Congress (ANC).

Dr Cobbett said: "Liberation movements will often avoid dealing full-square with economic policies until they have gained their liberation objectives. Their economic schedules may not be too attractive."

He said the ANC should not be allowed to "get away" with hiding their economic policies.

"We need a basic commitment from them for the future," Dr Cobbett said.

He said there were at least "101 international perspectives" on southern Africa after apartheid.

He said several significant international conferences last year — at York, Liverpool and Amsterdam — had led the way to the talks this year at Dakar.

These were preceded by the second Carnegie conference on black poverty in southern Africa, which he described as a "very descriptive conference".

A major strength of the Carnegie conference was the great cross-section of support and attendance.

"But the ANC was not present and other overt political groups did not participate," Dr Cobbett said.

During the last two years of civil unrest, the South African state had been

under siege. There were possibilities of collapse or compromise.

"There is at present a severe structural crisis," he said.

It had been recognised that it was the academics who now had to come up with something concrete for South Africa, interact with the major political brokers and react with movements such as the ANC.

Dr Cobbett said: "The ANC is being pressed to state their position. As yet there has been no clear articulation of their economic policy."

The time was ripe for discussion on what was going to happen in post-apartheid South Africa, but no one was yet prepared to articulate what this South Africa would look like.

The South African superstructure was unwieldy, inefficient and difficult to maintain. The economy was stagnant and there was a low demand for consumer goods.

Major areas for growth were seen as inward industrialisation and black urbanisation to counter insufficient consumer demand and generate growth.

Dr Cobbett said there was general agreement that the whole white consumer sector should be restructured.

"The white farming units, too, should be included but we don't know who owns what," he added.

Asked to comment on the overall commitment of South African businessmen to change, Dr Cobbett said: "Businessmen have a direct interest in scrapping apartheid, but some corporations don't come out as clearly as others."

The position of Nafcoc (National African Chamber of Commerce) backing black-owned business was "understandable, natural and what one could expect", as witnessed in Transkei, but it was probably a "temporary phenomenon", Dr Cobbett stated.

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PAC names  
two killed  
in shootout

The Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) yesterday identified two of the three men killed in a shootout with police in Johannesburg's Corlett Drive on August 4 as members of its military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army.

A telex, apparently from the PAC in Dar es Salaam, named Mr Neo Koza of Gugulethu and Mr Tshepo Lilele of Welkom.

The unnamed third person was reportedly a local youth who was assisting guerillas.

The PAC also condemned a raid on a "PAC residence at Seapoint in Maseru on August 15".

There was no police comment "at this stage".

# ANC pair sent to jail

Two high ranking African National Congress (ANC) officers were this week given effective jail terms of 11 and 12 years by the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court.

Solomon Moidi Makape (34) and Theodore Vuzimusi Bigboy Zwane (36) had pleaded guilty and were convicted on two counts of terrorism and one under the Internal Security Act. They were given jail terms of 21 and 22 years respectively, with parts of the terms to run concurrently.

Two states of emergency and security legislation have curtailed the organisation's activity and the workings of its affiliates on all levels from executive to rank and file.



DALE LAUTENBACH of the Political Staff spoke to two executive members who reflect on four years spent working for the organisation.

# UDF — four years later

FOUR years ago tomorrow the United Democratic Front was launched at an all-day conference at the Rocklands Civic Centre in Mitchell's Plain. There were about 1 500 delegates present from all over the country and that night about 15 000 people converged on the centre for a mass rally to mark the occasion.

"After decades of silence during which a big political rally was 1 000 people, it was wonderful... far bigger than anyone expected," says a UDF member who was there and who remains an active organiser in a UDF white area committee.

The focus of the launch, for all the affiliates gathering under the new umbrella body, was the confirmation of the goal of a united, non-racial, democratic South Africa. It was a time of protest too and the focus in this respect was opposition to the proposed new Constitution and the so-called Koorhof Bills.

## Mass rally

Four hard years later, a mass rally at the University of the Western Cape on Sunday will mark the organisation's anniversary. You can't really call it a birthday or a celebration under the circumstances; what with the second state of emergency in the organisation's short lifespan seemingly here to stay for some while still and large numbers of the organisation's original leadership in detention.

If not a celebration, what then? A rallying cry?

Ms Hilda Ndude, Western Cape Executive Press officer, nods her head vigorously.

"Yes," she says. "Our theme is Four Years of United Action and we're seeing Sunday as a focus around which to rally the forces in the Western Cape. We will look at our present situation, at the state of our organisation in the face of repression and we will look at our achievements."

## Speakers

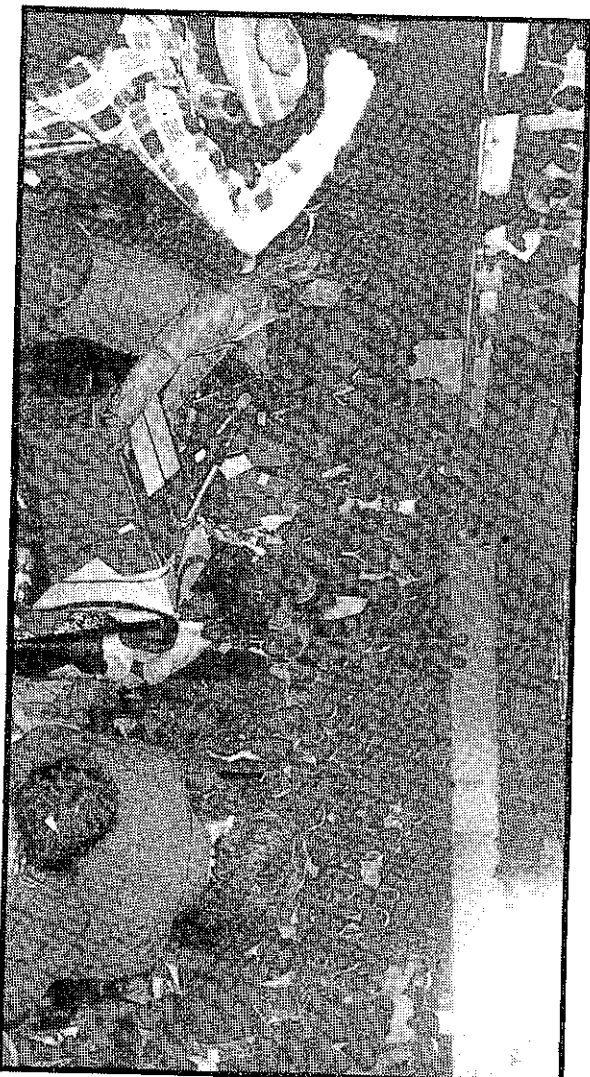
Speakers will include Western Cape Executive Chairman Dullah Omar, patron the Rev Allan Boesak and Moulana Faried Esack from the Call of Islam.

"Moulana will speak specifically as someone who has met recently with the African National Congress," says Ms Ndude. "He will give an overview of what the ANC is saying now."

Ms Ndude and Mr Joe Marks, vice president of the Western Cape Executive, reflect on four years spent working for the UDF, what its achievements have been, the state of its strength, the opposition it has faced and its own shortcomings.

For its detractors the UDF is categorised as anything from "communist" and "leftist radical" to the dismissive belief that it is merely a front for the ANC inside South Africa.

While the organisation was listed as an affected organisa-



FLASHBACK: Dr Allan Boesak addresses the crowd at the launching of the UDF.

tion last year (a ruling that was overturned by the Durban Supreme Court this year), there are some who would prefer it banned outright.

That is opinion. Undisputed fact though is that two states of emergency and security legislation have curtailed UDF activity and the workings of its affiliates on all levels from executive to rank and file. In the face of this is there a timescale for the body's professional goal?

Big, bearded Mr Marks speaks in a quiet voice, his words wisping away into the tendrils of that great greying beard.

"I believe that liberation does not depend on the op-

pression but on the oppressed. Our timescale will depend on the kind of protest we can muster in the country and from the international community. This must be brought to bear on the government because we are sure the ANC is willing to negotiate.

"But our concern is that the peace-loving concept of the UDF might get lost in the process. This negotiation should have started 10 years ago and we urge the parties to get together so that peace-loving South Africans can get on with their lives and with bringing up their families. We urge all people to join us so that this might become a reality in our lifetime."

Both executive members — and in democratic working fashion they have a mandate to speak on behalf of their organisation — claim the UDF has grown and strengthened since its launch... in spite of repression, they add.

There are some 700 organisations affiliated to the UDF now and Ms Ndude says it's a measure of UDF popularity that those organisations that have gone from strength to strength themselves.

"At the launch we were worried that all these different organisations would hold together," says Ms Ndude. "But now they're proud to say not just women or youth but UDF women, UDF youth."

The very mechanics of organisation have refined too in four years and the processes of working democratically and making sure that all decisions are popular has become a familiar and sophisticated tool.

"It goes without saying that any organisation existing for four years under the present government has to be sophisticated and disciplined. Without that the UDF could not have existed," says Mr Marks.

## Achievements

"The people have matured; their commitment is serious and we have worked out ways of existing under the state of emergency," says Ms Ndude.

The UDF is active nationally and while the mass rally at UWC on Sunday will be the anniversary commemoration for the Western Cape region, the occasion will be marked similarly elsewhere in the country. Both Ms Ndude and Mr Marks say it is tricky though to claim that the UDF has a stronghold anywhere, particular in the country.

"We are calling for constitutional change," says Mr Marks. "We envisage a constitution, a parliament. But it must be drawn up democratically unlike the present one."

The mood at the launch four years ago was described as "wonderful." Few possibly anticipated the nature of the opposition which lay ahead.

What is the mood now?

The Marks beard spreads into a smile: "The launch was a marriage of organisations. After that came the honeymoon. Now, four years later, the real marriage begins and that is hard work by committed activists."

SOCIALIST ideals have taken a strong hold among SA's black youth, but workers and popular organisations support a more pragmatic blend of free enterprise and state control of economy.

These conclusions are contained in an article by Stellenbosch University's director of the Institute of Soviet Studies Dr P Nel.

Writing in the inaugural edition of the Southern African Freedom Review — a new quarterly published by the right-of-centre Southern Africa branch of the International Freedom Foundation — Nel attempts to gauge the extent to which SA's black population has become wedded to socialist ideals.

Since the Fifties, he notes, black political leaders have equated ending apartheid with some degree of

wealth redistribution, but "most of these persons took great care to distinguish their desired models for doing so from a full-scale socialism on Marxist-Leninist lines".

These include spokesmen for the major opposition groups — the ANC and the PAC. More recently, however, calls for a radical transformation along socialist lines have become more explicit. These calls have emanated predominantly from the Congress of SA Trade Unions (Cosatu), and organisations leaning towards Black Consciousness philosophy.

The latter groups, under the umbrella of the National Forum Com-

*B/Dary* *(11A)* *19/8/87*  
**Call for education foundation**

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**PATRICK BULGER**

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mittee, have adopted the Azanian Manifesto, which identifies apartheid as "racial capitalism".

Organisations adhering to the Freedom Charter — the most prominent being the UDF and the ANC — tend to subscribe to "a more social democratic interpretation of the economic clauses of the Freedom Charter". Socialist calls have also arisen from Trotskyite-type movements — especially the Cape Action League. Such groups, however, tend to have a

high intellectualist content and little grassroots support.

But it is among the youth that socialism finds its staunchest adherents. Whereas the Soweto youth of 1976 targeted equal education as their goal, the socialist content in the demand for "people's education" is explicit. Of the scientific surveys, Nel concludes that "socialist tenets are not well received amongst the black working class". Workers, he argues, still identify their priorities as better wages and working conditions.

Nel concludes that calls for socialism are bound to intensify against a background of adverse

economic conditions. Business has a role in softening the impact of recession. "Instead of starkly contrasting and exclusive choices, black employees and management should rather be subjected to programmes which stress the compatibility of welfare practices with entrepreneurial skills and market forces, coupled with programmes of black advancement."

The business sector will also have to involve itself much more actively in the political arena. Nel asks whether the time has not arrived for the formation of an education foundation along the lines of the Urban Foundation. Business needs to become involved in funding and the execution of alternative curricula which will accommodate debate of differing economic models.

MOST foreign diplomats are on tenterhooks awaiting official clarification of statements by President P W Botha.

Many of them spend large amounts of their embassy budgets, on various programmes in SA — developmental, educational and extra-parliamentary. Some are expanding on so-called humanitarian programmes.

But Botha's threats to clamp down on foreign diplomatic personnel who encourage extra-parliamentary activities is not being interpreted by diplomats as being aimed at aid programmes.

Instead, in the words of one diplomatic source: "We are interpreting what the President said to be as a result of the highly demonstrative public support from diplomats for the role of extra-parliamentary organisations."

Diplomatic sources believed Botha aimed his statements specifically at foreign governments which provided aid to black opposition groups, or funded the Dakar trip.

Many foreign diplomats openly attend treason trials and public functions of Cosatu, the National Women's Federation and the UDF.

They believe their role includes maintaining contact with all *bona fide* groups in SA, from Afrikaner cultural and political groups to organisations like the UDF and Azapo.

Their governments' policies against apartheid are well known. A diplomatic source said many of the "humanitarian projects" included the funding of multi-racial schools, assistance for detainees and scholarships outside the country for SA and Namibian refugees.

# Diplomats await clarification

DOMINIQUE GILBERT

The Swiss government, one of several governments to fund the Dakar trip, is to decide within the next two weeks on the extent and nature of future financial aid programmes in SA.

Swiss media attaché George Martin said his government — which spends about Sfr1m annually, mostly on bursaries for blacks — would be spending more money on "general developing organisations".

He said the Dakar sponsorship represented the "political limit" of Swiss aid in line with Switzerland's clear and traditional policy on SA.

Many diplomats, when asked about Botha's statements yesterday, turned the focus of discussion on US embassy aid programmes.

But, declining to give a breakdown of the R50m provided by the US for embassy programmes in SA, attaché Elizabeth Pryor said there was no indication as yet that the SA government objected to US foreign policies.

She said the lion's share of the US aid funds in SA went to community, self-help and legal services.

The UK's embassy aid programme in SA will be £280 000 this year and is aimed largely at loosely defined opposition groups. The Canadians spend about R1.5m annually.

# The other side of the news

## STORY BEHIND ANC TRIALISTS

### The religious side to MK commander

*South*  
*13-19/8/11*

LIZO Ngqungwana, the commander of the ANC's Western Cape military wing who was jailed for life this week, was brought up in a conservative and religious family in a rural environment.

SOUTH this week traced his footsteps to his childhood days in the sleepy Eastern Cape town of Alice where his father was a Presbyterian minister.

His family described him as an "introverted child" who sang in the church choir.

Lizo left his family home in

July 1978 at the age of 18 to join the ANC. His 70-year-old father, Melani Ngqungwana, first saw him again last year when he appeared in the Cape Town Regional Court.

His father and sister, Loli, were at the Supreme Court on Wednesday when Lizo was sentenced.

Twelve other men were sentenced to a total of 126 years on charges relating to "terrorism" and failing to report the presence of and assisting ANC guerillas.

See page 3, 12 and 13

11A

CAP- 7/21/87  
11A  
2/1

# Airport arrests: Charges withdrawn

## Political Staff

CHARGES against 18 people arrested at Jan Smuts Airport after the return of the delegates to the talks with the ANC in Dakar were withdrawn after their attorneys gave assurances they would obey the law, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, said yesterday.

In declining to prosecute the 18, the Attorney-General had given a serious warning that he would not hesitate in the future to institute prosecution against "erring journalists, TV operators and others of the like".

Mr Vlok, who was replying to questions tabled in the House of Assembly by Mr Tian van der Merwe (PFP, Green Point), said he did not consider it to be in the interest of the people who were arrested or detained at Jan Smuts Airport on July 21 to supply their names.

The Attorney-General had indicated it "would be a bad mistake were this exercise of his discretion to be construed as a sign of weakness".

The police had asked AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche and Idasa director Dr Alex Boraine to take action.



Call time 20/8/82

11A

# LP leader: 'Tell us where SA is going'

**HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.** — President P W Botha should take the Labour Party into his confidence and tell them where South Africa was going, the chairman of the Ministers' Council, Mr Allan Hendrickse, said yesterday.

He said the reality was that Parliament did not know where it was going and what reform was being planned.

Parliament was at one time the sole prerogative of whites but now there was a mobility among the races in Parliament which could not have come about without the Labour Party's participation in the tricameral Parliament.

There were certain perceptions, however, "to which people are entitled, a general feeling outside this House that no progress has been made".

He said he had no doubt most South Africans appreciated what risks the president had taken in investing in the future of South Africa, such as the losses to his party in the Conservative Party

breakaway.

"These are the realities that have to be taken into account, the reality that at this juncture we as a Parliament do not know where we are going."

The Labour Party had spelt out its policy and had taken a decision in the House to request the president to appoint an independent committee of political experts to advise Parliament on how the aspirations of all South Africans could be met and their interests protected.

The House took a decision but received no response.

"It creates a problem of communication between the president and this particular House," Mr Hendrickse said.

"There must be consultation. We cannot negotiate or make de-

isions in a vacuum, all of us here must be involved."

The Labour Party had no problem, when asked, to extend the life of the House of Assembly as it was a necessary step in the reform process.

"But the majority of this House must be taken into the president's confidence on what that reform is going to be."

As a pragmatist he accepted that Dr Andries Treurnicht and the Conservative Party could come to power and in the light of such a possibility he could not stand for the country to be destroyed by the Treurnichts, Hartzenbergs and Terre'Blanches.

"Our future demands compromise, give and take, but never give on one side only, or take from one side only." — Sapa

coloured people could "lose one best friends" from his position is being used in the State President's "Another..."

in Mail  
14-20/8/87  
TIA

**A**PRIL 1980. The Susan Kruger, a tiny Prisons Service boat, ploughed the Atlantic in the direction of Robben Island.

I and the eight young colleagues with me had been sentenced the previous month to between five and seven years under the Terrorism Act for conspiring to recruit youths for military training so they could return to overthrow the state. My own sentence was seven years.

During those years I was moved around the country between seven different prisons, spending months in some prisons — and three years, my longest spell, on Robben Island.

We had been driven from Leeukop Prison in the Transvaal the previous day. We had left there at 3am, spending the day in a van with a toilet inside and the night in the Victor Verster maximum prison in Paarl. Early the following morning we were taken to Cape Town harbour for the early-morning trip to the Island, 45 minutes away.

We embarked on to the Susan Kruger in single file, carrying the little luggage we had. All our private clothes had been sent home after our conviction and we carried only toiletries. We all wore the prison-issue green shirts and green trousers that was to be our uniform for the next seven years.

On the boat, we were given paper bags in case of nausea. The occasional "Bly stil" (Keep quiet), barked by a warder, made me feel even sicker.

The atmosphere was drab. The sea that always appeared green or blue in photographs and maps was suddenly black. April was strangely cold. Occasionally a regimental flight of dark birds — one of the flocks we would see many times from the Island and during trips to and from it — flew alongside the Susan Kruger. I asked myself if they formed a guard of honour for us.

At first a tiny patch on the horizon, the Island became larger and more visible. There was no sign of a prison building. The boat cruised around boulders, towards the dock.

We disembarked in single file. Warders, members of their families, their vehicles — some unmarked — and the common law prisoners who man the boat and harbour were gathered at the docks, near a small administrative building. A few hundreds metres away, I could see another building, which I was to discover was where we would meet family members who would visit us on the Island.

**W**e were met, according to tradition, by the then-head of the prison, the athletic, bow-legged Major John Harding, who walked us to his prison.

Harding, a Frederik van Zyl Slabbert look-alike, was clearly in command and knew his charges very well. He remembered some of the prisoners in our company who were returning to his prison a second time after a retrial.

He had prior information about me. He asked me my plans. It was a surprising query; as prisoners did not plan their lives once inside.

However, Harding knew I planned to marry on the Island. My fiancée, Amanda Kwadi, and I had been hoping to get married during my trial. But the marriage officer had not arrived at court in time to tie the knot — and I had applied for permission to marry while in Leeukop Prison. (As it happens, the Commissioner of Prisons turned down my application while I was on the Island and I left prison without getting married.)

Harding was also curious whether I intended appealing against my conviction. He wished to know if I'd like to study in prison and whether I would continue to work as a journalist upon my release. He already knew I was a journalist. He was anxious to know if I was a Christian. I thought he liked to appear concerned about prisoners' problems as a way of getting used to the various inmates.

Harding projected an image of a jailer who had nothing to do with apartheid, but he was exposed by the regulations he had to enforce.

I told him my case was on appeal against both conviction and sentence. I also informed him I was going to utilise my time constructively in jail with studies.

Harding had been well spoken of during our stay at Leeukop Prison by some of the inmates who were returning to the Island with us. He was reputed to be innovative and to have nego-

# MY YEARS ON THE ISLAND

For the first time in a South African newspaper: a glimpse behind the cell doors of Robben Island prison

PART ONE: THE 'UNIVERSITY' BEHIND LOCKED DOORS



By THAMI MKHWANAZI  
Journalist recently released after seven years in prison, three of them on Robben Island

tiated successfully with prison headquarters for concessions in favour of inmates.

As we walked towards the prison, he told us more about it, attributing some of the bad conditions to the intransigence caused by bureaucracy at headquarters.

We walked along a tarred road, past the visitors' bay and a tall watch-tower, one of four around the complex. The prison came into sight as we passed the visitors' building.

It appeared deceptively small. In fact, it was a sprawling complex, with about 500 prisoners in seven separate sections, with a kitchen and a hospital. I was to spend time in three sections: Section-C, where all new prisoners began their time, A-Section, which housed those the warders considered "radicals" or "agitators", and B-Section, which housed the leadership of the African National Congress and Pan Africanist Congress with a sprinkling of non-leadership inmates. There was also D-Section, which housed Namibian political prisoners, and E-, F- and G-Sections, which were much larger.

We were kept for two weeks in C-Section, a filthy part of the prison that was in a state of collapse. We were told we were there so our files could be scrutinised to determine where

we should be housed. Medical check-ups were a part of the routine. Almost daily we were given lectures on various issues regarding the rights and privileges of inmates. One day, Harding briefed us about the uniqueness of the Island compared with other prisons and the existence of various political camps within the prison.

Inmates regarded C-Section as a place of punishment and an attempt by the authorities to coerce new arrivals to "behave" once taken to a permanent section, and they had made representations over the years for its closure. At the time of my release, the section was used officially only for segregating those inmates the authorities thought were uncontrollably violent, as well as those inmates who were doing dietary punishment (incommunicado — although anyone staging a peaceful protest was also held in the section).

**T**he first few days in C-Section were unpleasant. I found the food unpalatable, the days and nights depressingly long, despite the card games and other indoor games we played during the day to amuse ourselves and the music that was played to inmates between lock-up time (4.30pm weekdays, 3pm weekends) and about 10pm.

The speaker in my cell churned out favourites such as Miriam Makeba's *Promise* and a range of jazz from the swing era to modern-day fusion. Bob Marley's reggae was popular — especially among the inmates who had arrived in the wake of the 1976 uprising, and Makeba, especially her song *Gauteng* (about migrant workers), was a hot favourite among ANC members. *Weary Blues* from Johnny Hodges and Duke Ellington's album, *Back to Back*, flooded my mind with memories, creating a feeling of nostalgia. The selection of more than 500 LPs, made by the prisoners over the years, helped one adjust.

It was during these first nights that many

G.P.S. 5-0312  
GEVONNIS SENTENS

Groep: 1  
Group: 1  
Geloof: 1  
Religion: ROOMSE KERA  
OPMERKINGS REMARKS

DUMA FODRIK/HANDTEKENING  
SIGNATURE

REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA  
GEVANGENDIENST - PRISON SERVICE  
VRYLATINGSBESKED - RELEASE CERTIFICATE

BEWYS VAN VRYLATING VAN 'N GEVANGENE  
PROOF OF RELEASE OF A PRISONER FROM ROBBER ISLAND

NAME: THAMI MKHWANAZI  
No. 1004303-3

Group: 1  
Section: C  
Activity No. 1004303-3

1. Name: THAMI MKHWANAZI  
2. No. 1004303-3  
3. Group: 1  
4. Section: C  
5. Activity No. 1004303-3

1. Name: THAMI MKHWANAZI  
2. No. 1004303-3  
3. Group: 1  
4. Section: C  
5. Activity No. 1004303-3

1. Name: THAMI MKHWANAZI  
2. No. 1004303-3  
3. Group: 1  
4. Section: C  
5. Activity No. 1004303-3

Preclous paper: My prison release certificate

prisoners spent their time retracing the steps leading to their conviction. I would analyse my argument in defence, curse accomplices who had made careless mistakes and a colleague who had testified against me. I would vent my spleen in letters to my fiancée.

I learnt quickly that Robben Island was different in the extreme from any other prison. In the other prisons I spent time in on the mainland, it was every prisoner for himself. The authorities would not even recognise prisoners' committees.

But the political prisoners on the Island had — through years of hunger strikes, representations, deputations, protests and court battles — won recognition for their committee system, extra rights (such as visits by children and extra letters) and additional facilities (such as tennis courts and soccer fields).

Prisoners often talked about the early days in the 1960s and early 1970s, when conditions were much harder. But over the years, the prisoners had forced changes to this — ending up with some rights denied others in mainland prisons.

Political prisoners often pointed out to the authorities that they were not there to be rehabilitated. "Criminals need rehabilitation and we are not criminals. We are a highly disciplined group of people and warders must be equally disciplined," we would say.

Upon conviction, prisoners either automatically identified with a particular political organisation, because they were cadres at the time of their conviction, or they chose an organisation. There were four "camps" in the prison: supporters of the Freedom Charter, the Pan Africanist Congress, the Black Consciousness movement and Swapo.

Some inmates switched allegiance, moving from one organisation to another. For instance a sizable number of inmates from other camps had been entering the Freedom Charter camp. The overwhelming number of inmates were Freedom Charter supporters.

To maintain peace in the prison, strict rules governed how the different groups related to

IN FUTURE INSTALMENTS: Pen-portr Govan Mbeki, Wilton Mkwayi, Elias Mo 'bucket' system ... why prisor



From previous page

however, on the Island, we were free to roam around the cells, the dining area, and the courtyard between 7am and 4pm.

During the day, there were a number of activities. Some people would play sport, such as tennis, or card games. In some areas of the section, informal political discussions would be held. In others, prisoners would be giving formal academic lessons to others. Tokyo Sexwale, for example, an ANC guerrilla sentenced to 18 years in 1978, would teach accountancy to matric and university students, and I would teach Afrikaans and English to students studying from Std 8 to matric; I had passed both subjects for my law studies.

Former Communist Party member Harry Gwala, a bookworm and former schoolteacher sentenced to life imprisonment in 1977, made it his task to educate inmates who were neither working nor engaged in formal education. His view was that political education should take precedence over all other education. I was one of those who attended his classes, alongside classes in political economy by Laloo Chiba, a former Umkhonto we Sizwe fighter serving an 18 year sentence (he was released in 1983), who had majored in economics at university.

Some prisoners would read newspapers, or simply sit in their cell, or in the courtyard sun, and study. Regulations did not allow daytime

# MY YEARS ON THE ISLAND

study for most prisoners, because they would be occupied in work spans, but in A and B-Sections this was ignored.

After lock-up, one would be able to read in one's cell. Lights would be turned off at 10pm at first, and later, after a protest, at 11pm. However, prisoners had learnt various ways to keep their lights on and they could read or study all night if they wished.

The cells were simple, but many had been filled with paraphernalia over the years. The standard cell had a wooden door and a barred window which could be opened into the corri-

dor. Cells were furnished with a bed, a small stool and a table. Some prisoners with back problems had chairs ordered by the doctor.

Most of the cells had shelves that had been installed — unofficially, but with the authorities' tacit consent — by fellow prisoners over the years. Others had lockers made with scrap wood. Everyone had boxes under their beds in which they kept their belongings. Many cells also had "mufflers", a removable wooden box stuffed with towelling or cotton wool fitted over the radio speakers to muffle the sound, which was always at a set volume.

At the time of my release, my cell was rated the best in B-Section. I had made it most beautiful — under the circumstances. I had stuck pictures on the walls cut from calendars and reproductions of oil paintings. I also had photographs of my fiancée taken during a Women's Day commemoration, as well as photos of Albertina Sisulu, Winnie Mandela, Hilda Dube and Esther Maleka, executive members of the Western Cape United Women's Congress and Fedtraw, and my lawyer, Priscilla Jana.

In fact, at one stage, the prison authorities brought a television crew to film my cell as a model cell. The only thing they removed before the filming was a picture of Winnie Mandela, given to me by her husband.

On the Island, you hardly ever see the horizon. And we longed to see Table Mountain,

which seemed so close, and yet was so difficult to see.

That is one of the reasons it was so exciting to get a visitor. Apart from the joy of seeing one's loved ones, one had the opportunity of leaving the section and walking to the visitors' bay, set about 100m from B-Section. It was a chance to see outside the prison and, best of all, to see the horizon.

Some time after my arrival on the Island, I was having a chat with Elias Motosoledi, who had been sentenced to life imprisonment in the Rivonia trial. "Have you ever seen Table Mountain?" he asked.

"How can you see Table Mountain here? It is difficult even to see the horizon," I said, gesturing at the walls that blocked off any view.

"Come," he said. "Let me show you."

He took me to a small ramp that ran from the B-Section cells into the courtyard. I had walked up and down that ramp every day for years without noticing anything special.

Motosoledi showed me how one could stand on a little bench at an exact angle and peer over the wall and see Table Mountain. Not Cape Town; no houses or people — just the mountain against the sky with the tablecloth spread over the top.

After that day, I always wanted to see the mountain. On certain days, I wouldn't be able to see it and I would go to Motosoledi and tell him the mountain had vanished.

"It's just the mist," he would say, and I would wait to try and see the mountain because I was anxious. Sometimes, I would have to wait a whole week.

Security on the Island, particularly in B-section where Nelson Mandela and other Rivonia trialists were kept, was so tight that some people had spent 10 years on the Island and had never cast eyes on Mandela.

But after I had been in prison for a while, A-Section prisoners were allowed to attend weekly movies in B-section. Movies were chosen by inmates from a catalogue, and we saw all sorts: *Sophie's Choice* was a hot favourite. So was *Under Fire*. The inmates like films related to struggles.

Searches were conducted from time to time during the tenure as head of the prison of Major Badenhorst, who succeeded Harding in 1981. The searches were carried out either in the evening after lock-up or early morning before lock-out. All staffers in the prison would pounce on one section at a time and remove anything which was not supposed to be possessed by an inmate.

It was clear Badenhorst intended these raids to unearth political literature; and two years after my arrival, a lot of it was seized during a search of A-Section.

Within a week on June 21, 1982, five of us, including Harry Gwala, were ordered to pack our stuff as we would be transferred to B-section, where most of the ANC leadership were incarcerated. The others were Gwala's co-accused, Anthony "Mfen" Endaia (Baboon) Xaba, who is also doing life, as well as Naledi Tsiki and his co-accused in the 1978 "ANC 12" trial, Mosima "Tokyo" Sexwale. No reasons were given for this transfer.

I attributed my transfer to letters I had received from Mandela, known in prison as Madhiba. We had carried on a correspondence through the secret prison channels, but our code of conduct demanded vigilance. I regrettably violated this code when I kept Madhiba's smuggled letters longer than necessary. Like many in South Africa, I idolised the man and destroying anything he wrote was the last thing I could do. His letters were relics I thought I would smuggle out of prison upon my release.

Honesty was also demanded by the code of conduct. I voluntarily confessed to my colleagues that the letters had been taken during the search. My confession and the fact that I was a victim of Mandela's magic got me off the hook in my camp's disciplinary hearing.

My correspondence with Mandela comprised issues on journalism, family life, machinations of prison authorities and politics.

I had first heard the Island described as the University of Revolutionary Politics by a security policeman during my interrogation. He said I had been caught because I was an amateur — and soon I would be sent to "the university".

Both in the A and the B sections, political debate was the order of the day. Political classes were conducted with the knowledge of members of the Prisons

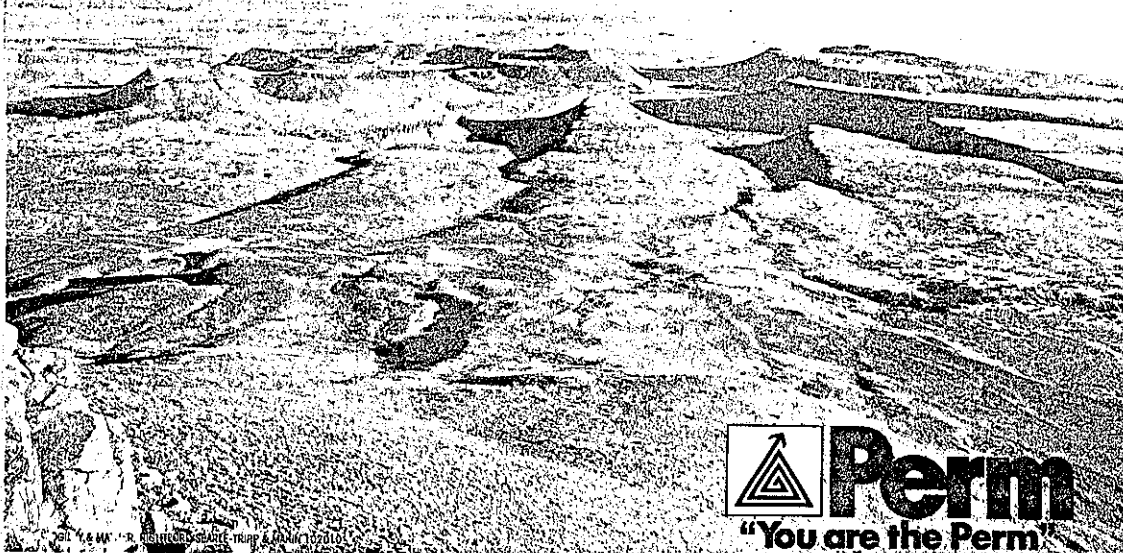
## The future of our family.

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.



 **Perm**  
"You are the Perm"

## THE ARTS/BOOKS

WHEN the government banned Farouk Asvat in 1973, it was making a bid to silence the young student and cut him off from public life.

In fact, the enforced isolation enabled Asvat to spend five years doing much reading and writing, honing his skills. It was, he says now, a "difficult period", particularly since he had spent the previous year doing numerous public readings of his work; but at the end of it he emerged a polished and skilful writer.

Unwittingly, and certainly unintentionally, the state probably pushed him along the path that led Asvat, a 35-year-old doctor, to the AA Mutual/AD Donker literary award he received on Sunday.

Received is not quite the right word, since Asvat chose not to receive it. He stayed at home and sent a message to the convenors explaining his decision not to attend the ceremony at the Johannesburg Civic Centre.

But once again he was silenced: the convenors chose not to read out his statement. It was a pity, because it probably would have spoken more eloquently about the man and his work than the citation drawn up by the judges who gave him this prestigious award.

The judges commended him for "the way he intertwines the complex elements of social and political conflicts with intense personal relationships.

"The sanity and courage of this collection arises from the special perception the poet holds, making him one of the few who can write about these traumatic times with such lucidity and lyricism".

Asvat told them he could not attend the ceremony because "it would not be in keeping with my role as a poet to appear here.

"I have always tried to articulate the feelings of my people, many of whose tongues have been tied by oppression. I have never written for academics or prizes — these have always been coincidental.

"My collection of poetry portrays the anguish and trauma our people have been through in the past few years. It would thus be incongruous to appear at the Civic Centre, which has always been a symbol of state ...

"Though I accept this prize as an acknowledgement of my endeavour to improve my literary craft, it would not be in keeping with my role as a poet to appear here. I belong among my people and to continue to speak their tongue I have to be among them," he said in his statement.

That Asvat took this stand would have come as no surprise to those who read the poetry that won him the award, or to those who know his background.

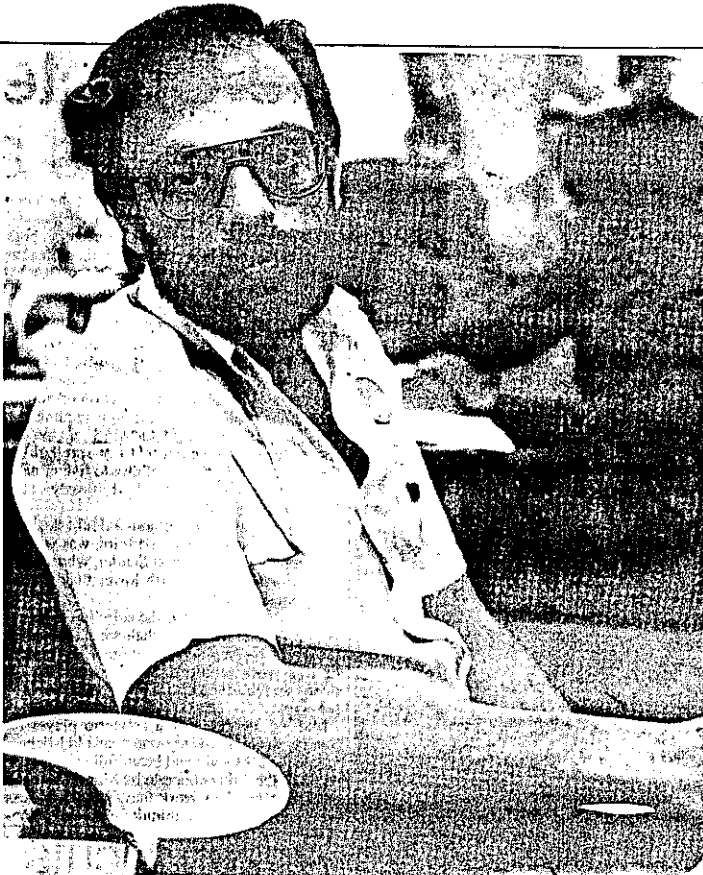
Asvat courts such controversy. He places himself firmly within the liberation struggle, and even more firmly in the black consciousness camp. When banned, he was a prominent and active member of various black consciousness organisations, and held the post of regional cultural coordinator of the Black People's Convention.

Now, he declines to belong to any particular organisation.

"Since my banning order ended (in 1978), I have not joined any political organisations at all, because as a writer I feel I need a certain amount of distance. I need to be both part of the liberation process and to be sufficiently distant from it to be able to analyse and criticise it.

"I am still closely aligned to National Forum and am very much a part of black consciousness, broadly speaking; but I do not hold any membership card for any organisation.

"I think that being part of an organisation *per se* one can be confined to thinking along cer-



Asvat — the doctor who considers himself a full-time writer

## Out of an angry silence, a polished poet is born

Missing from the AA Mutual Life/AD Donker award ceremony last week was ... the winner. But Farouk Asvat's absence came as no surprise to those who know his poetry. Here he talks to ANTON HARBER

tain lines at certain times or during certain processes. I think a writer needs a certain amount of distance to be able to evaluate things more independently."

This position is reflected most clearly in the title poem of his award winning collection, *A celebration of flames*.

*"What are we  
Reduced to?  
What insanity  
Now drives my people  
From the fires  
Of liberation.  
To the corpses of doom  
Writing  
In the dance  
Of a final  
Farewell."*

Asvat's determined independence is obvious-

ly not a popular position in a situation in which the most common demand facing writers is that they choose sides and proclaim their allegiances. He is not a member of the new Congress of South African Writers and is unwilling to speak about his reasons for this.

He is the first to admit he gets a good deal of flak for this independence.

"We are going through an unfortunate phase where unless you mouth specific slogans, people consider you part of the opposition. So often I get flak from the whole range of opinion on the Left, besides having to cope with state repression."

But Asvat is not scared to speak out when he considers it necessary — not just against the state, but against those he considers his comrades. Much of his poetry will alarm and disturb those who feel writers must fall into line with political organisation. For Asvat, however, the role of the writer is to alarm the politicians.

"It is not a matter of being critical for the sake of being critical; it is a very necessary input for political organisations. I think the role of the writer is not only to follow political organisations, but quite often to show direction as well."

He is quick to add that he is not a maverick. "One does not have to be a deviant or a bohemian," he says. "I think a writer has a hell of a responsibility in the sense that his words can carry a lot of weight. What the writer says may sometimes be seen as against the politicians, but I don't think it should be against the interests of the people," he says.

And he is quick to add that he strives not to be divisive. "Despite my political allegiances, I have always tried to work towards the unity of people in the liberation struggle: because I think they have more things in common than there are that separate us."

Some will find this difficult to accept, given some of the harsher criticisms inherent in his poetry. His desire for unity, however, is reflected in the book's dedication: "For Nelson, Robert and Steve, in a quest for unity in our struggle" (referring, presumably, to African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela, Pan Africanist Congress leader Robert Sobukwe and Steve Biko, leader of the Black Consciousness Movement).

Asvat does not spare his fellow writers from his criticism. He is one of the few members of the "liberation" school who argues consistently and vigorously for a need to give attention to skill and professionalism.

"I think it is very important that if one has chosen a certain craft, one has to become a master of it. It is not enough to say because I am black, because I am a worker, because I am oppressed, I can write these things. Sure, a worker has the experience and can write these things better than someone who has never been a worker; but he must also develop his skill to be able to write it.

"If writers are emerging and still learning their craft, one has to encourage and criticise them, but to praise them just because they come from the townships is doing them a disservice," he said.

For Asvat writing is a fulltime occupation; he does not tire of saying that writing is a profession that needs to be taken seriously as a profession.

It is a strange thing for him to say — considering he is himself a doctor at the Alexandra Health Clinic in Johannesburg.

Asvat considers himself first and foremost a writer because he says he spends most of his time reading and writing, or at least being preoccupied with the process of writing and the perfection of the skill.

But for Farouk, his two "occupations" are integrated: "The patient will know he is sick and might even know there is something wrong with his chest, for example. The doctor has learnt a skill; he takes what that patient says and, using his knowledge, he tells the patient it is TB.

"Similarly, as a writer, what you are doing is that when people know what they want to say, it is the writer's duty to take what they are feeling and needing and express it for them."

He may be a doctor — but he'll never make much of an anaesthetist.

● Asvat will launch his book at the Lyric Theatre, Fordsburg on Sunday evening at 7.30pm with music, poetry readings and cabaret. Entry is free and open to the public.

● A CELEBRATION OF FLAMES by Farouk Asvat (AD Donker; R9,95)

From previous page

Service, who turned a blind eye.

Since formal education was often discontinued at the whim of a prison officer, informal political education was considered not just a pastime but an obligation.

Political discussion entailed anything from analyses of current local events to news of international developments. On the occasion of the discussion, the chosen inmate would introduce the subject matter and lead extensive discussion until the matter had been exhausted. At the end of each discussion, the next topic would be announced and the person who was to lead discussion would be chosen. In the Charter camp, every member of the camp would be accorded the opportunity, on an informal basis, to lead discussion of a particular subject, irrespective of standard of education. It was amazing how the least-educated former guerrillas excelled in these discussions.

These discussions were most enriching — as much as any discussion by intelligent men and women outside prison, except that on Robben Island it was done intensively by committed political leaders.

I was awed by the manner in which revolutionaries from the ANC camp could analyse the political situation in and outside the Republic even before they had access to newspapers. Volumes of thought-provoking essays written by these men confirmed this impression.

Research for the discussions would entail consultation with fellow inmates and use of the prison library. Over all the years, the library in B-Section had been maintained by Ahmed Kathrada, one of the Rivonia trial lifers. He had built up the library over the more than 20 years he had been on the Island.

Should a particular book or periodical not be available in the library in one's own section, it would be loaned from libraries in other sections. The selection of books supplied by the provincial library was big but not very good.

Kathrada was an honours history student at the time and he could feel what books people wanted ordered. There were books on history, economics and other educational subjects as well as fiction, but there were no books on the development of society as perceived by people like Marx, which is a basic requirement for one's political education. However now and then we could glean a small reflection of this subject from other books. And there was a set of encyclopaedias donated by the International Committee of the Red Cross.

Now and then we would read about books — books that were reviewed in the newspapers, for example, and we would ask him to order them.

Most of the books people wanted were stories of other people's struggles and revolutions or about Marxism-Leninism. People in Robben Island knew of some Western writers who did not distort Marxism and Leninism and would order those books.

Sometimes we were loaned books from the provincial library or the university and we knew once we returned it we would never have access to it again, so a team of prisoners would transcribe it. They would spend days and nights hand-writing a copy of the book.

Should information not be available in print, walking libraries such as Mandela and other political heavyweights would be consulted. These people were indisputably well-informed.

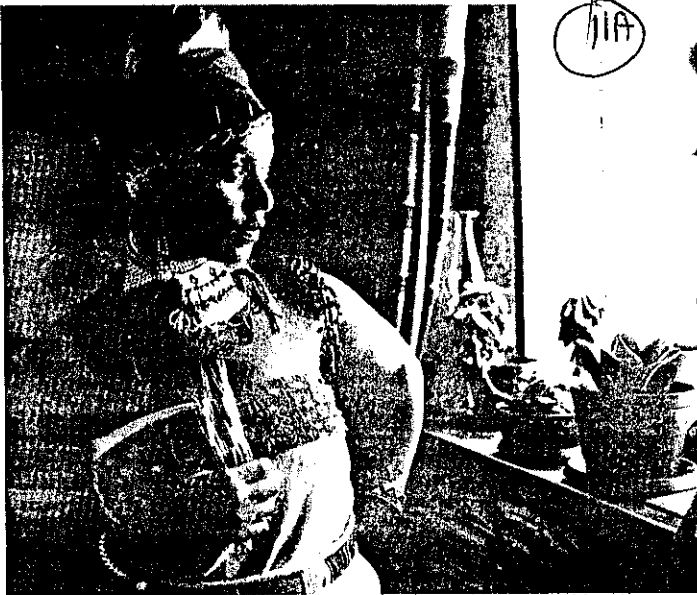
When the discussions were due to take place, a group of inmates would be selected to attend a class at a particular venue where a particular topic would be discussed. For instance newly arrived inmates with no political experience would attend classes separate from those attended by more experienced men, so that their political education could start from scratch.

For the sake of the authorities, classes were made to appear as ordinary interaction between inmates. This could be done anywhere: outside in the sun or in a cell — always in the presence of members of the Prisons Service.

Although warders were entrusted the task of preventing any political activity, at the same time many of them thought this petty. Besides, they strove to maintain good relations with the inmates whom they regarded with awe. And, in any case, it would always be difficult for them to establish whether a conversation between a group of us was political, since we would simply change the subject when they came close by.

Other jailers saw how futile their task was and acknowledged that inmates would never abandon politics.

There were some artists in prison. In my section, there was Tokyo Sexwale, who painted watercolours which some of us would hang in our cells. Other inmates played musical instruments, such as guitars and saxophones; one could hear them strumming or blowing away during the day. Govan Mbeki, a Rivonia trial lifer, was one such guitarist.



Prison memento: Nelson Mandela gave Thami Mkhwanazi this picture of Winnie to hang on his cell wall

At Christmas every year, we would get together and put on a show for each other in the section. The prisoners, usually the youngsters and very seldom the leadership, would sing or play an instrument at the concert.

Some of the prisoners were Marxists and didn't take Christmas seriously; but you would be surprised at everyone saying "Merry Christmas, comrade" and taking part in the party and concert. Harry Gwala, for example, was a committed Marxist, but he would go to church services. The Catholic priest, Father Long, was a philosopher, and Gwala used to enjoy hearing him philosophise in his sermons.

The church services were held on Sundays in the dining hall and all sorts of people attended them — sometimes just to keep contact with people from outside the prison. Different ministers from different denominations would come each week.

There were also Moslems on the Island and even one black Jew. I was told by people in the main section that he had converted a lot of

people in the prison and his synagogue, based in Soweto, was growing.

The introduction of newspapers and, later, TV, made prison life a good deal more tolerable and greatly improved the inmates' access to information.

Certain cells which were not occupied were used as reading rooms. In fact, they called it a newsroom, although I kept telling them that was the wrong word. In the newsroom, they would lay the newspapers out on the shelves and on the bed. People would stroll in and read them, some taking notes. The place would be congested during the day — even by those who did not have a newspaper reading "licence".

Naledi Tshiki, another ANC guerrilla who was sentenced to 14 years in 1978, was in charge of the newspapers. His task was to keep a register of the newspapers and the names of the prisoners who were receiving them. If a newspaper did not arrive, he would query it with the authorities or send a letter to

the publishers.

During the day, we would also take some of the newspapers into the courtyard and assemble there. Somebody would read the paper out to the crowd and we would discuss it.

Prisoners have to qualify for newspapers and people like myself, who had been giving the prison authorities a tough time, were refused such privileges. So we would stand around in the courtyard and pretend we were enjoying the sun, and the warders could never see whether or not we were discussing what was in the paper. The authorities would turn a blind eye, because they thought prisoners who weren't allowed to read would be troublesome.

B-section cells were demarcated into groups for the purpose of sharing newspapers after lock-up time. Those who were allowed to would take the newspapers into their cells and read them. When they were finished, they would tie a string around the paper, put their hands out of the cell window on to the corridor and throw it to the person in the cell opposite, who would catch it through his window. When he finished he would tie the paper up again and throw it back across the corridor to the next cell.

The hardest moment of my years inside was when the Commissioner of Prisons turned down my application to marry my fiancée. Marriage was a passport for a visit; I believed I would not see Amanda until my release. Inmates were allowed visits only from first-degree relatives.

But in my case, Harding made an exception — and set a precedent. After Amanda was allowed to visit me, other prisoners started campaigning for visits from people who were not members of their immediate family and now such visits are permitted.

It is unlikely that inmates would survive the many years in prison without the moral support of their loved ones. It is from these grass widows who stood at the window with a lighted candle for their menfolk for as long as they were in prison, even for life, that we drew the courage we needed in jail.

The other source of courage was the "lifers" who I had the opportunity of getting to know well: Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, Elias Mokoaledi, Wilton Mkwayi and others.

● Next week: a rare personal look at the jailed leaders of the ANC.

## THE ARTS

# Band's political record doesn't cut at home

CLAIMS by the Amampondo drummers that they see themselves as "part and parcel of the mass democratic movement" have surprised musicians and cultural groupings who, until now, have had little contact with the band.

These statements, made from London — where the group have apparently faced considerable pressure because of their latest visit to Israel — include claims of "support for the mass democratic movement at home," and support for the cultural and academic boycotts.

"Amampondo have taken cultural workers in South Africa by total surprise with their bold claim," remarked a spokesperson for the Con-

The ANC recently gave the nod to local group Amampondo — a nod that cultural organisations here are not so sure they deserve.

STEVE GORDON reports

gress of South African Writers. "Pronouncements made outside the country do not mean a thing unless they are backed up by committed action here in South Africa where the thrust of the liberation struggle is waged."

The *Weekly Mail* was unable to contact Amampondo for comment, but office bearers

of the South African Musicians' Alliance denied having had any contact or "discussions" with the marimba players since their controversial tours to Israel and Taiwan.

And while a telex from the African National Congress' London offices has reiterated the exile movement's position that South African artists such as Amampondo should utilise "their given opportunities to expose the culture of our people", the Cosaw statement points to a growing sentiment among progressive South African cultural organisations that it is work record rather than words which can best vouch for artists' integrity ...

The group's stated support for the cultural and academic boycotts is plainly at odds with their track record which includes two commercial tours to Israel and performances in Taiwan. That the ANC has seen fit to bail them out of a sticky situation says much for the organisation's understanding of the difficulties which South African artists face, but it also highlights the need for local acts to do their homework before venturing abroad.

"The band has played more frequently overseas than they have in their home community of Langa," remarked a spokesperson for Musical Action for People's Power.

# Idasa funeral surprise as Boraine called to 'explain'

By LOUISE FLANAGAN,  
East London

THE funeral of Eric Mntonga, murdered co-director of the East London branch of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa, took a surprising turn when Idasa's national directors were asked to explain the institute's role.

The presence of African National Congress flags and the tributes from unions, friends and jailed Barbara Hogan showed that Mntonga's position in Idasa was not questioned.

The master of ceremonies at the Mdantsane funeral, Jeffrey Wabhena, called on Idasa directors Frederik van Zyl Slabbert and Alex Boraine, two of the many speakers to pay tribute to Mntonga, to justify Idasa's role.

Both directors received a warm welcome from the crowd of about 2 000. "What Idasa tries to do is a very small drop in the ocean of the struggle for freedom and justice in South Africa," said Slabbert.

Boraine said Idasa "believes that apartheid can't be reformed. The land belongs to all its people.

"I believe the people shall govern. You don't have to tell blacks that but whites have to be educated.

"We must be led from the land of oppression to the land of freedom. We will go to the people and talk to them and persuade them that South Africa must be changed.

Boraine also referred to Idasa's position with regard to the ANC. "To grow, Idasa must sit at the foot of the giants who have gone before and served the country for 75 years.

"We must talk to those who are in exile, that's why we went to Dakar. There can be no solution to our problems without the ANC," Boraine said. "Even though people tell us we are traitors, we will continue."

Both Slabbert and Boraine emphasised that Idasa would not be stopped either by Mntonga's murder or threats to other Idasa members.

— Elnews



Keeping an eye on the forces of "Justice, Peace and Security" at the Idasa funeral last weekend were these security guards, hired after rightwing threats to Idasa members.

Picture: STEVE HILTON-BARBER, Afrapix



# Mbeki release is possible, says PW

*withdrew 14-2018/87*  
THE State President, PW Botha, yesterday indicated the release of life prisoner ANC leader Govan Mbeki was likely. (11A)

At the same time, he backed off from the conditions he had previously attached to the release of political prisoners. ~~2~~

Meanwhile, another life prisoner, Harry Gwala, who has been treated for a terminal disease, has been transferred from Robben Island, leading to speculation that he may be released on medical grounds.

Speaking in parliament yesterday, Botha said he had asked Minister of Justice Kobie Coetsee to look into the possible release of the 76-year-old Mbeki, who has been in prison for 23 years.

He also made it clear that a rejection of armed struggle would be a factor in deciding the release of other long-term prisoners, but would no longer be an absolute precondition.

Weekly Mail learnt this week that Gwala, 66, who was sentenced in 1977 to life imprisonment for recruiting people for military training, was transferred to Maritzburg Prison on Monday.

Asked to comment, Brigadier EC van Zyl, chief liaison officer of the SA Prisons Service, said: "It is the prerogative of the commissioner of prisons to decide where a prisoner will be incarcerated and in this process several factors are carefully considered."

# I'm not in hiding, says Winnie after speech row

By MONO BADELA

POLICE this week raided the Johannesburg office of the London-based Worldwide Television News looking for a videotape of a speech delivered at the weekend by Winnie Mandela, wife of the jailed African National Congress leader.

Yesterday Mandela dismissed the raid. "(Law and Order Minister) Adriaan Vlok pretends he was not aware of my admission of my ANC association," she said.

"What Adriaan Vlok and the government do is of no consequence to me. I'm not in a position to enter into any political arena with the present government. The government has never consulted me about what it does to me or my people."

Mandela said she felt "grossly insulted" by a newspaper suggestion that she had gone into hiding. "The suggestion that at my age in my political career I was hiding from the Security Police is a gross insult," she said.

A representative of Worldwide Television News said plainclothes detectives seized one videotape on Wednesday under section 5 of the Emergency regulations, but the tape was later returned. "There was no coverage of Mrs Mandela's speech on tape," the representative said.

Mrs Mandela addressed a crowd of nearly 2 000 people on Sunday at a rally held on the campus of the University of the Witwatersrand. The event was staged to commemorate the 31st anniversary of a march on the Union Buildings in Pretoria by 20 000 women protesting against the extension of passes to black women.

This week Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok called for the full text of Mandela's speech, in which she was reported to have made a call for the "struggle" to be carried into the white areas. A spokesman for the minister's office said Vlok was "dismayed" by the alleged statement.

Mandela was one of a number of speakers at the cultural festival, organised by the Federation of Transvaal Women to commemorate National Women's Day.

In her speech, she told women the time for rhetoric had passed.

She said the "war for the people's liberation" should not be fought in black townships, in Soweto and Uitenhage, but should be taken to white areas. "In Pretoria — that is where the war should be waged," she said.

She said blacks today were living in difficult times: "Your children are being killed and maimed daily." Pretor-

ia was waging war with township children, she said; "We have to push forward the struggle that is the reality today."

In South Africa, she said, there were mothers with incomplete families; some of their children who had left in 1976 were now returning.

She urged mothers not to hesitate when they heard a knock on the door at night. "It may be your son or daughter, back to fight the enemy of the people," she said. "Let us be practical in our struggle."

Frances Baard, a stalwart of the Federation of SA Women and a patron of the United Democratic Front, told the audience the next action to be taken by women in the fight for liberation would be a march to the houses of parliament in Cape Town.

Peter Mokaba, president of the militant South African Youth Congress, seconded the suggestion. "This time our mothers will not fail because the young lions will be there to make sure that we succeed."

United Democratic Front Co-President Albertina Sisulu, wife of jailed ANC leader Walter Sisulu, said there would never be reform in South Africa until those oppressed bring it to pass. "The new dompas is another way of brainwashing us," she said.

# PW waves the big stick

- Probes into foreign funds
- No more talks with the ANC
- Checks on embassy staffs

14-20/8/87 w/m

## WEEKLY MAIL REPORTER

SWEEPING clamps on South Africans who talk to the African National Congress, foreign funding of extra-parliamentary groups and the activities of certain embassies in South Africa are on the cards after President PW Botha's opening speech on his vote in parliament yesterday.

And the State of Emergency will not be lifted, even partially, unless the government's security advisers recommend it.

Botha lambasted the recent Dakar talks with the ANC and said the banned organisation was "laughing up its sleeves at the naiveté of 'useful idiots' who, as Lenin puts it, can be used to further the aims of the first phase of the revolution".

But he warned the mere fact that the government allowed Frederik van Zyl Slabbert and company to "burn their fingers" in Dakar should not be interpreted "as though the government will turn a blind eye to future talks with the ANC".

Botha said the government had no choice but "to consider taking certain steps to prevent South Africans from becoming further victims of this process".

He stopped short of announcing any specific measures.

But he said the government was considering "stricter control with regard to the issuing and renewal of passports for South Africans who collaborate with South Africa's enemies."

It was also investigating amendments to the law "to restrict the flow of funds from abroad to be used for undermining the state and promoting extra-parliamentary politics" and the appointment of a joint select parliamentary committee of inquiry "into the activities and funding of extra-parliamentary groups".

Botha added: "Just as the govern-

● To PAGE 2



Miners at Embalenhle chant slogans as the massive NUM strike, involving more than 200 000 workers, gets underway. Picture: ERIC MILLER, Afrapix

## As strike heats up, Anglo warn: We may call SAP

By JO-ANN BEKKER and HILARY JOFFE

truth and significantly different claims are being made by the parties. The unwillingness of the mine owners to co-operate with the press and other groups has made independent accurate assessments of the extent of the strike nearly impossible.

The LMG, which conducted sur-

veys in six mining regions, estimated 66 percent of the work force in those areas was on strike.

And, in a move that is likely to raise the temperature of the dispute, Anglo American has announced it may call in the SA Police to enforce Supreme Court orders evicting strikers from the East Rand Gold and Uranium Company (Ergo) plant and restraining them from re-entering it.

At a press conference at Anglo headquarters in Johannesburg last night, Theo Pretorius, MD of Anglo's Transvaal mines, said his company would decide tonight whether to ask police to carry out the court orders granted yesterday.

This would depend on whether sabotage stopped at the high-technology plant, he said. He claimed there had been 14 serious cases of sabotage since the beginning of the strike.

Anglo representatives also detailed allegations of coercion and intimidation by strikers and shaft stewards at two mines.

● To PAGE 2

The contents of this newspaper are subject to the Emergency regulations

PW waves the big stick

● From PAGE 1

ment of the United States of America is taking steps to bring the staff of embassies who are acting off-limits in that country under control, or to restrict their movements, similar steps can be considered in South Africa with regard to certain members of staff of specific embassies.

"If the US can do it, we can also do so."

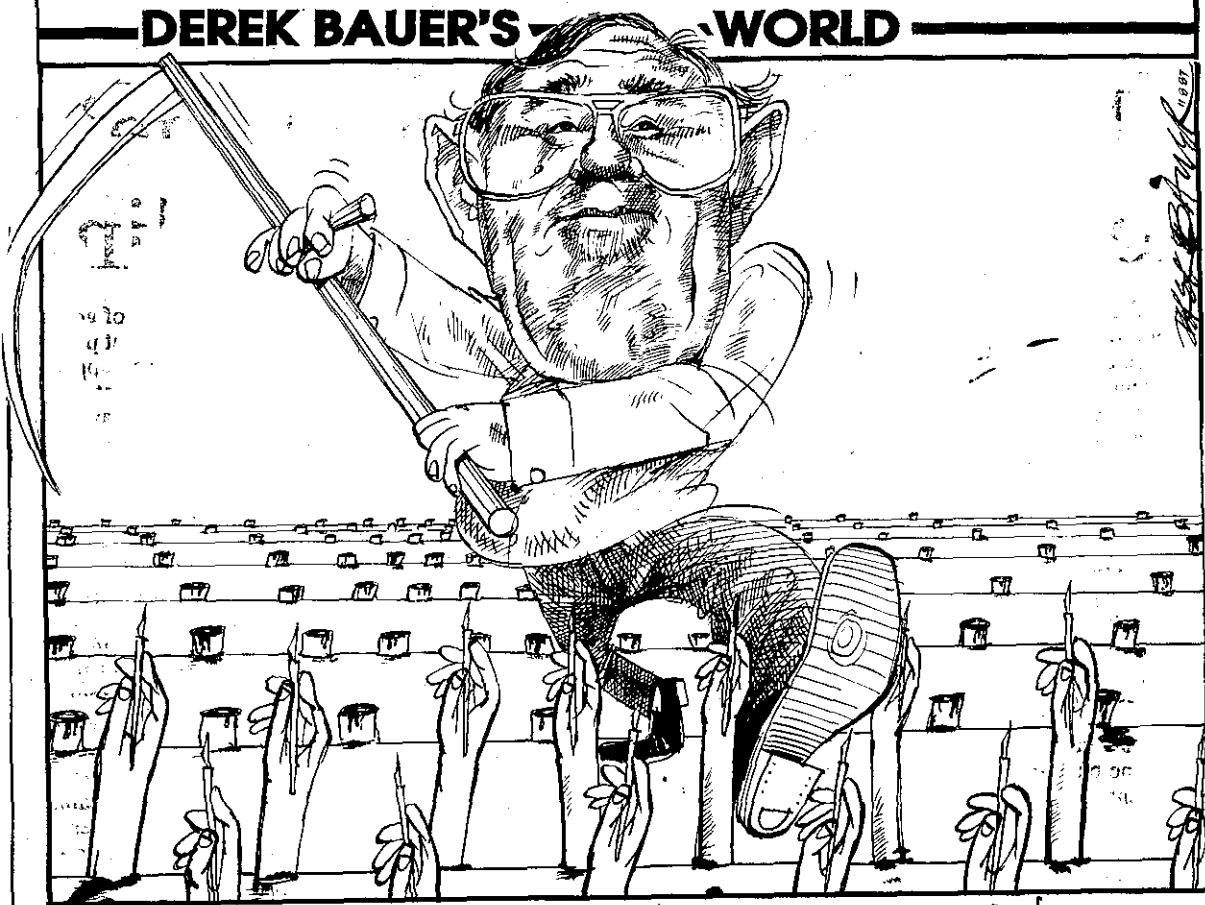
The government viewed in a very serious light the interference of foreign governments and their embassy personnel in extra-parliamentary politics.

"The government is aware of the activities of these people and of their support for such organisations as Idasa.

"In this process, they are making use of South Africans to do their 'dirty work' for them while at the same time they are undermining the sovereignty of South Africa.

● It was ridiculous for the State President to use the continuing violence on all sides in South Africa as a reason for describing the Dakar conference as a failure," Frederik van Zyl Slabbert said in Cape Town.

"No safari or visits by any delegation of South Africans have the power to reduce the violence or stop the armed struggle," he said. "Only the government of South Africa can do that."



CAPE TIMES: THE SICKLE IS MIGHTIER THAN THE PEN

**LETTERS**

w / Karl  
14-20/8/07

# Adoption of antiquated charter excludes dissenters

THE much publicised Congress of South African Trade Unions' second annual congress has come and gone. From news reports it was quite an affair — second only to the much acclaimed Congress of the People.

It is also of interest to note that this congress was held in the wake of the Freedom Charter adoption mania as initiated by the National Union of Mineworkers, National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa and the refusal of adoption by the Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union of South Africa congress.

Out of this very congress emerged two controversial points which reek of an extreme degree of sectionalism. These are: Adoption of the charter and definition of a progressive organisation.

The latter bring Cosatu in line with charter formations and thus the exclusion of any view to the contrary. The sectional stance was also adopted by the allegedly militant Sayco.

What is unfortunate with this sectional stance is that it is a Cosatu officialdom view which has nothing whatsoever to do with the rank-and-file membership of either the unions or the federation.

The adoption of the charter slams the door in the face of those espousing views to the contrary of this antiquated document. The same applies to unions outside the super-federation. Such a stance militates against its maxim of "one country one federation".

All are invited to join Cosatu, albeit on its ill-conceived sectional principles. The National Confederation of Trade Unions is said to be the stumbling block in Cosatu's way of attaining one country one federation.

Surprisingly for the attainment of this goal Nactu will have to go. The means to the "expedient demise" of Nactu is open to speculation. What we are however certain of is that Nactu is a painful thorn in Cosatu's flesh.

Notwithstanding its aggressive and sectional stance we shall, as in the past, continue to come to the aid of our black workers in time of need. — Molebatsi Masedi, Azapo Chair, Northern Transvaal region

A NUMBER of articles criticising share ownership for workers have appeared in the WM lately, and I feel a big mistake is being made in this regard.

If capitalism has had a weakness,

1964 20/8/82 (114) (114)

## UDF link 'not reason for detention'

PEOPLE were not detained merely because of their association with the United Democratic Front, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, told the House of Representatives.

Mr Vlok was replying to a written question by Mr Peter Hendrickse (Labour Party Addo) on whether any members or supporters of the UDF had been detained under emer-

gency regulations since January 31 last year and, if so, how many and whether any had been charged.

Mr Vlok said it was, however, an undisputed fact that members of organisations affiliated to the UDF rendered themselves guilty of acts of violence with the ultimate aim of undermining the authority of the State and overthrowing the Government.

"It can therefore be confirmed that persons who are members of organisations that are affiliated to the UDF were detained and some are still being detained in terms of the emergency regulations and other security-related legislation.

"Compiling this information is, however, extensive and time-consuming and the particulars are therefore not readily available." — Sapa.

# Looking at the UDF on its 4th birthday

By Jo-Anne Collinge

Any attempt to evaluate the United Democratic Front (UDF) on this its fourth anniversary is something like estimating the size of an iceberg by looking only above the water's surface.

Launched with a blaze of publicity in Cape Town four years ago, today only the tip of the largest extra-parliamentary political organisation in the country functions openly.

The rest of the still-lawful UDF is either contained in detention cells or operates semi-underground, driven there by the prospect of indefinite detention under the emergency regulations.

It is difficult to do a neatly assess the state of the UDF under emergency rule.

How does the loss of more than two dozen national and regional executive committee members, kept in detention for as long as 14 months, weigh up against the consolidation of affiliates in various sectors — in formations like the South African Youth Congress and the UDF Women's Congress?

Is the emergence of a clearer political direction — shared by the UDF and the labour giant, the Confederation of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) — severely undercut by the emergency censorship provisions which make it impossible to debate day-to-day strategies of resistance such as rent boycotts, illegal strikes and people's courts?

Without attempting to reach an overall assessment, this much can be said of the UDF on its fourth birthday:

● The day will be marked by the organisation's formal adoption of the Freedom Charter, a political blueprint formulated in 1955 on the basis of thousands of individual demands and later endorsed by

the organisations in the Congress Alliance. Many of the largest affiliates of the UDF adopted the charter well in advance of the umbrella organisation.

Four years ago the front came into being to unite the widest range of organisations against the new constitution and the "Koornhof Bills" on the administration of black townships.

Although there were strong "Charterist" elements within the UDF it resisted bearing such a label itself for fear of alienating prospective affiliates.

● Trade union opposition to the Freedom Charter was the one factor which might have blocked the front's declaration of support for the charter.

## RELATIONSHIP WITH UNIONS

However the country's largest union, the National Union of Mineworkers, adopted the charter earlier this year. The second-ranking National Union of Metalworkers then recognised the document as a set of minimum demands to be supplemented by a socialist charter. And their federal organisation, Cosatu, subsequently also came in on the side of the Freedom Charter.

In its early years the UDF grappled to define its relationship to the unions. Now in a politically congruent position to the largest labour grouping, the UDF has no difficulty in asserting that the two umbrella organisations will continue joint campaigns.

● As in 1983, the UDF perceives that its only feasible terrain of mobilisation is the political, where it strives for equal rights for all in a unitary South Africa.

"The UDF is wedded to a position of non-violence and we decided not to take on the State where it was strong, but where it was weak — namely in the political arena," a member of the executive said.

The organisation claims that entire regions of the country are dominated by the kind of political vision spelt out by the front. It points to the sustained rent boycotts and the massive stayaways during the May election and on June 16 as evidence of this.

The drop in political violence does not signal a corresponding sag in political consciousness, UDF sources insist. "We don't regard the level of mobilisation as how many people die — that's not our yardstick."

The front sees unremitting organisation as its political task. "The regime can only survive for as long as significant sections of the people remain passive or actively support it. Our task is to ensure that no section of our people remains outside the ranks of the democratic movement."

● The UDF has been hit by virtually every form of government restriction short of outright banning. During the emergency declared on June 12 1986, in various parts of the country, its meetings and those of many affiliates were banned, their T-shirts and banners were outlawed, publication of all statements of their officials was prohibited and the detention of UDF-linked activists is estimated to run into tens of thousands.

Costly "hearts and minds" campaigns designed to undercut resistance to apartheid by improving certain key townships — like Alexandra, near Johannesburg — are another factor the UDF has to take into account.

● While the UDF still believes the protagonists in the South African conflict will have to talk their way to a solution, it claims more and more obstacles are being put in the way of talks. "There can be no negotiations and democratic alternatives while repressive conditions prevail," it stated recently.

20/8/87

(1/A)

Stam

# Four years on, the UDF is 'in retreat' but 'politically stronger'

20/8/87  
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B/DAY

THE United Democratic Front (UDF) enters its fifth year today — its most able leaders dead, detained or facing trial, its funding in a parlous state and its meetings banned.

The UDF's original target — the tricameral Parliament — has been operational for three years. Two states of emergency have taken their toll — the UDF estimates 80% of 30 000 detainees belong to its affiliated organisations — and a government banning order is never far away.

"The UDF is in retreat," national treasurer Azhar Cachalia admits bluntly. "We are engaged in a holding action to protect and defend our organisations."

Yet Cachalia believes government has attempted — and failed — to engage the UDF on the political terrain.

## Challenged

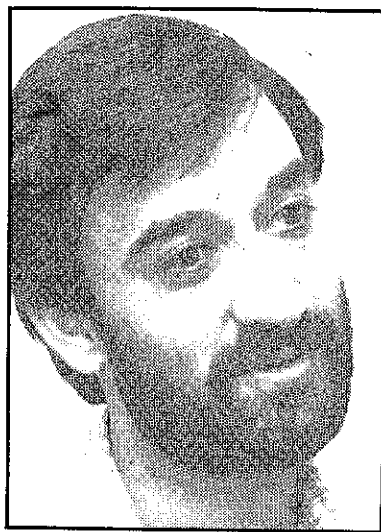
"We feel we are politically stronger than government. That is why they think it is in their interests to push us underground, to engage us in the security and military areas."

Cachalia says the UDF sees as its aim the creation of conditions conducive to a future democratic SA.

Yet the experience of the past four years suggests that the aim is easier to articulate than to achieve. It upholds an ideal of non-racialism that was powerfully challenged by the flowering of black consciousness in the early Seventies.

Going into its fifth year, the

## PATRICK BULGER



□ CACHALIA . . . "holding action"

UDF appears — from the comments of its leaders and the writings from which it draws intellectual sustenance — to have three broad avenues open to it, none of which are guaranteed to radically transform SA politically or economically.

They are not mutually exclusive. Firstly, it can try to continue with legal and open opposition to what it sees as State "crisis-management" policies.

Local organisations will mobilise wherever possible around local issues: rents, living conditions and education. Already this strategy has had to be abandoned

in part in the face of an unrelenting official crackdown.

UDF leaders operate in hiding, emerging only for the occasional executive meeting or Press conference. Youth leaders who formed the affiliated SA National Youth Congress recently had to do so in conditions of utmost secrecy.

Secondly, there is the question — probably the most immediately controversial — of mobilising within State structures.

One of the founding presidents — Archie Gumede — seemed to be suggesting this recently.

While he was promptly shot down by other UDF leaders, it is clear that a quite significant strain of UDF opinion is leaning towards at least exploring this option more fully.

Cachalia insists the UDF does not reject the tricameral Parliament on grounds of principle alone.

## Strategy

"When we decided to boycott the 1983 elections it was not a knee jerk reaction. We looked at the question of the loaded vote, of the President being able to by-pass Parliament through the President's Council, and at the end of the day we felt it would not only cause divisions but that it would not open the possibility for meaningful change.

"If those were the conditions in 1983, they are even less conducive in 1987. But the Parliamentary tactic will and should be discussed."

Closely allied to this strategy is the hope of a significant realignment in white politics — a split in the National Party, for example —

that could free moderates from the party straitjacket imposed by President Botha.

Little publicised, yet fruitful, talks have been held with members of the Independent movement. Such talks could possibly open the way for a broader, non-racial alliance.

## Adopting

The third option appears to be a closer working relationship with the trades union movement — specifically, the Congress of SA Trade Unions (Cosatu).

To this end, the UDF is adopting the Freedom Charter to mark its fourth anniversary. It would ideally like to combine community issues with shopfloor issues.

Broadly speaking, the UDF interprets the Freedom Charter as a social democratic document — a set of minimum demands for an alternative SA.

Whether this is likely to meet with the approval of union hardliners has been a problem in the past and is likely to remain so in the future.

In the face of adversity, the temptation for the UDF to fall back on a moral appeal to whites and government to see reason and initiate talks with the opposition appears to be great.

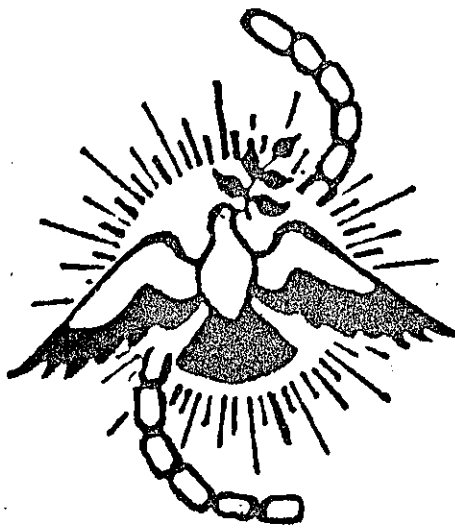
Cachalia says the UDF provides a "last chance" for whites and blacks to get together and shape a new future.

In the meantime, he says, increasing numbers of young men — frustrated by the failure of non-violence — are opting for violence.

(114)

**THE FOUNDATION  
FOR PEACE AND JUSTICE**

**Born in conflict  
and undefeated  
in persecution,  
the UDF lives  
to serve the  
non-racial struggle.  
Victory is certain!**





# Threat to block P.W.'S election plan

~~11A~~  
11A

CAP Tuit's

20/8/87

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

CABINET minister Mr Allan Hendrickse last night threatened to block the government's plans to scrap the 1989 white election unless it promised to repeal the Group Areas and Separate Amenities Acts.

The government needs the support of the majority of MPs in all three Houses of Parliament to push through the change in the constitution that is needed to postpone the scheduled election.

The Labour Party leader's ultimatum followed a stormy debate in the House of Representatives yesterday, during which a furious President P W Botha lashed out at LP speakers for what he described as "insulting" and "scandalous" remarks about himself, the Nationalist government and the Afrikaner over apartheid laws.

The stage was set for a showdown when, during the debate on the President's vote, Mr Hendrickse made it clear that the government could not count on the LP's support if needed to bypass the white election and extend the life of the white House of Assembly without a commitment to scrap the Group Areas Act.

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## 'The coloured owe Afrikaner vote of thanks' — Page 4

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Replying to the debate, an angry and finger-wagging Mr Botha:

● Challenged Mr Hendrickse, "if you are so unhappy", to get his party to adopt a vote of no confidence in the cabinet and force an early election — "but I know you will not do so".

● Suggested he might prevent the Minister of Health Services and Welfare, Mr Chris April, from travelling abroad in future, following a critical speech by the minister.

● Chastised Mr Hendrickse for opting out of state functions on the day they were held.

● Warned that he expected all ministers to act responsibly — "if not, they are free to go . . . There are plenty of others who want their posts". He added that it was his responsibility to see that all ministers behaved in such a way that all races had respect for them.

● Threatened to walk out of the

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SP's BUDGET VOTE

# P W's total onslaught

21/8/87

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State President P W Botha is preparing an unprecedented onslaught on a wide range of leftwing opponents. The scene was set this week during the debate on his Budget vote in the House of Assembly.

While it is not clear whether he will opt for one or several parliamentary select committees to "investigate" the activities to which he referred, it is clear that few, if any, of those who have incurred his wrath in recent months will escape. Effectively, there will be investigations into:

- The activities — including contacts with the ANC — and funding of extra-parliamentary groups and individuals;
- The activities of foreign diplomats based in SA — particularly contacts with extra-parliamentary groups; and
- The "alternative" media.

The big talking point in the corridors of parliament is why Botha went off in such a frenzy, while at the same time in a more humane mood hinting at the possible release of Govan Mbeki, a move seen by many as the prelude to letting Nelson Mandela out (See Box).

It is the "tragedy of the election results," one politician describes Botha's hardline at-



**Botha . . . paving the way for Mandela**

titude. Gone are the days when government was faced by a leftwing, moderate official opposition.

Some observers reckon that about 60% of debating time allocated to Nat members is spent countering rightwing arguments hurled across the floor by Conservative Party members. Government strategy now, it seems, is to anticipate favourite rightwing themes — subversion, meddling foreign powers, the press — and so pre-empt them.

Already Botha has gained points from the ultra-right Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, which congratulated him for his stand on the Dakar delegates. Eugene Terreblanche, who

not long ago was denied a meeting by Botha, cabled that he looks forward to immediate changes in legislation to end "collaboration with the enemy."

The latest government move is linked to Pretoria's long-awaited reaction to the "Dakar safari," which was spelt out in detail by Botha and was as scathing as had been expected. His comments may be the parameters within which extra-parliamentary groups will be investigated.

In essence, Botha's reaction boils down to the consideration of measures to clamp down on South Africans who have contact with the ANC and restrict the flow of foreign funds to certain extra-parliamentary organisations. These may include:

- Stricter control over the issuing and renewal of passports for "South Africans who collaborate with SA's 'enemies'";
- Changes to laws to restrict the flow of funds from abroad "to be used for undermining the State and promoting extra-parliamentary politics"; and
- Possible measures to curb foreign funding of extra-parliamentary groups.

In a direct attack on the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for SA (Idasa),

2/18/87

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FIM

which organised the Dakar trip, and its co-executive directors, Frederik van Zyl Slabbert and Alex Boraine, the State President said information at government's disposal contradicts the claims of Slabbert and Boraine that there is nothing sinister or illegal about the funds received by Idasa.

He challenged them to reveal the "actual origins" of Idasa's funds and the "manner in which funds are channelled to it." He rejected Slabbert's claim that the Dakar trip was a "patriotic" act.

He said the ANC merely exploits contacts with South Africans for its own ends and does not deviate from its revolutionary aims. Anyone who speaks to the ANC "behind government's back or supports this organisation consciously or unconsciously in any way is strengthening their evil intentions."

Botha said the actions of "clumsy politicians and other rash victims," in trying to woo the ANC, only delays the day when the ANC, "as an accountable and responsible party," will join other groups in SA at the negotiating table.

He said the fact that government allowed the Dakarites to "burn their fingers" should not be interpreted as a willingness to tolerate similar activities in future.

Referring to the activities of some foreign diplomats, Botha said government views "in a very serious light" the "interference of foreign governments and embassy personnel in the furtherance of extra-parliamentary politics." He said government is aware of the activities of "these people" and of their support for such organisations as Idasa.

"In this process they are making use of South Africans to do their 'dirty work' for them, while undermining the sovereignty of SA — something I also seriously warned against in my speech on April 17 1986. No self-respecting government will allow its hospitality to be abused in this way."

Later, in response to demands by the Progressive Federal Party's Ray Swart that he detail his allegations concerning diplomats, Botha said: "We will deal with the matter when the select committee is appointed. We will take it up with the governments concerned. I did not refer to all embassies. The embassies involved know to what extent their members have been participating in this type of action."

In Cape Town this week, the diplomatic corps is still trying to assess Botha's comments, but sources in the bigger embassies are adamant that their activities are above board and that if Botha has any complaints he is welcome to make them known.

Moves to clamp down on the media, in particular the "alternative" media, have been expected for some time, so Botha's attack came as no surprise. He said government will investigate the activities of the alternative media and stop its "propaganda."

He said instead of assisting government to achieve the change in SA to which it is committed, some sections of the newspaper industry seem to be out to "urge the spirit of revolution along."

**The FM brings its readers the most news, comment and interpretation possible under the new regulations restricting publication of certain matters.**

**It does not believe that the restrictions are necessary or in the public interest, but will obey the law.**

He said most of the "so-called alternative media" support "leftist radical groups and views" and practise "subtle propaganda to further a revolutionary climate under the pretext of journalism. The entire matter concerning the alternative media and alternative news agencies will have to be investigated and dealt with."

Botha gave no detail of such action, but there is speculation that foreign funding for "independent" newspapers will be probed.

His latest comments on the media come in the wake of growing tension between government and members of the Newspaper Press Union (NPU) and Media Council.

This week Botha referred to meetings last year with the NPU at which unsuccessful efforts were made to gain its "voluntary" cooperation in the fight against the "revolutionary onslaught."

Botha said that through their actions a large part of the press had "brought SA into disrepute." These activities do not necessarily involve "outright lies," but more often "blatant distortion and stage setting" which "finds expression in misrepresentation and the creation of negative perceptions." ■

## ONE BEFORE THE OTHER

IIA ~~204A~~

Government's softening of its line on the release of political prisoners by dropping its insistence on renunciation of violence as a prerequisite is a result of growing concern in Cabinet at the implications of Nelson Mandela dying in jail.

This would destroy any chances of the proposed National Council (NC), which can be regarded as P W Botha's brain-child, functioning as hoped. Black insistence that the "real leaders" be released from prison has made Constitutional Development and Planning Minister and chief negotiator Chris Heunis's position uncomfortable.

The *FM* learns through parliamentary sources that Heunis and his deputy Stoffel van der Merwe are the driving force behind Botha's new line.

The "new deal," spelt out by P W Botha during the parliamentary debate on his Budget vote, follows, he said, a reassessment in the light of past experiences.

Botha said while renouncing violence, like any other single "positive factor," could contribute towards a "good prognosis" for the release of a prisoner, it is not

"decisive in its own right."

"What still has to be taken into account is, among other things, the intentions of the punisher, the interests of the community and the State, the nature of the crime and its motive, the duration of the sentence, previous criminal record, the prisoner's reaction to the sentence imposed and the general composition of the personality and approach of the person himself."

It seems that former ANC national chairman, Govan Mbeki, now 76 and rumoured to be in poor health, will be the first to be freed in terms of the "new deal." This could pave the way for Mandela.

Government sources, however, point out that a released person could be handed over to his family. For both Mandela and Mbeki, that could mean being sent off to Transkei. What the government of Transkei does with them would be of no concern to SA.

On the other hand, government is probably aware that, unilaterally sending them to the homeland would be perceived as almost as bad as leaving them to lan-

guish in jail. This would diminish the gesture.

Botha said: "I have already requested that the minister of justice give attention to (Mbeki's) case. In regard to every other case, periodic consideration will be given, in accordance with all other relevant factors, to whether it should be dealt with or not."

First indications of government's latest concern at the possibility of Mandela dying in jail came in a recent leading article in *Die Volksblad*, Nationalist mouthpiece in the OFS, which said the implications of releasing Mandela had to be weighed against what may happen if he dies in jail.

Though Mbeki is, in the words of one ANC watcher, "the most hardline of the lot," he is very old and doesn't have the same national stature as Mandela. It is also possible that government simply doesn't want him to die in prison, thereby unleashing who knows what backlash in the townships.

However, people who've returned from Robben Island in recent years have reported that Mbeki is as tough (ideologically, perhaps less so in health), as ever.

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paper indicate:  
 "The (ANC) is hierarchical, elitist and disciplined. This is in keeping with its East European models of external military inspi-



## TALKING TO THE ANC

### May be futile. . .

2/16/87 FIM  
The quest for the truth about the political programme of the African National Congress (ANC) appears to be folly, was the message that emerged during a seminar at the University of Durban-Westville last week, led by Wits political scientist Tom Lodge.

Lodge, internationally credited as an authority on the ANC and revolutionary politics, naturally drew no such a blunt value judgment during his presentation, *State of Exile: the African National Congress of SA, 1976-1986*.

But the judgment was nonetheless compelling, as these observations gleaned from his

### Wit's Lodge . . . Light on ANC strategy

2/16/87  
ration, appropriate with a military organisation (which requires) a matching bureaucratic and technological quality and difficult to reconcile with prerequisites of democracy;"

The ANC's 15-man Youth Secretariat, highly respected by older leaders, "is apparently composed of men and women said to be steeped in conspiracy and clandestine methods. . . ." and

"The ANC, like any other organisation in such a situation (policy discussions) uses

I N • M Y • O P I N I O N

2/16/87 FIM  
different language for different constituencies. . .

"Such alterations are inevitable and necessary in an organisation which has to preserve a balance between loyalty and gratitude to its military patrons, assuaging the potential hostility of Western governments, and reassuring liberal allies within capitalist democracies, while expanding support within a heterodox collection of constituencies inside SA."

To a question on ideological differences within the ANC leadership, Lodge replied: "Yes, there's general indecision on key economic and social issues. This is partly because the ANC has only recently been thinking of governing SA."

"Secondly, its leadership is eclectic and it is tactically not to its advantage to produce a detailed political, economic and social programme."

Asked whether such strategic posturing would not ultimately conflict with a need for a clear statement on its true political programme, Lodge observed: "The ANC is under pressure to make its programme clearer. But I doubt that it will be in a position to produce a party political manifesto. On the whole, revolutionary movements don't."

In these circumstances what is the benefit of SA pilgrims travelling northwards to hear the ANC explain its political beliefs?

Though he was somewhat critical of the composition and preparation of the party assembled by Van Zyl Slabbert, Lodge later added, however, that such communications might serve to "democratise both South Africans and the ANC."

It is difficult to reconcile this with the ANC's understandable conflict as outlined by Lodge between tactical positions for public consumption and privately held princi-

ples.

The unhappy conclusion is that, if for the wrong reasons, government may be correct in tagging talks with the ANC as futile. On top of its disinformation on the ANC, those who make the pilgrimage in search of truth from the horse's mouth are likely just to get more disinformation. ■

# Soviet praise for Dakar Afrikaners

The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — An official Soviet commentator has heaped praise on the Afrikaner delegation that went to Dakar to meet the African National Congress.

"Already rightwing extremists have accused the delegation of high treason. This, of course, is nonsense," the commentator, Mr Eugin Fristov, said in Radio Moscow's Afrikaans-language broadcast to South Africa.

"Any person working for a better society in South Africa is a patriot," Mr Fristov said.

"One must admit that these are courageous people and hope that they will remain so."

Moscow's international broadcasts, including the English, Afrikaans and Zulu transmissions to South Africa, are monitored in Washington.

Because Moscow's radio and television services are under tight government control, commentaries on them are seen as official expressions of opinion.

In recent months, there has been a notable increase in the number of programmes devoted to South and southern Africa. At least two of them dealt with the Dakar meeting. The miners' strike is a major topic.

In the latest broadcast this week, the Soviets decried the South African Government's opposition

to the Dakar meeting, claiming that in the opinion of many South Africans, it was important in seeking new relationships between whites and the main "liberation organisation".

In an earlier commentary, Fristov dipped into Russian literature to praise the 50 Afrikaners who went to Dakar.

He quoted a poem by Russian poet Aleksandr Pushkin in honour of fellow aristocrats who had revolted against the Tsar:

*Deep in the mines of Siberia,  
never lose hope.*

*Your good work and your  
high ideals will never be shattered.*

*The prison walls will fall and  
freedom will meet you at the door.*

*When you meet your brother,  
he will present you with gifts.*

These words had a relevance in South Africa now.

"We have in mind the bravery of the Afrikaner delegation.

"These people have to be brave not only to criticise apartheid but also to fight it," he said.

**Dominee to act**

21/8/81  
S.A. (1/A)  
FM

While State President P W Botha remains adamant that Theuns Eloff — the controversial minister at the Pretoria Gereformeerde Kerk in Brooklyn — lied on his departure form (See *Leader*) to Dakar, Eloff tells the *FM* he is considering "further steps." But he declines to elaborate.

Indications are, however, that Eloff has won the public battle: support for him is growing and pro-government newspapers now try to downplay the issue. Dr Van Zyl Slabbert has declared unconditional support for Eloff, saying he has been "grossly exploited." And PFP's Tiaan van der Merwe says Botha owes Eloff an apology for casting aspersions on his honesty.

Meanwhile, Eloff reaffirms his intention to get a sworn affidavit that his departure form was not changed from "business" to "holiday UK" in his presence or with his permission — and will get a witness to do the same, to clear his name.

Back home, however, he faces growing dissatisfaction from his congregation. He is condemned — and faces possible suspension — for going to Dakar in the first place.

Members of the congregation feel he betrayed them by not telling them about the Dakar trip. As one says: "Had he been supporting an honest cause, he would have nothing to be shy about."

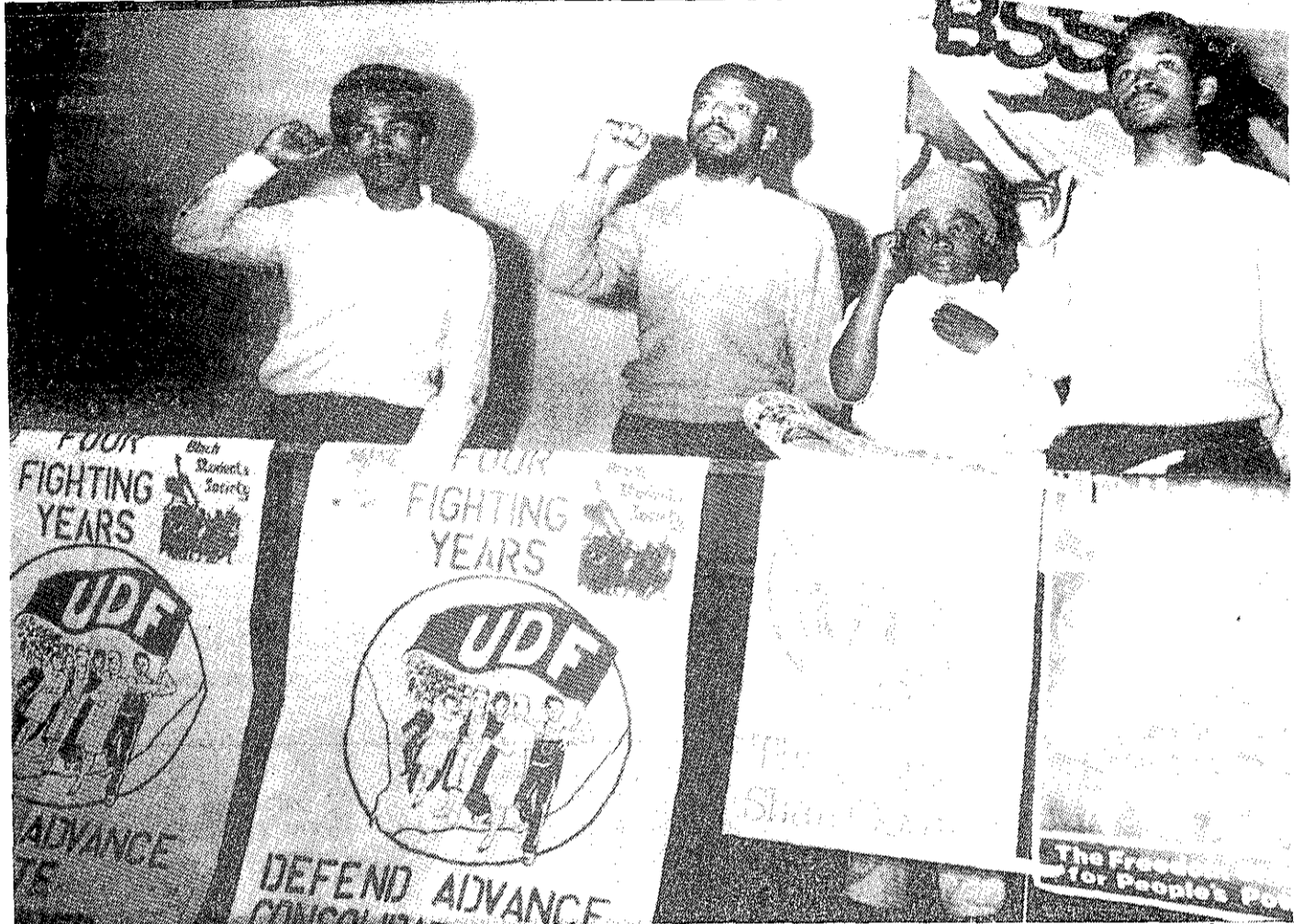
Andries du Plooy, a theological professor at the University of Potchefstroom, says church ministers should primarily occupy themselves with church matters and avoid embarrassing the church by venturing into the "dangerous waters of politics." Has he forgotten Dr D F Malan's background as a dominee?

Eloff's fate now lies in the hands of his church council and, maybe, the councils of neighbouring churches. Since ministers have to be "called" to another congregation — chances of that now seem slim — he will probably have to accept his council's final decision.

Botha said during the debate on his Budget vote that Eloff was present when his departure form was changed and that he signed the form after it was altered. He said reports in *Rapport* and the *Sunday Times* have so confused the issue that now no one knows what is going on. Sources say he is especially fuming that *Rapport* gave so much prominence to Eloff's side.

Botha also said that whether Eloff stated that he was going on business or holiday is irrelevant: the fact is that he provided incorrect information. 15

# Four years of opposition



AT the United Democratic Front's rally at the University of the Witwatersrand yesterday were, from left, Mr Frank Melntjies of Cosatu, Mr Ignatius Jacob from Sayco, a youth from Tumahole and a Black Students Society member, Mr James Maseko.

THE United Democratic Front yesterday celebrated its fourth anniversary with almost the entire national leadership in jail.

Formed in Cape Town on August 20, 1983, to oppose the South African Government's "new deal" tricameral Parliament and black local authorities, the front is now taking up a wider range of political issues. And, it is precisely this political direction that has led the movement into conflict with the authorities.

That the UDF is a pale shadow of the force that gave the Government sleepless nights with its anti-apartheid campaigns cannot be denied. Several factors have caused this. Since its formation the movement has been faced with the Government's onslaught on all those opposed to its policies.

Some of the leading UDF members and office-bearers who remain in prison or detention, many since June 12 last year, some for much longer are: Mosioua "Terror" Lekota (national publicity secretary), Popo Simon Molefe (national general secretary), Edgar

# A crucial time for the UDF

2/18/87  
11A  
Sarefer

## FOCUS

By SELLO RABOTHATA

Ngoyi (E Cape president), Henry Fazzie (E Cape vice-president), Moss Chikane (Transvaal general secretary), Stone Sizani (E Cape publicity secretary), Mkhusele Jack (youth leader and E Cape executive member), Gugile Nkwinti (Port Alfred civic leader), Paul Mashatile (Transvaal assistant general secretary), Paul Maseko (Transvaal labour

secretary), Amos Masondo (civic leader and trade unionist), Matthews Sathegke (regional executive committee member).

Jacob Mtshali (UDF administrator), Arnold Stofile (Border general secretary), Zoli Malindi (W Cape president), Christmas Tinto (W Cape vice-president), Trevor Manuel (W Cape general secretary), Jomo Khasu (N Cape NEC member), Joyce Mabhudafasi (N Transvaal general secretary), Louis Mnguni (N Transvaal vice-president), Frans Mohlala (executive member), and the latest on the list, acting publicity secretary, Murphy Morobe and acting general secretary, Mohammed Valli Moosa.

### Stifled

Hundreds of other members of the front and its affiliates have at one stage or another during the state of emergency been detained. Others are

The UDF believes that the Government had hoped to disable it by removing the national, regional and local leadership from the people. It is estimated that of the more than 30 000 people detained last year, 75 percent were in some way related to the UDF.

The state of emergency has, to a large extent, stifled the UDF's activities.

Most of the restrictions embedded in the emergency regulations, according to the UDF, are aimed at inducing passivity, of curbing political campaigns in the anti-apartheid struggle and at halting the development of grassroots democratic bodies such as street committees.

Although the UDF has attempted to assert its existence as a legal and peaceful organisation at every opportunity, the legal space left to it to organise is less than when it was first formed. The days of large mass meetings and open offices and organisation seem to be over.

The front said going

the agenda and its primary role remains organising as a legal mass-based organisation committed to non-violent means to end apartheid.

Acknowledging that the fourth anniversary comes at a crucial time, the UDF said its task today is to adapt to changed conditions, defend, consolidate and deepen their structures and move to even greater heights of organisation and united action.

Despite the present conditions the front yesterday held a mass rally at the University of the Witwatersrand.

Among the issues taken up was the formal adoption of the Freedom Charter. The majority of UDF affiliates have already adopted this document as a programme of national unity.

### Workers

The character of the UDF, now encompassing more than 700 organisations, has changed over the last four years from a front to a more cohesive organisation.

Of the greatest significance in the past year has been the unity and co-operation between the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) and the UDF, and the increasing participation by workers in UDF structures and campaigns.

The trade unions and the UDF have participated in united action throughout the year, while the UDF has thrown its weight behind worker struggles such as the South African Transport Services strike and the National Union of Mineworkers struggle on the mines.



# UDF HAS ADOPTED CHARTER

2/18/87  
Sawel  
IA

THE United Democratic Front adopted the Freedom Charter as its guiding document at the organisation's fourth anniversary celebrations yesterday.

To mark the occasion, students at the University of the Witwatersrand organised a rally which was addressed by speakers from Cosatu, Nusas, Sayco and the DPSC.

A former vice-president of the Azanian People's Organisation

(Azapo), Mr Sefako Nyaka made a surprise appearance at the rally and addressed the meeting as the secretariat of the UDF's cultural committee.

The UDF could not send a speaker to the meeting due to pressure it was said.

Speakers saluted the UDF for its four "fighting" years and urged the students to carry on with the struggle

against apartheid.

Mr Frank Meintjies, an executive of Cosatu, said every sector of the people must play its role in the democratic movement.

Mr Ignatius Jacobs of the Sayco, said it was no accident that the UDF was formed four years ago and it was no accident that the front was adopting the Charter as its programme.

• See Page 8

Cape Times 21/8/82

# UDF anniversary: Sunday jamboree

By CHRIS ERASMUS

FOUR years after its birth before a 15 000-strong crowd in the Rocklands Civic Centre in Mitchells Plain, the United Democratic Front is preparing for a major political jamboree at the University of the Western Cape on Sunday to mark the anniversary.

Thousands are expected to turn up for speeches — beginning at 2.30pm — from extra-parliamentary luminaries such as UDF patron Dr Allan Boesak, past general-secretary of the SA Council of Churches Dr Beyers Naude, Congress of SA Trade Unions executive member Mr Jay Naidoo, UDF Cape executive chairman Mr Dullah Omar and Maulana Faried Esack of the Call of Islam.

Even though the organization has, since its inception, swelled to some 700 affiliated organizations, it will "celebrate" its fourth birthday under a 14-month state of emergency with many of its national and regional executive members under emergency detention.

In spite of these difficulties, the UDF is as strong as ever on the ground, says its Western Cape press officer Ms Hilda Ndude.

"The UDF has endured everything the government has been able to throw at it since its birth and has nonetheless gained on all fronts, specially among its white supporters."

11A 3/21/87  
Amnesty for ANC?

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

ANC expatriates would be granted amnesty on their return to South Africa if they renounced violence, President P W Botha said yesterday.

Replying to the debate on his vote in the House of Delegates, Mr Botha said ANC members come come back to South Africa if they said, "We relinquish violence."

But he immediately warned: "But then they must not try any funny tricks when they are here."

Mr Botha was responding to queries from Mr Pat Poovalingham (PRP Reservoir Hills), who had earlier appealed for dialogue with the ANC and groups like the PAC and UDF.

● Botha reiterates faith in national council — Page 4

(11A) whole page

THE United Democratic Front yesterday marked the fourth anniversary of its formation by adopting the Freedom Charter and reproclaiming its commitment to a united, non-racial South Africa.

The UDF characterised its adoption of the 1955 Freedom Charter as a sign of its transformation from "an issue-based front to an anti-apartheid people's front" guided by a definite programme.

The UDF was founded on August 20 1983, to unite disparate forces in opposition to the 1983 tri-racial constitution and a trilogy of related Bills known as the "Koorhof Bills".

## The birth was easy. The birth pains came later

THE United Democratic Front, born four years ago on a blustery Saturday on Mitchell's Plain, Cape Town, came into the world with a lusty yell which continues to echo throughout the country.

But it has suffered real growing pains.

Even before the launch on August 20, 1983, UDF joint president Albertina Sisulu and other leading figures in the organisation, like Thozamile Gqweta and Sisa Njikelana, had been detained. And in the four years since, bannings, detentions, imprisonment, restriction orders and death have cut massive gaps in UDF ranks.

Gone are Mathew Goniwe, Fort Calata, Sparrow Mkonto and Sicelo Mhlau, killed in June 1985 on the road between Cradock and Port Elizabeth by attackers who have never been identified; Peter Nchabeleng, who died in detention in Lebowa in April 1986; Eric Mntonga, found stabbed to death last month in East London. Missing are Qaqawuli Godoloz, Sipho Hashe and Champion Galela, Port Elizabeth community leaders who disappeared in May 1985. Former Border leader and national executive member Steve Tshwete has left the country; he was among ANC delegates at the Dakar talks last month.

Former Border and national executive member, the Rev Arnold Stofile, is now serving an 11-year sentence in the Ciskei for terrorism. Three others — Mosiuoa Patrick "Terror" Lekota, national publicity secretary; Popo Molefe, national general secretary; and Moss Chikane, Transvaal general secretary — have been on trial for treason since 1985.

Sixteen UDF stalwarts were forced into inactivity for several months in 1985 and 1986 during the Pietermaritzburg treason trial. Included in the 16 were both UDF presidents, Albertina Sisulu and Archie Gumede. All were acquitted.

Currently three out of every four detainees is a member of the UDF or of an affiliate.

Following is a selection of leading UDF members and office bearers who are in detention or in prison, the

# On its 4th birthday, a UDF 'no' to going underground

By PATRICK LAURENCE

But, with the exception of the Orderly Urbanisation and Settlement of Black Persons Bill, these measures have become part of the established order.

The UDF thus believes the time has come to move on, with its allies in the trade union movement, under the

banner of the charter, in quest of a universal adult franchise for all South Africans.

Formal adoption of the Freedom Charter is associated with another important decision: rejection of the op-

tion of going underground.

Since the declaration of the partial State of Emergency in July 1985, and more particularly since the national Emergency came into operation in June last year, the UDF has been forced to function semi-clandestinely as its leaders tried to avoid detention

and keep out of range of vigilante death squads.

As the UDF noted yesterday, it was left very little "legal space" in which to operate. But, it added, "the question of going underground like the African National Congress is not on the agenda" and its primary role was still to organise legal, mass-based opposition to apartheid.

Burgeoning rapidly from its formation four years ago, the UDF became a major target when the state cracked down on militant anti-apartheid organisations.

Its national leaders, and those of its 700 affiliates at local level, were detained in droves, accounting for 75 percent of the estimated 30 000 people interned under the Emergency decrees in the past two years.

Detention, however, was merely one of a series of blows suffered by the UDF in a concerted attack aimed at destroying it.

Last October the UDF was declared an "affected organisation", barring it from receiving donations from overseas.

Repression and harassment by the state included a campaign to "criminalise the organs of popular democracy" — street committees and people's courts. There are two trials at present in which 13 men have been charged with treason for allegedly participating in people's courts.

State action against the UDF coincided with the emergence of shadowy vigilantes and death squads. "Where community leaders have not been detained, (often) they have been killed or assaulted," the UDF said.

Frequently attacks by "murderous bands of vigilantes" took place in areas where there was "heightened resistance to apartheid or to the existing traditional bantustan structures", with the most conspicuous manifestation being the forays by Ama-Afrika vigilantes into KwaNobule in the Eastern Cape, once an uncontested stronghold of the UDF.

But while the UDF has suffered savage assaults and consequent setbacks, it has not retreated into passive docility. Operating with great difficulty and often in semi-secrecy, it has launched initiatives of its own to stiffen and channel its resistance to the state and its *de facto* black cohorts.

Perhaps the most important of them was the formation of the South African Youth Congress, with its nationwide network of branches. Another was the emergence of the UDF Women's Congress.

Then, too, there was the establishment of cultural supportive organisations, notably the SA Musicians' Alliance and the Congress of SA Writers.

The UDF undertook campaigns to promote its drive to bring the Emergency to an end, to secure the unbanning of the ANC and the release of political prisoners, and to promote the cause of a non-racial South Africa.

They included the Campaign for United National Action, which was launched in concert with the Congress of SA Trade Unions and the lighting of candles at Christmas to symbolise on-going resistance during the Emergency.

Massive stayaways on May 5 and 6 in protest against the whites-only general election and on June 16 to commemorate the Soweto revolt were peaceful but potent demonstrations of "people's power".

Finally the UDF played a critical role in resisting government attempts, to enlist black support for state-approved solutions, notably its proposed national council and regional services councils.

If the ultimate form of resistance is an existential refusal to "collaborate with the oppressor", the UDF has voiced it on a national level.

By MONO BADELA

majority since June 12 last year: Murphy Morobe, acting UDF publicity secretary; Mohammed Valli, acting UDF national general secretary; Sister Bernard Ncube, president of the Federation of Transvaal Women; Stone Sizani, UDF publicity secretary for the Eastern Cape; Edgar Ngoyi, UDF president, Eastern Cape; Henry Fazzie, UDF vice president, Eastern Cape; Mkhusele Jack and Guguli Nkwinti, both members of the UDF executive in the Eastern Cape; Paul Mashatile, assistant general secretary, Transvaal UDF; Paul Maseko, UDF Transvaal labour secretary; Raymond Suttner, UDF Transvaal education officer; Amos Masondo, a leader of both the Soweto Civic Association and the General and Allied Workers Union; Jacob Mtshali, UDF office administrator in Johannesburg; Zoli Malindi, UDF president in the Western Cape; Christmas Tinto, UDF Western Cape vice president; Trevor Manuel, UDF Western Cape general secretary; Joyce Mabhudafasi, general secretary of the Northern Transvaal UDF and a National Education Crisis Committee leader; and Frans Mohlala, Northern Transvaal UDF executive member.

Detained last Friday was Mzimasi Mangcotywa, national vice president of the SA Youth Congress and the acting spokesman for the Port Elizabeth Consumer Boycott Committee.

A UDF representative noted this week students had been organising under "extremely difficult conditions following the banning of the UDF affiliate, the Congress of SA Students (in August 1985) and the fencing off of the schools by the army".

Indeed, campuses remained a flash-point of conflict. But the membership of the SA National Student Congress, formerly Azaso, was growing rapidly, and the launch of the SA Youth Congress at the end of March, with the estimated support of one million youths, meant an alliance was developing between youth organisations and the trade union movement.

Fundraising had been jeopardised when the UDF was declared an af-



The UDF may be under internal siege, but its international standing is unchanged. Here, UDF President Albertina Sisulu meets Canadian Foreign minister Joe Clark

Picture: ERIC MILLER, Afrapix  
nation to put us out of their way."

Members of the UDF were actively involved in defending the organisation against attacks by the government and shadowy death squads, he said. Its new slogan was "Defend, Advance and Consolidate".

Frank Meintjies, Cosatu representative, yesterday saluted the UDF for having "given an important focus to the grassroots struggle of our people for non-racialism, democracy and an end to exploitation.

"The UDF has not been silenced by severe repression meted out against it. It has survived because it has the support of people in the townships, at schools, factories and in rural areas."

affected organisation on October 9 last year, which meant the organisation could not receive overseas funds. The declaration was reversed when the UDF challenged it in court, but the state is appealing the judgement.

Meanwhile, the organisation has formed The Friends of the UDF to try to raise money from the South African public.

"As anyone will tell you, the government has failed," said a UDF representative this week. "It has locked up every possible UDF leader — but it can never lock up its spirit. Despite the State of Emergency the UDF continues to grow.

"We expect a further crackdown. But they will have to detain the whole

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# Relevance of Labour Party is at stake



Political Survey By GERALD SHAW

**P**RESIDENT Botha appeared to be devouring his own political children in the House of Representatives this week, angering his listeners and leaving observers startled and nonplussed.

In an astonishing outburst, Mr Botha said he was not going to stand there to hear the Afrikaner insulted. He seems to have been stung by the hostile tone of the speeches from the Labour Party benches. He turned on his critics in an unprecedented tirade of reproach and finger-wagging admonition. He was affronted beyond measure, it seems.

But what else could Mr Botha have expected? Particularly in the light of his government's retention of the Group Areas Act? If he had been in the House of Representatives just a few weeks ago he might have been better prepared.

The Representatives were debating the Group Areas Act. Not in 20 years have I heard speeches in any chamber of Parliament so charged with hurt and resentment.

One young member recalled the day in a small town in the Eastern Cape when his grandfather's rose garden was bulldozed into oblivion.

Member after member, young and old alike, stood up and told of similar experiences — the destruction of cherished family homes, the trauma of forced removals from areas henceforth to be "white."

Mr Botha wonders that they hold District Six against him. Yet the destruction of District Six took place only a decade or two ago. It is asking a great deal of human nature to absorb a traumatic experience of this kind so quickly — to forgive and forget and come up smiling. It takes time to heal such wounds. Consider the Afrikaner's own historical experience.

**W**HAT makes the whole scenario so intensely hurtful is the racial contempt implicit in group area social engineering, whatever fine purpose the bureaucrats and politicians might believe they are serving.

It is plain that Mr Botha remains convinced that the removal of District Six was a worthy slum clearance scheme and a good thing for all concerned. He was deeply involved as the responsible minister and it seems he still cannot understand what all the fuss was about.

Mr Botha is convinced that the principle of the Group Areas Act is good and sound — and that the National Party did right to introduce this legislation and carry it into effect. He cannot accept that the NP or



the Afrikaner have done wrong to anyone.

There is strong pressure for the Act to be scrapped, however, and Mr Botha is in a corner, politically, and has been playing for time. The report of the President's Council on group areas was neatly finessed off the table with an eye on the May election. But the report will have to be tabled eventually and the House of Representatives has high hopes that it will lead to the scrapping of the Act.

It is likely it will be disappointed,

although further amendments to this much-amended statute are certainly on the cards. Mr Botha will not budge on the principle.

The crisis in relations between the State President and the House of Representatives has placed the latter chamber in the spotlight. To the extent that there is a new interest in the Representatives, both the United Democratic Front and the Progressive Federal Party might find themselves re-examining their strategy.

**I**S there a useful role in contesting the 1989 elections for the so-called coloured and Indian houses? And before then, what about the municipal elections? They are due to be held in October next year in all local communities including the black townships — to form the bottom tier for the new RSC system of local government.

Here, again there is a strong objection in principle to participation in structures which are racially-based. Probably most reflective people in all communities agree that no constitution is viable which retains apartheid in the shape of "own affairs" and perpetuates racially-divided structures. The additional and overwhelming objection to the tricameral Parliament, of course, is that it excludes blacks entirely.

Although thoroughly bad in principle and practice, the Botha constitution has triggered a new set of political dynamics. Would it not be feasible to use this constitution in perfectly legal fashion to encompass

its own destruction? Is it not worth a try? In this manner, perhaps, can the way be prepared for negotiation of a non-racial constitution which will restore peace to the land.

The more ideologically intractable members of the UDF would no doubt find this course of action unpalatable. Yet they should not dismiss it out of hand.

**W**HAT future is there for the UDF otherwise? To the extent that it succeeds in consciousness-raising and mobilization of the masses against the system it is going to be hog-tied by bannings and detentions. It may even be banned.

The effect of this could be to drive some of the younger and more militant of the UDF youth underground and into the ANC's "armed struggle" — which exodus might already have begun, creating a new generation of potential martyrs to the cause.

Already, successive generations of high school pupils on the Cape Flats have been radicalized — being tear-gassed out of their classrooms and sjambokked in the corridors and playgrounds. Others have seen schoolfellows shotgunned to death at their side. But where does all that lead?

If the Labour Party shows that its limited leverage can be creatively used to force the government's hand, then what is to stop the UDF and others playing the same game — rather more effectively?

The UDF's great fear, understandably, is of winding up co-opted, hog-tied and comfortable in the system. This is not beyond the bounds of possibility, as the Labour Party's performance in the next few weeks may demonstrate.

Yet the tricameral system could be used to bring effective pressure on the government. And it might be possible to achieve much more. What is not yet clear is whether the Labour Party has the mettle to do so.

The perks of office are sweet. The prospect of their loss tends to discourage actions which may displease the great dispenser of good things, who is Mr Botha himself as the maker and unmaker of ministries.

Hence the cynicism in some quarters about the Labour Party's prospects of turning the crisis to advantage.

The cynics may well be proved right once again. The outcome of Mr Hendrickse's previous brushes with Mr Botha hardly inspires confidence in his resolution. Yet, who knows, there could be surprises in store — and a new political relevance for the House of Representatives.

## Post Focus

# Ageing ANC leader has spent 23 years in prison

By PATRICK CULL

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The death of Rudolf Hess, Hitler's former deputy incarcerated in Spandau since the end of the Second World War, must have sent at least a slight shudder through the National Party palaces of power.

The suggestion a day later that he might have committed suicide would have exacerbated the tremor.

Hess, who spent the last 46 years of his life in jail — 40 of them at Spandau, and the last 21 as its sole prisoner — died last Monday at the age of 93.

It does not require much in the way of mental gymnastics to slide from Hess to the jailed African National Congress leader, Nelson Mandela, who has now been incarcerated for 23 years.

Mandela is now 69.

The death of Hess, whom the Russians steadfastly refused to release on humanitarian grounds stating that his continued imprisonment should be seen as an "act of humanity" towards the victims of the Nazis, made headlines around the world.

One can only begin to speculate about the kind of impact the death of Mandela would have — if he died in jail.

The ANC leader and by implication his possible release was referred to by State President, Mr P W Botha, when he spoke during the debate in the House of Assembly on his Budget.

It was not the first time the State President had turned his attention to the continued imprisonment of the ANC leader and on each occasion the issue of Mandela's age and the length of time he has spent in jail has been a factor which has been mentioned.

The subject of Mandela's release was raised for the first time during the January, 1985, no-confidence debate when Mr Botha said that the Government was "not insensitive to the fact that Mr Mandela and others have spent a very

# Jail death of Hess may effect Mandela's release



RUDOLF HESS . . . as he was in 1938, little dreaming of half a lifetime in prison.

long time in prison — I am personally not insensitive about this — even though they were duly convicted in open court".

A year later at the opening of Parliament, Mr Botha stated that he was "conscious of the fact that Mr Mandela has been in prison for a long time and that he is now in his sixties . . ."

Last week when he announced that the renunciation of violence would no longer be the sole criteria for the release of political prisoners, the State President referred to Govan Mbeki "who has already reached the age of 76".

There almost seems to be a measure of desperation in the desire to end the incarceration of Mandela and his Rivonia co-trialists.

Perhaps the clue lies on the personal level as much as it does on any political one.

Mr Botha is 72 in January.

His has been a very long political innings in which he has reached the pinnacle of power — a man who, within his own context, has far greater powers than are accorded to the President of the United States for example.

Tales of the fate of those who have crossed him or risked his ire are legendary as are those of the iron fist with which he initially ruled the Cape National Party turning it into a finely honed political machine before he took the reins as head of state.

But, Mr Botha is now 71, and one wonders whether, as he comes to terms with the reality of mortality, he does not feel a degree of empathy or perhaps even septuagarian comradeship with those political foes in jail.

In his own words: "I am personally not insensitive".

Is he possibly also looking beyond his tenure as State President to a period when the question will be asked by historians: what was achieved by Mr Botha during his period of office?

To release the jailed ANC leader is very clearly to embark on a course of action fraught with risk. Not to do so on the other hand, would merely consign the country to perching precariously on a powder keg.

National Party sources are adamant that Mandela is going to be freed — possibly before the October Commonwealth Conference in Vancouver, Canada where South Africa is once again likely to feature prominently on the agenda.

(One National Party MP went so far as to state that he would not have been surprised if Mr Botha had an-

nounced last Thursday that Mandela had been released and Conservative Party reaction has been such that they acknowledge that his release is a *fait accompli*.)

Freedom for Mandela and other Rivonia trialists would obviously supply handy ammunition for Britain's Mrs Margaret Thatcher and others opposed to the implementation of sanctions.

The plan of action, it is understood, is to release 76-year-old Mbeki first, and then possibly Walter Sisulu who is now 75, and other older long-term political prisoners and finally Mandela.

Ironically, in releasing the men the Government will be not only be doing what Mrs Helen Suzman has been urging for years but will also be falling back on the insurance policy of the law should any of the men advocate violence.

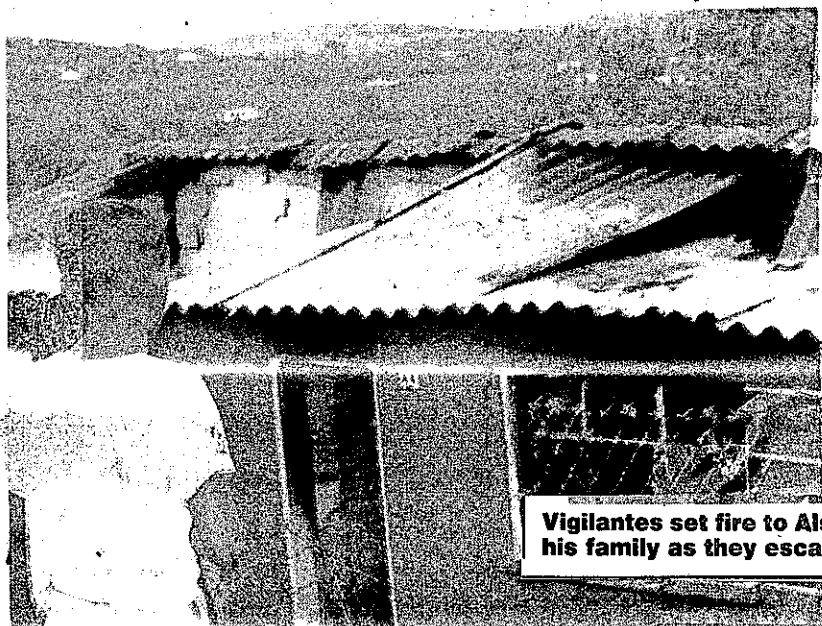


A family member indicates the still flaming deathbed of 101-year-old Gogo Diadia.

# GANG

# RAPE

*23/8/87* *press* *(11A)*



Vigilantes set fire to Alson Diamini's house, then waited to attack his family as they escaped from the flames.

# HORROR

*continued*

By S'BU MNGADI

A 101-year-old granny was burnt to death while her daughter and three granddaughters were gang-raped in an adjacent room as Mpumalanga, outside Hammarsdale, was plunged into yet another vigilante reign of terror this week.

Ten minutes earlier, a family of eight were injured when they were attacked as they escaped from their home which had been set alight - apparently by the same group.

Mpumalanga - recently the scene of murders, rapes, abductions and robberies by vigilantes in their continuing war against the UDF affiliated Hammarsdale Youth Congress - was gripped by fear and anger as news of the latest killing spree spread.

A family spokesperson told *City Press* that Catherine Dladla, 43, of A254, and her three daughters had been warming themselves around a primus stove in their kitchen at about 10pm on Tuesday when they heard a knocking on their living room door.

On opening the door they were greeted by a group of about 10 men who filed into the house.

They all wore balaclavas and doeks and were armed with weapons ranging from firearms to pangas.

"The raiders demanded to see S'goloza Dladla, 16, a Hayco member. We told them that S'goloza had sought refuge in neighbouring townships.

"At the same time others searched all the rooms - kicking awake those who were sleeping," said the spokesperson.

Gogo Esther Nomadlozi Dladla, 101, had just got into bed and they demanded money from her.

Her daughter and her three granddaughters were hounded into the living room. They had their nighties ripped off and the

## Thugs spread terror

men then took turns to rape them.

In the meantime, one of the men took the primus stove and used its paraffin to sprinkle the granny and her bed.

In the midst of it all one of the men burst into the living room and announced: "Phumani! Sekunabheda" (Come out! Things are bad), but before leaving the men set two bedrooms alight and attempted to lock the women in them.

What had alarmed them was the arrival of neighbours, who watched as the vigilantes jumped into a Isuzu bakkie which had been waiting some distance away.

They managed to identify the bakkie as belonging to a local resident who is a prominent vigilante and linked to a tribal organisation.

Fifteen minutes earlier, Alson Dlamini and his family were nearly wiped out when they escaped from their blazing house.

Here, also, the men knocked, demanding to see S'celo, 18, also thought to be linked to Hayco.

When there was no immediate answer the house was set alight - apparently with petrol bombs. Vigilantes stood guard at all the windows and doors.

A family member said: "The house was engulfed by fire and we thought it would be foolish to die like that, so we braved their weapons and ran out."

Dlamini jumped through a window after ensuring that all his children had escaped.

According to a spokesperson for Edendale Hospital, Dlamini was suffering moderately severe burns while two of his children had moderate burns.

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Handwritten notes and signatures in the left margin, including a date '23/8/87' and a signature 'S'BU MNGADI'.





President Botha

# Wife is sceptical

By STAN MZIMBA

THE wife of the life imprisoned ANC member, Govan Mbeki, 79 is sceptical about President PW Botha's announcement that her husband might be released. Epainette Mbeki, 71, was traced by *City Press* to her Idutywa home where she runs a small shop.

She said: "President Botha's announcement was vague when he said that he 'could' be released. I would perhaps be more positive if the government said he 'will be released'."

Mabel Timakwe, sister of the jailed ANC leader, Nelson Mandela, speaking from the Mandela home at Qunu, outside Umtata, told *City Press* the family had a

feeling that they would see their brother walking into their home one day.

However, she revealed that, before ex-President Kaizer Matanzima stepped down, he asked her to convey a message to Mandela that one of his prayers was that Mandela returned home.

According to Timakwe, Mandela turned down Matanzima's request, adding he feared that, should he return to Transkei, he might be confined to "one place" and would not be free to move around.

Mrs Mbeki also told *City Press* that both her husband and Mandela once turned down a proposed visit by KDL Matanzima while they were still on Robben Island.

# Mbeki, the ANC activist



Minister of Justice Kobie Coetsee.

CP Correspondent

GOVAN Mbeki was born in 1910 in the Nqamakwe district of the Transkei, the son of a chief who was deposed by the government.

He attended mission schools, including Heraldtown, and received a bursary from the Transkeian Bunga to study at Fort Hare. In 1937 he obtained his BA and also completed a diploma in education.

In 1935, while a student, he joined the African National Congress after being influenced by Edward Roux, a leader in the SA Communist Party, and Max Yergan, a black American communist.

After leaving university, Mbeki taught at various schools but was eventually dismissed for political activity.

He then ran a co-operative trading store in Idutywa and was editor of the territorial magazine from 1938-44. During this time he obtained his B Econ in social studies through Unisa.

In 1941 he served as secretary of the Transkei African Voters' Association and in 1943 was elected to a four-year term on the Transkeian Bunga as representative for Idutywa. He was also one of the first to introduce insurance to the Transkei and was a director of the *Guardian* newspaper.

In the early 1950s, Mbeki's store was irreparably damaged by a tornado and he went back to teaching, finding a post in Ladysmith, Natal.

However, he was once

Last week, State President PW Botha said during his budget vote that the government was considering releasing certain security prisoners. He mentioned Govan Mbeki, among others, saying he had instructed the Minister of Justice to review his case. Mbeki was one of the Rivonia trialists.

again dismissed for political activity, having attempted to organise nearby coal miners.

In 1955 he moved to Port Elizabeth as local editor of *New Age*, a leftwing newspaper.

From Port Elizabeth he reported on news in the Transkei and maintained close ties with students at Fort Hare.

In Port Elizabeth, Mbeki became deeply involved in ANC activities, consolidating its support in the area to such an extent that it became the hub of congress activity in South Africa.

Port Elizabeth became one of the few areas in the country where the M Plan, a system of cell organisation devised by Nelson Mandela, was effectively implemented.

He participated in the planning of the Congress of the People in 1955, becoming leader of the ANC in the Eastern Cape. In 1956 he was elected national chairman of the ANC.

During the Sharpville emergency in 1960, Mbeki spent five months in detention. On his release he played a leading role in the Orlando Conference which led to the All-In Africa Conference in Maritzburg.

In 1961 he joined the Communist Party of South

Africa and, in December of that year, was arrested, charged under the Explosives Act and brought to trial.

He was acquitted on a technicality. In 1963, ignoring a house arrest order, he went underground and joined Umkhonto we Sizwe, the military wing of the ANC, and served as secretary of its high command.

In July 1963 he was arrested during the police swoop on Liliesleaf farm in

Rivonia, the headquarters of Umkhonto we Sizwe, and he is presently at Pollsmoor prison, serving a life sentence for sabotage.

In 1970, while in prison, Mbeki completed his BA Hons degree in economics, and in 1977 was awarded an Honorary Doctorate in social science by the University of Amsterdam for his work, *The Peasant Revolt*, which had been published in the United Kingdom in 1964.

In 1939 he had also written *The Transkei in the Making*.

Mbeki is married and has three sons and one daughter. He wife lives in the Transkei and one son, Thabo, is on the executive committee of the ANC, serving as publicity officer.

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# TIC agrees to debate Rajbansi

By SANDILE MEMELA

IN the next fortnight the battle between extra-parliamentary and parliamentary forces to win the allegiance of the Indian community is to intensify even further.

This follows the Transvaal Indian Congress' - a United Democratic Front affiliate - acceptance of a challenge to meet Amichand Rajbansi, leader of the National Progressive Party in the House of Delegates in the tricameral parliament, in a public debate.

The objective of the debate is to resolve the question of who the authentic leaders of the Indian community are.

The TIC has mobilised people to oppose the tricameral parliamentary system since its inception in 1984, and it

has urged the community not to participate in any activities linked to the political status quo.

At a Press conference called by the TIC this week, secretary Ismael Momoniat said the TIC had taken the new course to meet parliamentary rivals "because we believe in democracy".

"Our major criticism of Rajbansi and his NPP, as well as all other MPs and political parties participating in the House of Delegates, is that they do not have a mandate from the people to participate," said Momoniat.

However, the TIC has expressed concern at the pre-conditions imposed by Rajbansi, including the restriction of attendance to specially invited guests only.

"This condition is completely unacceptable, as restricting the debate to selected individuals contradicts the very spirit of a public debate," said Momoniat.

The venue has been tentatively suggested as Lenasia Stadium and the meeting is likely to take place on Sunday, August 30, or September 6.

"We ask Rajbansi to use his influence to keep the South African Police and South African Defence Force away from the debate.

"We also ask the NPP to quit from the House of Delegates if they lose the debate.

"The TIC will acknowledge that it does not represent the Indian people in the Transvaal if it loses the debate," said TIC vice-chairman Dr Saloojee.



TIC leaders Essop Jassat (president), Ismael Momoniat (secretary), Dr RAM Saloojee (vice-president), Firoze Cachalia (executive member) and Ramlal Bhoolia (chairman) announcing their decision to debate Rajbansi.

# Dismantle apartheid and ensure peaceful future — Molefe

By SOL MORATHI

NEW forms of legislation must be found to ensure peaceful co-existence among all the racial groups in South Africa.

According to the United Democratic Front's national secretary, Popo Molefe, changes in legislation should include the dismantling of apartheid, the unconditional release of all political prisoners and the inclusion of black people on the voters' roll.

Such undertakings, said Molefe, would help restore order, progress and peace among all the racial groups in South Africa.

Molefe was testifying in the trail of 18 people, including high-ranking UDF, Azapo and civic organisation leaders who are facing charges of high treason, and alternatively charges ranging from terrorism to subversion and murder.

Molefe is also one of the accused. All have pleaded not guilty.

He said under cross-examination by State prosecutor BK Jacobs that unless the 1961 constitution was radically

changed to fully accommodate all race groups, South Africa was doomed to destruction.

"The emphasis must move from a part of the population, to the population as whole.

"One group can no longer make laws for other people in which these people have no say.

"Dialogue, re-establishment of trust and conciliation is important if we have to survive. But nothing must be to the cost of one group. There is a place for everybody in South Africa," said Molefe.

In an answer to a question from Jacobs, Molefe replied that there has never been peace in South Africa because the black people were denied a say in the running of the country as though they were aliens.

He submitted that black people were not violent or causing the present violent situation in the country, as many white people were

## Mother tells of her son's assault

CP Correspondent

A MOTHER this week told the Port Elizabeth Supreme Court how her son was assaulted during his arrest two years ago.

This emerged in evidence two years after Benedict Baloana Habasisa was released from two weeks' emergency detention.

When Habasisa was detained on August 25, 1985, his mother, Lidia Habasisa, brought an application against the Minister of Law and Order for an interdict to prevent the police from assaulting him. He was, however, released two weeks later.

Consequently, when the matter came before the court on November 12, 1985, only the question of

costs remained. No agreement could be reached, so the case was referred for oral evidence.

Monday's evidence before Judge Jones was heard to decide the merits of the application and which party should pay the costs.

Habasisa said she was in her bedroom that Sunday morning when a number of uniformed, white policemen burst into her house.

She said the police grabbed, assaulted and dragged her son outside where they kicked him and struck him with rifle butts.

Habasisa said when she asked what Benedict had done, a policeman told her to keep quiet or he would shoot her.

The case is continuing. — Ecna.



Union members hold a spontaneous demonstration of solidarity after a meeting.

RAC identifies

# Dismantle apartheid

# and ensure peaceful

# future

11A CP Press 23/8/87  
— Molefe

NEW forms of legislation must be found to ensure peaceful co-existence among all the racial groups in South Africa.

According to the United Democratic Front's national secretary, Popo Simon Molefe, changes in legislation should include the dismantling of apartheid, the unconditional release of all political prisoners and the inclusion of black people on the voters' roll.

Such undertakings, said Molefe, would help restore order, progress and peace among all the racial groups in South Africa.

Molefe was testifying in the trial of 18 people, including high-ranking UDF, Azapo and civic organisation leaders who are facing charges of high treason, and alternatively charges ranging from terrorism to subversion and murder.

Molefe is also one of the accused. All have pleaded not guilty.

He said under cross-examination by State prosecutor BK Jacobs that unless the 1961 constitution was radically

By SOL MORATHI

changed to fully accommodate all race groups, South Africa was doomed to destruction.

"The emphasis must move from a part of the population, to the population as a whole.

"One group can no longer make laws for other people in which these people have no say.

"Dialogue, re-establishment of trust and conciliation is important if we have to survive. But nothing must be to the cost of one group. There is a place for everybody in South Africa," said Molefe.

In an answer to a question from Jacobs, Molefe replied that there has never been peace in South Africa because the black people were denied a say in the running of the country as though they were aliens.

He submitted that black people were not violent or causing the present violent situation in the country, as many white people were made to believe.

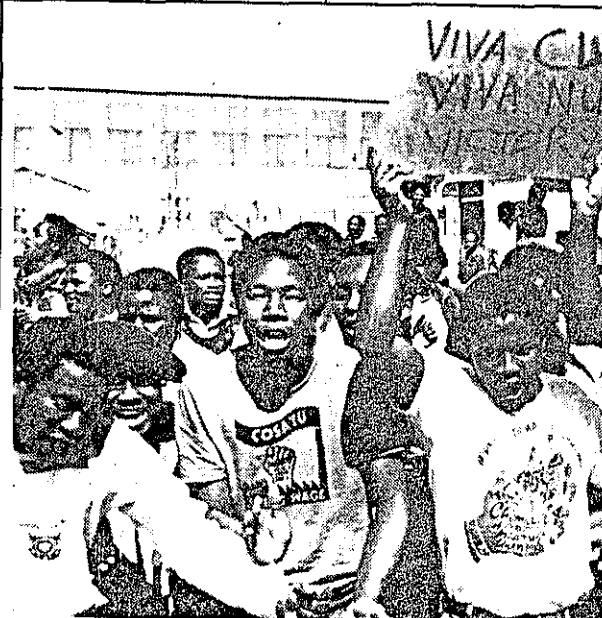
"They are an organised lot. And many people can bear witness to that.

"It is the apartheid system with its ramifications which spurs them into resistance.

"And in one out of a hundred instances, they are being driven into such actions," said Molefe.

Molefe further told the court that he has personally seen, in the last 35 years, genuine protests by black people being crushed by the South African forces in a most brutal and heart-rending manner.

"It is because of such actions that many people believe the country is in a civil war, where law-abiding citizens are mowed down without provocation by the armed forces," said Molefe.



Union members hold a spontaneous demonstration

## It's a war

CP Reporters

A WAR of words has broken out this week between the Chemical Workers' Industrial Union and Sasol after the union made allegations that scores of its members were attacked on Tuesday night by "vigilantes wearing widdoekes".

"This is utter nonsense," retorted Sasol in reaction to City Press inquiries about the deteriorating and tense atmosphere at the company's giant Secunda plants in the Eastern Transvaal.

Matters came to a head on Wednesday, when the CWIU charged that its members, returning from a meeting at the nearby Mbalenhle township on Tuesday night, had to flee

## Tough ne

CP Correspondent

FOUR hundred workers - me Workers' Union of South Africa for over three weeks at the Kwa and subsequently sacked by the tration, were re-employed this

- They were re-employed under
  - That trade unions would no
  - Strikes would be illegal and would be liable for dismissal.
  - Workers should voice their grievance through workers' committees formulated workers' council.
  - Salaries would be lower in re-employment.
- Mwusa officials were not at time of going to Press.

in terror from the vigilantes who allegedly assaulted them.

A union statement said: "Despite the fact that

## PAC identifies two guerrillas

THE Pan African Congress this week identified three men killed in a shootout with police in Johannesburg's Corlett Drive on August 4 as members of the PAC's military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army.

In a message from Dar Es Salaam, the organisation named two of them as Neo Koza, of Gugulethu, and Tshepo Lilele, of Welkom.

It also condemned what it termed a "racist regime" raid on a "PAC residence at Seapoint in Maseru, Lesotho, on August 15" in which a storeroom and part of a lounge were destroyed.

A police media liaison

officer for the Witwatersrand, Lieutenant Pierre Louw, said the claims had been discussed with the head of the security branch in Johannesburg, Brig G Erasmus, and police "did not want to comment at this stage".

A report received from Maseru said that Lesotho police were investigating the firing of several shots at a house of the PAC representative in Maseru on Saturday.

No one was hurt. Sources close to the PAC in Maseru said that the incident had been reported to the Lesotho government and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. - Sapa.

Political comment and newsbills by P (Gohozo); headlines and subediting by Jon Swift, all of 204 Eloff Street Ext. Johannesburg.

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# Wits UDF celebration

clipped  
By SANDILE MEMELA 23/8/87

A CAPACITY audience yesterday filled the University of Witwatersrand's Great Hall during a lunch-hour meeting to celebrate four years of resistance by the United Democratic Front. (CIA)

More than 1 000 students, trade unionists, academics and activists crammed the hall to listen to speakers who payed tribute to the largest anti-apartheid organisation to emerge in the past decade.

Messages of support were read from various UDF affiliates from all parts of the country - including its largest affili-

ate, The South African Youth Congress and the recently-launched Congress of South African Writers.

The climax of the meeting was marked by the redefinition of the cultural boycott by members of Cosaw.

"The cultural boycott is aimed at the calculated isolation of the apartheid regime and not the people of South Africa and their groups," said Sefako Nyaka.

Scores of student activists chanted and sang pro-ANC songs which reverberated throughout the campus building.

There were no incidents.

23/8/87 C/P/Press

11A

# BCM to commemorate Steve Biko's death

## CP Correspondent

THE Black Consciousness Movement in South Africa will next month commemorate the 10th anniversary of the death of Steve Biko and on October 19 they will commemorate "Black Wednesday".

Both these events mark an important stage in the history of the Black Consciousness Movement in this country.

The death of Biko, known as the father of BCM, while in detention on September 12, 1977, will be commemorated countrywide.

On October 19, the same year, 19

organisations were banned by the government, including two black newspapers, *The World* and *Weekend World*.

Among the organisations banned in 1977 were the Black People's Convention, The South African Students' Organisation and the Soweto Students' Representative Council.

The second president of the SSRC, Khotso Seatlolo, was later arrested and sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment in 1982 for charges of terrorism.

The clampdown by Pretoria on the BCM in 1977 was heightened by the pro-

Frelimo rally in South Africa in 1975 and the Soweto uprisings of 1976.

After the pro-Frelimo rally, which was held at Curries Fontein in Durban, shortly after Mozambique was granted independence, the government clamped down on the BCM, detaining and banning several leaders.

At least nine people were charged and appeared in the marathon Sasa/BPC trial in the Pretoria Supreme Court.

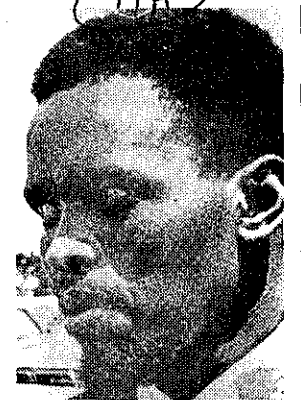
Among those who were convicted were Saths Cooper, Phandelani Nefolohodwe, Aubrey Mokwape, Muntu Myeza

and Zithulele Cindi.

The 1976 Soweto uprisings were also followed by more detentions and banings of members of the Black Consciousness Movement.

The following year, the then Minister of Justice and Police, Jimmy Kruger, announced the banning on all major BC movements, including the two publications.

A spokesman for the Azanian Students' Movement, Raschid Naidoo, said after the Biko campaign, the focus would shift to "Black Wednesday".



The late Steve Biko

THE past four years have seen the United Democratic Front emerge as the single most important force for change in South Africa.

In this period, the UDF has drawn millions of South Africans of all races into building the foundations of a democratic, united and non-racial future for all in the country.

Despite the government crackdown, apparently aimed at hampering its ability to function efficiently and effectively by cutting off foreign funding and detaining almost all its national leadership, the organisation is confident that it will continue its activities.

The launch of the UDF on August 20, 1983, marked the start of a new phase in South African politics - qualitatively different in several important aspects from extra-parliamentary opposition before it.

The challenge posed by the UDF is different from that of the African National Congress and the Pan African Congress in the early 1950s and early 1960s.

In the face of a hardening government attitude, UDF leaders have continued to search for ways to keep the organisation alive under the state of emergency.

Unlike the PAC and the ANC, it has ruled out the possibility of going underground, as did these organisations during the 1960 emergency.

Four years ago, delegates from all over the country packed the Rocklands Civic Centre in Mitchell's Plain, Cape Town - to thrash out the structure of the front.

The movement began as a loose federation of some 500 area and regional ad hoc community organisations who concentrated on specific local grievances such as poor educational facilities, inadequate social services and amenities in the townships.

In its formative stages the UDF campaigned vigorously against the Koornhof Bills (the blueprint for the tricameral Parliament) and PW Botha's new deal for blacks in the form of the Black Local Authorities Act.

The UDF became the nucleus of anti-apartheid activities and mobilised large numbers of discontented blacks by establishing a continuum starting from local, regional to national organisation.

Unlike its predecessors during the 1960 state of emergency, the UDF was not banned.

This enabled the movement and its allied organisations - in spite of widespread detentions - to assert its identity in the political arena by organising the now illegal demonstrations and campaigns such as consumer boycotts.

From its inception the front was bugged by attempts by the government-supporting media and agent provocateurs to discredit it.

In the run-up to its launch in 1983, thousands of hoax pamphlets were distributed in Cape Town, Johannesburg and Maritzburg saying the rally had been postponed.

It was in its pre-natal stages that the seeds of conflict between it and the National Forum Committee and Azapo were planted - a conflict which was to culminate in on-going warfare which would leave scores of activists on both sides maimed and killed.

At the peak of nationwide upheavals which engulfed the country after the explosion of the Vaal townships in September 3 1984, violence between members of the UDF and Azapo reached an all-time high.

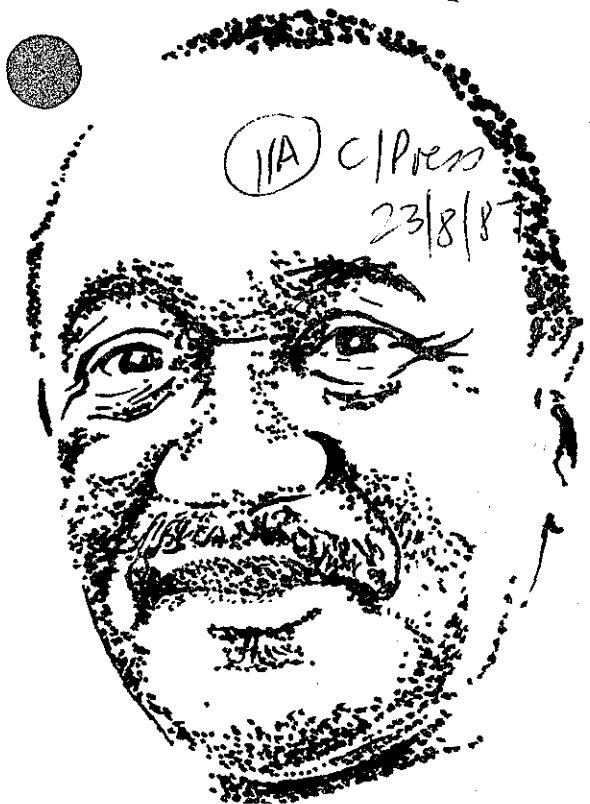
However, the feud between the organisations took a dramatic turn when both sides united in blaming the "agents of the system" for the endless spate of petrol-bombings and defamatory pamphlets.

Today, the front has taken on national proportions and has made an impact on rural blacks in remote townships and villages as demonstrated by the large attendances of "political" funerals in, for example, Cradock in the Eastern Cape and Tumahole in Parys.

Some have been held since June 12, when the third state of emergency was imposed on the country.

This occurred after the UDF had withstood a systematic and sustained onslaught against all levels of its memberships.

In its attempt to further discredit the front the gov-



Natal UDF president Archie Gumede.

# CELEBRATING FOUR YEARS OF STRUGGLE



UDF supporters at a memorial service for a UDF activist.

In its ascendancy, the State has charged many top-ranking officials of the organisation with treason.

The national secretary, Popo Molefe, publicity secretary Patrick Lekota and Transvaal executive member Moss Chikane are presently appearing before the Pretoria Supreme Court charged with treason and murder.

Recently, in an unprecedented move, almost the entire leadership of the largest anti-apartheid groups were rounded up and held at the same time.

Some have been held since June 12, when the third state of emergency was imposed on the country.

This occurred after the UDF had withstood a systematic and sustained onslaught against all levels of its memberships.

In its attempt to further discredit the front the gov-

ernment has accused the UDF of being a front for the ANC and the SACP.

However, this has been vehemently denied by the UDF.

But far more crippling to the organisation has been the detention or assassination of many of its high-ranking leadership.

Three years ago UDF president Archie Gumede and five other key anti-apartheid leaders took refuge in the British Consulate in Durban to avoid detention.

This followed a massive crackdown on the UDF which saw police raid the organisation's offices in Johannesburg and the arrest of several activists.

The UDF has also been hit by the mysterious deaths of key leaders. Up to date there has been no breakthroughs in the police investigations into the brutal deaths of Matthew

Goniwe and three other Eastern Cape figures.

Four years after its formation the UDF refuses to buckle under intensifying pressure. It still has - or claims to have - widespread support.

But the government attack on leaders of the organisation has been a major blow.

But the UDF is still widely respected and admired as one of the foremost anti-apartheid organisations.

To sum up the front's aim, are the words of Allan Boesak, whose call in January 1983 led to the formation of the UDF, when he addressed the massive rally:

"We want all our rights. We want them here, and we want them now. We have pleaded, cried and petitioned for too long now. We have been jailed, exiled and killed for too long now. Now it is time."

*Continued*

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Frederik Van Zyl Sabbath addressing a rally aimed at securing white support for the UDF.



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# Escapism gives way to honour realism

By ZB MOLEFE

LAST Sunday, Johannesburg's well-known Lyric Cinema was not showing any top film - the trademark which has made this edifice of escape, Hollywood style, a must in most black people's social life.

There was, however, something else.

Scores of black and white art lovers filled the cinema as it throbbed with music and poetry to honour one of South Africa's most promising poets, Farouk Asvat.

It was also "the people's launch" of his award-winning *A Celebration of Flames* anthology, which has won the AA Mutual/AD Donker literary prize.

The five-man "Udumo LweAfrika" group had set the mood with beautiful marimba music.

After the second piece, writer-poet Don Mattera, who acted as master of ceremonies, said it all.

"When you see these five young men

making their beautiful music, you realise what this means. It is a sad indictment on this country, but this evening we are celebrating."

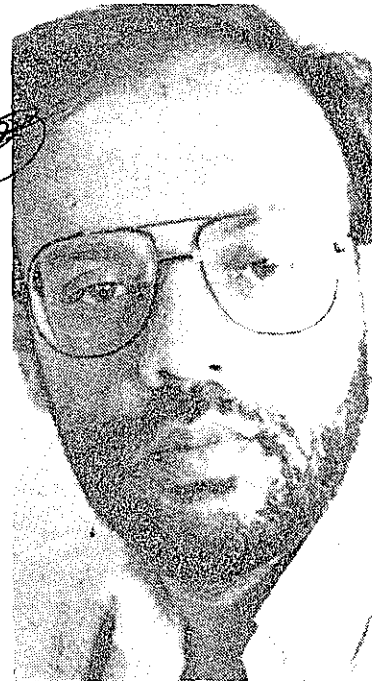
By the time poet Asvat read from his first poem, the mood in the spacious cinema was filled with tension.

"South Africa has always been a country of possibilities," Asvat's words rang through the cinema.

Then came the climax of the evening, when the acclaimed "Sophiatown" actors Patrick Shai, Ramolao Makhene and Artur Molepo presented their *From The Shadows* cabaret.

The talented trio had the audience eating out of their hands as they sketched South African life in song and dance.

Art was the winner, achieving in two hours what politicians and successive South African governments have failed to do in three centuries ... unite South Africans in a common purpose and dream.



Farouk Asvat



# 'Women should be more self-aware'



Cathy Makhene, guest speaker.

IT is time that women are seen to be an intergral cog in the machinery of development - a cog without which the whole machinery can grind to an untimely halt, the 40th regional meeting of the National Council of African Women was told this week.

In a moving speech, Transvaal president Anah Moagi told the over 400 NCAW members and delegates from other women's organisations that "the woman can utilise her unparalleled and divine virtues of tolerance and sympathy to im-

By SINNAH KUNENE

prove the lot of humanity in the social, physical and economic conditions of our nation's varying population groups".

She believed that as a starting point, women needed to embark on self-awareness programs to identify their potential and qualities.

Guest speaker Catherine Makhene called on women to liberate themselves from the triple oppression they suffer as women, wives and third-class citizens.

"Unless we begin to involve ourselves in voluntary work, speak out loud about the poor conditions our community has to live in, the quality of our children's education and our aged, who sweat hard to make this beautiful country what it is today, we still have a long way to go," said Makhene.

She challenged women to "think of the women who have lost their lives trying to fight for their liberation, not only politically, but educationally and otherwise".

"Our children need to know about women like Tantsi Maqoke, the founder of NCAW, whose grave is lying somewhere in the old Pimville.

"Time is long overdue for the history of the

black man to be put in print so that our children should know more about their heroes and heroines," charged Makhene.

The organisation, which boasts over 30 affiliates throughout the country, will hold its national conference in October.

Apart from responding to the needs of destitute families, the organisation has among its projects busary schemes for university students and has built a pre-school centre in the Northern Transvaal.

NCAW's other achievement was the recognition of its national conference recommendations to the commission which investigated the validity of the Marriage and Property Act of 1984.

POLITICS

NEWS 24/8/87

111

Call to 'march forward and risk the hardships'

# Thousands celebrate UDF's anniversary

By DALE LAUTENBACH  
Political Staff

THOUSANDS turned out to celebrate the fourth anniversary of the United Democratic Front at which speakers emphasised the message of unity.

The speakers were Dr Allan Boesak, patron of the UDF; Mr Dullah Omar, the Western Cape chairman; Mr George Kaiyamo, a representative of Swapo; Mr Jay Naidoo, general secretary of the Congress of South African Trade Unions; Mr Moulana Faried Essack of the Call of Islam; and Mr Peter Mokaba, president of the South African Youth Congress.

The rally, which was organised by the Western Cape branch of the UDF, was held on the University of the Western Cape campus. Between 5 000 and 6 000 people attended, according to an estimate by the UDF. There was no police presence.

## Capacity crowd

The student hall where the rally was held was packed to capacity.

More people milled outside and video monitors in the student centre catered for at least another 1 000.

The newly-elected executive of the Western Cape was on the platform, with the exception of the president, Mr Zoli Mahindi, and the treasurer, Mr Ebrahim Rassool, who are in detention.

They are Mr Omar, vice-president Mr Joe Marks, publicity secretary Ms Hilda Ndude, women's representative Ms Whitey Bokoma, youth rep-

resentative Mr William Thomas, secretaries Mr Joey Marks and Mr Joseph Aranus, media co-ordinator Mr Willie Hofmeyr and Mr Mountain Qumbela.

The theme of the rally was Four Years Of United Action. UDF banners festooned the hall and the crowd began singing freedom songs, chanting and dancing about an hour before the official start at 2.30pm.

Speakers emphasised unity and the growth of organisational structures and "disciplined democracy".

"Your struggle is our struggle," said Mr Kaiyamo. "Never has there been a time like this," said Dr Boesak, calling on all South Africans to

"march forward with the UDF and face the risks and hardship involved".

"They said four years ago that the people weren't ready for the UDF... and look at us. Our time shall come. Our time has come. God bless you."

Mr Omar praised the building of the "structures of people's power", and emphasised the importance of organising democratically and the new type of democracy emerging in which leaders were directly accountable to the people.

Mr Moulana Essack thanked those whites in the struggle whose presence had kept it a "human one" and guarded against polarisation into black and white.

"You have reminded us that our struggle is not against whites but for justice," he said.

Greeted by cheers and chanting, Mr Mokaba was ushered to the speaker's microphone by a group of masked young men who draped the ANC flag round his shoulders.

He said of Sayco, the UDF's largest and strongest affiliate: "It is a bombshell, the shock troops of the revolution."

He spoke of "popular legality" as opposed to "the illegality of the State", called for a "chain" of village to village and township to township communication from Messina to Cape Town and told the youth it was their responsibility to see that their parents "cried no more".



Pictures: DOUG PITHEV, The Argus

Mr Dullah Omar, the UDF's Western Cape chairman, seated left, listens to Mr Joe Marks, the vice-president who chaired the rally. The masked man is one of a group who held aloft the ANC flag as speakers took the stage.



A sea of faces and raised fists at yesterday's rally at the University of the Western Cape to mark the fourth anniversary of the United Democratic Front.

Cape Times 24/8/87

11A

# UDF anniversary rally draws 6 000

By CHRIS BATEMAN

ABOUT 6 000 people crammed into two halls at the University of the Western Cape yesterday to celebrate the fourth anniversary of the United Democratic Front and to reaffirm their commitment to ending minority rule.

About a dozen speakers, including UDF patron Dr Allan Boesak, Mr Jay Naidoo, general secretary of the Congress of South African Trade Unions, and a representative of Swapo, drew applause from the crowd in the hall.

A neighbouring hall equipped with television monitors was also filled.

Asked to comment on a UPI report alleging that police fired about 10 canisters at crowds of people as they were leaving the rally in the early evening, a Western Cape police spokesman referred the Cape Times to police officers in Pretoria.

Spokesmen in Pretoria said they knew nothing about the incident and referred the Cape Times back to spokesmen in the Western Cape, who also said they knew nothing about the incident.

Police otherwise stayed away throughout the meeting.

The large press contingent were subject to strict identification procedures but were otherwise unhampered.

Several times during the rally balaclava-masked youths paraded the ANC flag on the podium to much approval.

## Mammoth growth

Dr Boesak said that the UDF, formed to oppose the tricameral parliamentary system, had grown into a mammoth organization with 800 organizations under its umbrella — in spite of two states of emergency and the detention of no fewer than 50 000 people.

"They thought we would be intimidated but they failed," he said.

He said that four years ago people had heeded the UDF call not to sell their birthrights by voting in the tricameral Parliament system which was "today a disaster".

Dr Boesak parodied recent parliamentary exchanges between Labour Party members and the State President, Mr P W Botha, over the Group Areas Act.

"Mr Chris April stood up and said the future of this country is in the hands of the Afrikaner but the Afrikaner must now remember they must change. So PW said to him 'Jy gaan te veel Amerika toe; ek gaan jou stop'. What kind of a Parliament is that?"

Mr Botha knew in his heart that the people of South Africa were not represented by the "Hendrickses or Rajbansis of this world".

The UDF was setting the political agenda and had made the international community understand that negotiations were impossible without the release of all political prisoners.

Applause greeted Dr Boesak's claim that nobody could deny that the movement of the people of South Africa was the African National Congress.

He called on all South Africans to "take the risks and the difficulties with us".

Mr Naidoo said that the present strike by 340 000 miners had to be seen in the context of "achieving our rights as human beings" and that the system of apartheid could not be separated from the system of capitalism.



UDF RALLY . . . The Rev Allan Boesak raises his arms in greeting at the rally at the University of the Western Cape to celebrate the UDF's fourth anniversary. Picture: A'DIL BRADLOW

# PAC 3 buried

THREE members of the Azanian Peoples' Liberation Army — the military wing of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania — were buried in different parts of the country at the weekend.

The three, Fana Thabane Sabela (30), of Alexandra, Neo Khoza of Gugulethu in Cape Town and Tshepo Lilele of Welkom, were shot dead by Murder and Robbery Squad detectives in Bramley, Johannesburg.

11A

Sawepu  
24/8/7

# Slabbert moots more ANC talks

Own Correspondent

**DURBAN** — Dr Van Zyl Slabbert said at the weekend he would hold Dakar-type talks with the banned ANC again if possible as such initiatives were "extremely useful".

Dr Slabbert, who led last month's 50-strong Afrikaner delegation to Dakar, said the talks "demystified" many of the views people held about the ANC and provided many in his delegation with their first opportunity "to get behind what the SABC and government-supporting Press says about the organisation".

He was speaking at a report-back meeting in Soweto organised by the Get Ahead organisation, established to promote black business in South Africa.

Dr Slabbert said the pro-government media had "pumped up" the talks as an exercise in negotiation. This was untrue. His delegation had no power to negotiate anything.

On the ANC's armed struggle, Dr Slabbert said the option lay with the Government to change the circumstances which led the ANC to adopt violence as a strategy.

If one believed the government-supporting Press and the militant Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, it would seem as if he personally had arranged last month's Johannesburg car bomb.

"If anything, the bomb highlighted the necessity to avoid violence. The Dakar talks show that there is a way out. Whites in South Africa must accept that the only way to end violence is to work for a non-racial democracy," Dr Slabbert said.

He saw the role of his organisation, the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa), as persuading whites that a non-

racial democracy was in the interests of all.

Dr Beyers Naude, former head of the South African Council of Churches (SACC) told the meeting the Dakar talks were "an unforgettable experience".

He was struck by the fact that two groups of people from entirely different backgrounds could come together to face the crucial issues facing South Africa.

"It was an experience which deeply affected the lives, outlook and commitment to South Africa of all those involved," Dr Naude said.

He said that regardless of what the Government did, it would resolve nothing as long as it tried to find the answers to South Africa's problems within the framework it had established.

## UNIQUE

The Government, Dr Naude said, would eventually, "step by step", be forced to realise that the sort of solution debated by those at Dakar was the only answer.

"Whether the State President admits this or not, the day will come when this Government will have to sit down — inside or outside South Africa — with the ANC and other liberation movements," Dr Naude said.

Dr Christo Nel, who prepared a paper for the Dakar talks on possible economic systems open to a post-apartheid South Africa, told the meeting South Africa should not borrow from anyone else but should find its own, unique system.

"There is no ideology in the world which can solve the sort of problems facing South Africa," he said.

He added both delegations at Dakar believed it was essential to "set the creative spirit of our people free".

MONDAY, 24 AUGUST 1987

†Indicates translated version.

For written reply:

General Affairs:

Lusaka, Zambia: airport

320. Mr D J N MALCOMESS asked the Minister of Transport Affairs:

- (1) Whether any (a) flights of and/or (b) aircraft owned by the South African Airways make use of the landing facilities at the airport of Lusaka, Zambia; if so, what specified navigational aids (i) existed and (ii) were in a serviceable condition as at the latest specified date for which information is available;
- (2) whether the localizer at this airport is functioning; if not, when did it cease to function;
- (3) whether all the runway lights are operating; if not, how many lights are estimated to be out of commission;
- (4) whether there are approach lights on all of the runways; if not, how many runways have approach lights;
- (5) whether all of these approach lights are in working order; if not, in respect of how many runways are all the approach lights not in working order;
- (6) whether the instrument landing system is fully operational; if not, when was it last fully operational;
- (7) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

The MINISTER OF TRANSPORT AFFAIRS:

- (1) (a) and (b) Yes.
  - (i) Instrument landing system, visual omni-range and non-directional beacon.
  - (ii) Visual omni-range and non-directional beacon.

As at 11 August 1987.

HOA

(2) No, date unknown. SA Airways is aware of the defect and all SAA flights to and from Lusaka are operated during daylight and with the necessary care.

(3) Yes.

(4) Yes.

(5) No. The airport has two runways only and some of the approach lights on both runways are not in total working order. SA Airways is aware of the circumstances and the necessary caution is displayed.

(6) No, date unknown.

(7) No.

Rayton/Ekandustria: railway line

321. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Transport Affairs:

- (1) Whether a railway line has been constructed from Rayton to Ekandustria; if so, (a) when and (b) what was the total cost of constructing this line;
- (2) whether this line is being used; if so, (a) how many trains have used this railway line since it was constructed and (b) in respect of what date is this information furnished; if not, why not?

The MINISTER OF TRANSPORT AFFAIRS:

- (1) No. (a), (b) and (2) Fall away.

TUESDAY, 25 AUGUST 1987

†Indicates translated version.

For oral reply:

General Affairs:

State President:

ANC/SA businessmen: meeting

\*1. Mr T LANGLEY asked the State President:†

- (1) Whether he was consulted and/or in-

11A ~~SOAL~~ Howard

formed in advance of a possible meeting on or about 13 September 1985 between a certain group of South African businessmen and newspaper editors and the ANC in the Luangwa Game Park in Lusaka; if so, what was his reaction in this connection;

(2) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

†The STATE PRESIDENT:

(1) I condemned the mentioned visit in a statement at the time and do not find it necessary to repeat my standpoint in this regard.

(2) Falls away.

†Mr T LANGLEY: Mr Speaker, arising out of the hon the State President's reply, the question is whether the hon the State President was consulted and/or informed in advance and what was his opinion at that stage.

†The STATE PRESIDENT: The reply is no.

Ministers:

Questions standing over from Tuesday, 18 August 1987:

Ashley James Kriel

\*7. Mr S S VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Law and Order:

(1) Whether a certain person, whose name has been furnished to the South African Police for the purpose of the Minister's reply, was shot and killed by members of the South African Police in July 1987; if so, (a) on what date, (b) where, (c) what were the circumstances surrounding his death and (d) what was his name;

(2) whether a post-mortem has been performed; if not, why not; if so, (a) how many times had this person been shot, (b) in what parts of the body did this person have bullet wounds, (c) what other wounds or injuries did he have and (d) what was the cause of death?

11A  
25/8/87  
Howard

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) (a) to (c) I am not prepared to furnish the information, because the circumstances in respect of the death of the person are the subject of a judicial process, which I do not want to anticipate.

I noticed with shock and dismay, therefore, that certain preliminary findings by a pathologist regarding this matter, have apparently already been disclosed and received wide publicity. Consequently the investigations and findings of a competent court were disgracefully anticipated and prejudiced.

I, in this regard, wish to point out to the hon member that the *sub judice* rule is normally respected by professional persons. I believe that the hon member will agree with me on this point.

The South African Police adheres strictly to the *sub judice* rule and I believe we are justified in expecting any other professional person or those who hold our judicial system in a high esteem, to do the same.

(d) Ashley James Kriel.

(2) Yes.

(a) to (c) I refer the hon member to my reply in paragraph (1) above.

Ashley James Kriel 25/8/87

\*8 Mr S S VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Law and Order:

(1) Whether any restrictions were imposed on the funeral in Athlone in July 1987 of a certain person, whose name has been furnished to the South African Police for the purpose of the Minister's reply; if so, (a) what specified restrictions, (b) why were they imposed and (c) what was the name of this person;

(2) whether these restrictions were enforced?

11A  
Howard

†The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) Yes.

(a) The restrictions were published in *Government Gazette* 10841 dated 16 July 1987.

(b) Because the South African Police had information at their disposal that laws could possibly be violated and the safety of the public and public order could have been endangered.

(c) Ashley James Kriel.

(2) Yes. I, however, wish to emphasise that shortly prior to the funeral, these restrictions were discussed thoroughly with a delegation of church leaders who were to conduct the funeral. An agreement was reached with these church leaders that restrictions would not be rigidly applied, but they would be strictly enforced if any laws were violated and/or the public order and the safety of the public were endangered. In this regard I would like to point out to the hon member that the South African Police acted in accordance with this agreement. However, the same cannot be said of all other parties.

†Mr S S VAN DER MERWE: Mr Speaker, arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, can we assume therefore that when similar restrictions is announced in future, the SA Police and the Department of the hon the Minister will again be available for discussion in connection with the application of such restrictions?

†The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, the reply is yes. We shall be available to discuss these matters with those who conduct such services.

Potchefstroom: refuse dumped

\*12. Mr J H VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Defence:†

(1) (a) Where in Potchefstroom does the South African Defence Force dump its refuse or have its refuse dumped and (b) to whom does the dumping ground belong;

(2) whether ammunition which can still explode is dumped there by the Defence Force: if so, (a) why, (b) (i) what control is exercised over the dumping ground and (ii) by whom and (c) what categories of persons have access to this ground;

(3) whether the Defence Force has investigated an incident at a dumping ground in Potchefstroom on or about 3 August 1987 in which two members of the public were killed; if not, why not; if so, what were (a) the circumstances surrounding the death of these persons and (b) the findings of the investigation;

(4) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

†The MINISTER OF DEFENCE:

(1) (a) In a refuse dump in the General De la Rey Training Area.

(b) The State.

(2) No, it is a refuse dump for domestic and garden rubbish.

(a) Falls away

(b) (i) The area is fenced and the prescribed warnings that it is a restricted area, are displayed.

(ii) The refuse dump caretaker. A labourer is on duty full time during the day and the Military Police perform periodic inspections to discourage the presence of unauthorized persons.

(c) Authorized employees of the SA Defence Force.

(3) Yes, (a) and (b) A departmental Board of Inquiry was instituted to determine what the circumstances surrounding the incident were and whether any failure to take proper precautions occurred or remedial actions were required. The findings of the Board of Inquiry are subordinate to the Inquest which still has to take place and consequently it is not poss-

25/8/87  
Howard

CAC 7-12-88 25/8/87 (114) 207

# Renewed speculation on Mbeki's release

By CHRIS ERASMUS  
THE release of ANC leader Govan Mbeki appears to be imminent.

Ms Priscilla Jana, legal representative of the 76-year-old former high command member of the African National Congress's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, said yesterday that she had been hearing "rumours of his release all last week".

"We saw him on Friday and nothing specific had been mentioned to him. But he had been seen by Justice Department representatives who asked him a few personal questions, like where he wanted to go on his release," said Ms Jana.

"At present we are consulting with members of the Mbeki family, both in South Africa and abroad, and will be able to say something later in the week."

Mr Mbeki, who was also the ANC's organizer in the Eastern Cape when arrested, was jailed for life along with ANC leader Mr Nelson

Mandela after their arrest at Rivonia in July 1963.

● ANTHONY JOHNSON reports that a source in the Department of Justice confirmed yesterday that the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, had already "put in motion" the administrative machinery necessary for the release of Mr Mbeki.

The State President, Mr P W Botha, announced in Parliament on August 13 that the government had a new set of conditions affecting the release of security detainees and that he had asked the minister to "give attention" to the case of Mr Mbeki.

Under the new dispensation, security prisoners no longer have to renounce violence as a precondition for their release, which is governed by conditions similar to those affecting common-law prisoners.

According to a spokesman in the Department of Justice, Mr Mbeki's possible release must first be considered by a constitutional commit-

tee comprising a range of officials dealing with a prisoner's psychological state, his welfare and his spiritual needs.

Its recommendations are then considered by a release committee and the Release Advisory Board, before being passed on to the minister for consideration.



# LP MPs hit back at State President

Cap's Times 25/8/87 (11A) 2000

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. — Last week's attack by the State President, Mr P W Botha, on the Labour Party had "taken us to the townships where the heart of our people beats", the Leader of the House, Mr Miley Richards, said here yesterday.

The State President's speech had given the House of Representatives the credibility it deserved, Mr Richards said.

If he was denied the right to express the views of his people then "I have no further role to play in this chamber", he said.

"The State President says I must say thank you," he said.

"Thank you for what?"

The Group Areas Act and apartheid?

His forebears had owned smallholdings in what was now Acacia Park, a development reserved for white parliamentarians.

"Must I say thank you for that?" he asked.

His parents had owned shops in Sophiatown, which had been razed to make way for a white suburb.

The coloured people of Western township had been left for 26 years in the same shacks when the black people of Sophiatown were moved.

"What wasn't good enough for the black people was good enough for us," he said.

"Must I fall on my knees and say thank you for that?"

The State President had implied that LP MPs should "speak softly" or there might be a CP government in power next time.

"I don't want to threaten you," said Mr Richards. "But we may not be here next time around."

□ The Afrikaner was the real victim of apartheid, said Mr John Douw (LP Nominated).

Speaking in debate he said apartheid had dehumanized the Afrikaner to an extent.

The liberation struggle that was being waged now should not be seen as the struggle of black people only.

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## Mr John Douw: The question was whether the State President represented all South Africans or only Afrikaners.

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The white man would never be really free till the black man was free.

A policy of reconciliation and not of playing the master were the prerequisites for a new political structure in this country.

The actual question in South Africa now was whether the State President, Mr P W Botha, was a head of state or a party leader, and whether he represented all South Africans or if he meant it when he referred to Afrikaners as "my people".

In further reference to the State President's speech last week, Mr Peter Hendrickse (LP Addo) said he would not allow himself to be intimidated by anyone and accused Mr Botha of a racist over-reaction to a remark that if he could not carry out his reform plan, then he should pack his bags.

Calls for his resignation had been made by other parties, but he had not reacted to them as he had in the House of Representatives.

Could the National Party not understand the anguish coloured people felt over the Group Areas Act?

District Six's areas were regarded by ministers as slums, but "to us, they were home, they were part of us".

□ Mr Tommy Abrahams (LP Wentworth) said Mr Botha was party to a move to destroy the Labour Party and the political future of its leader.

However, the Rev Allan Hendrickse had responded in a dignified manner.

"What right has anyone to berate us in this House?" Mr Abrahams asked.

The party was not saying it was anti-NP, it was saying that it was opposed to the system of apartheid.

Mr Abrahams also said he wanted to correct a misrepresentation that the House had made rude remarks during the State President's debate last week.

"The naked truth of apartheid was told in this House in normal King's English.

"We can't be held responsible for the reaction to it."

□ Mr Botha's comment that coloured people should thank Afrikaners for their advancement was paternalism at its worst, said Mr Desmond Lockey (LP Nominated).

□ Mr Denis de la Cruz (DWP Ottery) said it had to be conceded that South Africa had progressed constitutionally.

Mr Heunis should be supported in his efforts to draw up a new blueprint for the country, he said to constant heckling from LP Members. — Sapa.

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# Hendrickse spells out reasons for quitting

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. — "You are not willing to acknowledge the perceptions and feelings of others that do not agree with yours," the Rev Allan Hendrickse wrote yesterday to the State President, Mr P W Botha.

"I hereby tender my resignation from the cabinet," the Labour Party leader told Mr Botha.

The LP leader announced his resignation from the cabinet in a speech in the House in which he set out his party's position following the attack on the LP last week by Mr Botha.

Mr Hendrickse said he went on record in the House last week as saying that if the NP did not "talk to us" on where it was going, it could forget LP support for its proposed change to the constitution allowing it to postpone the general elections.

"The State President sent me a letter asking if I was correctly reported in the newspapers and saying this was in conflict with the cabinet decision and it brought into question my membership of the cabinet."

Mr Hendrickse said he had had dif-

ferences with the State President and had seen that Mr Botha's attack was "coming" last week.

After Mr Hendrickse had issued a statement on the state of emergency Mr Botha had contacted him and asked "why I was making things difficult for him".

After statements by Mr Hendrickse on the Dakar talks had been published — that Mr Hendrickse favoured people sitting down to talk to each other across the political spectrum — Mr Botha had called him.

"He said, why are you repudiating me? I had to remind him I am leader of the Labour Party first.

"I'm not a member of the National Party, and therefore I have the right to say what I do say on behalf of my party.

"I said to him, I reiterated, that I had no doubt about people of different political persuasions talking to each other.

"We have to sit down around a table to work out common solutions for South Africa's problems. — Sapa

**SUPREME COURT ROLL**

# Hendrickse quits cabinet

Cap. Times 25/8/87

11A 3025A

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

**THE government's tricameral parliamentary system was plunged into a constitutional and credibility crisis by the shock resignation yesterday of Labour Party leader Mr Allan Hendrickse from the cabinet.**

Mr Hendrickse announced his resignation at the end of a hard-hitting speech during which he lashed out at the government's racial policies and President Botha's inability or unwillingness to "acknowledge the feelings and perceptions of others".

The move followed a surprise adjournment of the debate in the House of Representatives for an emergency Labour Party caucus meeting at which the party unanimously endorsed his decision to resign.

## Firm undertaking

President Botha later announced he had accepted the LP leader's resignation "with immediate effect" but noted that this did not affect his position as chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Representatives.

At a press conference later, Mr Hendrickse said he did not believe that a single member of his party would be prepared to fill his vacant seat in the cabinet and indicated that his plan to block Mr

Botha's proposed postponement of the 1989 white election still applied.

Mr Hendrickse has promised to scuttle Mr Botha's plan to delay the election unless the President gives a firm undertaking to scrap both the Group Areas and Separate Amenities Acts.

Indications last night were that Mr Botha would have to engineer a split in the Labour Party, possibly by appointing a new member of the Ministers' Council to the cabinet, to push through the constitutional amendment needed to avoid a 1989 election.



**RESIGNED... Mr Allan Hendrickse announcing his resignation.**

From page 1

a result of his resignation from the cabinet and said his party would in future adopt a "more aggressive" line in the tricameral Parliament.

Earlier, in an emotional speech during the vote of the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Hendrickse noted that the State President had last week come to the House of Representatives "to fight with us — he did not listen".

The LP leader said that after carefully reading all the speeches of LP MPs in last week's debate it was clear that not one MP had attacked the State President or attempted to "insult or denigrate" the Afrikaner.

Indeed, Mr Botha owed the House an apology for his attack on LP members whose message he had shown himself incapable of understanding.

"The fact that some people have died (as a result of government policies) is of no consequence to some people," Mr Hendrickse noted.

Telling the House

that "today I must talk from the heart", Mr Hendrickse stated that some of the assertions made by Mr Botha to the House last week were "a lie or an untruth".

Mr Hendrickse disclosed that Mr Botha had privately "repudiated" him for expressing regret at the renewal of the state of emergency and for supporting the Dakar ANC dialogue mission.

Yesterday Mr Botha had sent him a letter criticizing his opposition to the postponement of the 1989 constitution.

The LP leader wrote back yesterday afternoon saying "it is obvious that you are not prepared or willing to acknowledge the feelings and perceptions of others, if that perception is not in line with that of yourself and you party."

"I therefore now hereby tender my resignation from the cabinet."

During yesterday's debate, Labour Party MPs slated Mr Botha's performance in the House of Representatives as betraying "paternalism of the worst form", deviating from the truth, for being "racist" and for being

In a reference to the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, Mr Hendrickse said at a press conference last night that he could understand why "some people" in government did not want an election in 1989, "particularly those that got (a majority) of 39 votes".

He said his resignation had produced "an unshackling" from the Nationalist government and was necessary because the "price" of his continued membership of the cabinet produced a situation in which the non-racial principles of the LP were becoming unacceptably compromised.

Being a member of the cabinet had created a "conflict situation" because he was expected to "make the apartheid system work" by going along with cabinet decisions on own affairs and the homelands.

Mr Hendrickse said his resignation was likely to "increase our support among the community" and that he had "no fears" of an election in 1989.

The LP leader stressed that the government rather than he would be the loser as

● LP MPs hit back at State President — Page 4

To page 2

# 'MASSES INCITED TO VIOLENCE'

11A  
23  
23

**SPEECHES** allegedly made by certain officials of the United Democratic Front and its affiliates incited the masses to engage in a violent revolution to overthrow the Government, Mr P B Jacobs, SC, the prosecutor, submitted in the Pretoria Supreme Court yesterday.

Mr Jacobs also submitted that the speeches also incited people to "destroy" the Government and its institutions. Speakers also urged the masses to make the country ungovernable." Mr Jacobs added.

But Mr Popo Simon Molefe,

## **Prosecutor alleges at trial**

general secretary of the UDF rejected these suggestions and told the court that the UDF was a non-racial and peaceful organisation which was formed primarily to protest against the new constitutional proposals and the "Koornhof Bills."

## **Oppressive**

Mr Molefe said during cross examination by Mr Jacobs that they regarded the Government as

an oppressive regime because of its apartheid policy.

The UDF was struggling for a united and democratic South Africa, Mr Molefe said.

"Peace will only prevail when everybody in this country has a vote," he told the court.

Mr Molefe and 18 others who include senior officials of the UDF, the Azanian People's Organisation and the Vaal Civic Association have pleaded not guilty before Mr Justice van Dijkhorst, sitting with an assessor to charges of murder, treason, subversion and terrorism.

(Proceeding)

# Boesak praises the UDF

11A  
26/8/87  
Somerton

ABOUT 6 000 people crammed into two halls at the University of the Western Cape on Sunday to celebrate the fourth anniversary of the United Democratic Front and to reaffirm their commitment to ending minority rule.

About a dozen speakers, including UDF patron, Dr Allan Boesak, Mr Jay Naidoo, general secretary of the Congress of South African Trade Unions, and a representative of Swapo, drew applause from the crowd.

Dr Boesak said the UDF, formed to oppose the tricameral parliamentary system, had grown into a mammoth organisation.



**World in brief**

*ANC 25/8/87 11A (2/8)*

**Top ANC man in Maputo for talks**

MAPUTO. — A senior member of the African National Congress, Mr Johnny Makhatini, is in Maputo for talks with the Mozambican authorities. Mr Makhatini, head of the ANC's department of foreign affairs, held talks yesterday with the chairman of Mozambique's Parliament, Mr Marcelino dos Santos.

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# Hendrickse describes clash over Dakar

By TOS WENTZEL, Political Correspondent

THE clash between Labour Party leader and Cabinet Minister Mr Allan Hendrickse and President Botha came to a head yesterday afternoon after an exchange of letters.

Mr Hendrickse received a letter from Mr Botha just after 2pm yesterday, soon before the start of the debate on the budget vote of the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr J C Heunis.

Soon afterwards Mr Hendrickse had his reply announcing his resignation delivered to Mr Botha at Tuynhuys.

In the afternoon the House of Representatives took the unusual step of adjourning for an emergency caucus meeting of the Labour Party where Mr Hendrickse's decision to resign from the Cabinet was unanimously endorsed.

There were loud "hear, hears" from his followers when he announced his decision in the House soon after 5pm.

## Perceptions

In his speech in the House, Mr Hendrickse said he had told Mr Botha that he (Mr Botha) was not prepared to acknowledge the perceptions and feelings of others that did not agree with his own.

Referring to the clashes between Mr Botha and coloured MPs in the House last week he said Mr Botha had come to the House to fight, not to listen.

Previously, Mr Botha had clashed with him on the support he had expressed for talks such as the Dakar meeting with the ANC.

Mr Botha had accused him of repudiating the President and had said he would in turn repudiate Mr Hendrickse. There had therefore been a build-up, "and it is obvious that we are not understanding each other."

In his clash with Mr Botha about the Dakar talks he had reiterated that he had no doubts about people of different political persuasions talking to each other.

"We have to sit around a table to work out common solutions to South Africa's problems," Mr Hendrickse said.

## PW, Hendrickse letters

Political Correspondent

MR Hendrickse has released the text of the letters between himself and the President.

In his letter to Mr Hendrickse, Mr Botha said:

"I refer to a Cabinet decision of August 12 in terms of which the constitution would be amended to make provision for a separate maximum term of office for each House of Parliament.

"The decision in question was unanimously taken by the Cabinet and reads as follows:

"The Cabinet approves the amendment of the constitution for provision to be made for a separate maximum term of five years for each House;

"Provision for the limitation of the term of office of the State President to five years or as at present until a joint dissolution of all three Houses, whatever is the shortest.

"According to a report in Die Burger of August 24 you said the following at Keimoes. I quote:

"The State President's problem is that he wants to share but that he also does not want to surrender power. He wants to give but he wants to retain the right to decide. This is a pity because our future lies together.

"Mr Botha has made an announcement in the Assembly that he wants to amend the constitution so that the term of the Assembly can be extended.

"It is the Labour Party which will decide if that Act will be accepted. It will not become law until the National Party has come to talk to us and has said how they interpret that mandate."

Mr Botha wrote that if Mr Hendrickse had been correctly reported, he had acted in conflict with a Cabinet decision he himself had supported. Under these circumstances his membership of the Cabinet was unacceptable.

In his reply to Mr Botha, Mr Hendrickse wrote:

"For your information I include extracts from my speech on August 19 in which I clearly indicated that I have no problem with the postponement of elections for the House of Assembly. This is not in conflict with the decision of the Cabinet to which I agreed but, surely, I have a democratic right to decide on the implications thereof.

"It is obvious that you are not prepared or willing to acknowledge the feelings and perceptions of others if that perception is not in line with that of yourself and your party.

"I therefore now hereby tender my resignation from the Cabinet."

# Student leader shot dead in his bed

BENONI. — Mr Caiphus Myoka, a leader in the Transvaal Student's Congress, was shot dead in his Daveyton home early yesterday morning, allegedly with a silenced gun.

A member of his family, who did not want to be named, said that a group of more than 20 men arrived at the home. Some of the men prevented family members from leaving the main house, while others forced the door of Mr Myoka's outside room.

Three other men, Mr Gugu Nyakane, Mr Alson Mnykeni and a man whose name is not known, were sleeping in the room with Mr Myoka when the men entered.

"We did not hear any shots, but after a while a funeral parlour car arrived and a body was carried out on a stretcher," the spokesman said.

After the men left, the family found the outside room empty and the bed covered in blood. A family member later tracked down Mr Nyakane who told her "Caiphus had been shot in the head with a silenced gun".

She traced his body to the Apex Funeral Parlour in Benoni.

Other allegations made by the family cannot be reported by the Cape Times because of legal considerations under Section 27b of the Police Act. — Sapa



ment.

Botha. 25/8/27  
Cape Times

# Who will fill Hendrickse's chair in the cabinet?

## Political Staff

THE resignation of the Rev Allan Hendrickse from the cabinet does not mean that he ceases to be chairman of the Ministers' Council of the House of Representatives.

But it does create a problem with regard to who will represent the 85-man House on the cabinet.

Section 20 of the Constitution prescribes that among other people, the cabinet "shall consist" of any member of a Ministers' Council designated by the State President as a member of the cabinet.

It would appear then that the State President, Mr P W Botha, will have to appoint a member of the council to the cabinet — should he wish to destroy the Labour Party this might be one way of creating the initial split.

As far as the chairman of the Ministers' Council is concerned, the State President "shall designate" a member

of the council who in his opinion has the support of the majority of the House as the chairman.

Here Mr Botha would appear to have no option but to accept the present Labour Party leader unless once again there is a major breakaway.

Mr Botha is also unable to call an election for the House at this stage.

He may call an election for Parliament — all three Houses — at any time or for one House if:

- A House passes a motion of no-confidence in the cabinet — Mr Hendrickse said he would not do this when challenged by the State President on Wednesday.

- A House rejects any bill which appropriates revenue or moneys for the ordinary annual requirements or services of the departments of state controlled by members of the cabinet.

- Mr Botha is requested to call an election by the Ministers' Council.

CP 6 Tavis  
25/8/87

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## Why blacks won't talk — Motlana

THE attitude of black organizations towards talks with the government was the result of years of exclusion of blacks other than tribal chiefs from any dialogue, the chairman of Soweto's Committee of Ten, Dr Nthato Motlana, said yesterday.

Speaking at a SA Britain Trade Association (Sabrita) lunch in Cape Town, he said blacks had never refused to talk to the government.

However, since the national convention before union, blacks had been excluded from any form of negotiation except through government-appointed bodies.

He said that before there could be "talks about talks" there had to be agreement on certain fundamentals.

Firstly, there should be one fatherland for all South Africans.

Secondly, there had to be an agreement that negotiations were about one man, one vote with the necessary protection for individuals. — Sapa

formed in advance of a possible meeting on or about 13 September 1985 between a certain group of South African businessmen and newspaper editors and the ANC in the Luangwa Game Park in Lusaka; if so, what was his reaction in this connection;

(2) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

†The STATE PRESIDENT:

(1) I condemned the mentioned visit in a statement at the time and do not find it necessary to repeat my standpoint in this regard.

(2) Falls away.

†Mr T LANGLEY: Mr Speaker, arising out of the hon the State President's reply, the question is whether the hon the State President was consulted and/or informed in advance and what was his opinion at that stage.

†The STATE PRESIDENT: The reply is no.

Ministers:

Questions standing over from Tuesday, 18 August 1987:

Ashley James Kriel

\*7. Mr S S VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Law and Order:

(1) Whether a certain person, whose name has been furnished to the South African Police for the purpose of the Minister's reply, was shot and killed by members of the South African Police in July 1987; if so, (a) on what date, (b) where, (c) what were the circumstances surrounding his death and (d) what was his name;

(2) whether a post-mortem has been performed; if not, why not; if so, (a) how many times had this person been shot, (b) in what parts of the body did this person have bullet wounds, (c) what other wounds or injuries did he have and (d) what was the cause of death?

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) (a) to (c) I am not prepared to furnish the information, because the circumstances in respect of the death of the person are the subject of a judicial process, which I do not want to anticipate.

I noticed with shock and dismay, therefore, that certain preliminary findings by a pathologist regarding this matter, have apparently already been disclosed and received wide publicity. Consequently the investigations and findings of a competent court were disgracefully anticipated and prejudiced.

I, in this regard, wish to point out to the hon member that the *sub judice* rule is normally respected by professional persons. I believe that the hon member will agree with me on this point.

The South African Police adheres strictly to the *sub judice* rule and I believe we are justified in expecting any other professional person or those who hold our judicial system in a high esteem, to do the same.

(d) Ashley James Kriel.

(2) Yes.

(a) to (c) I refer the hon member to my reply in paragraph (1) above.

Ashley James Kriel 25/8/87

\*8 Mr S S VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Law and Order:

(1) Whether any restrictions were imposed on the funeral in Athlone in July 1987 of a certain person, whose name has been furnished to the South African Police for the purpose of the Minister's reply; if so, (a) what specified restrictions, (b) why were they imposed and (c) what was the name of this person;

(2) whether these restrictions were enforced?

†The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) Yes.

(a) The restrictions were published in *Government Gazette* 10841 dated 16 July 1987.

(b) Because the South African Police had information at their disposal that laws could possibly be violated and the safety of the public and public order could have been endangered.

(c) Ashley James Kriel.

(2) Yes. I, however, wish to emphasise that shortly prior to the funeral, these restrictions were discussed thoroughly with a delegation of church leaders who were to conduct the funeral. An agreement was reached with these church leaders that restrictions would not be rigidly applied, but they would be strictly enforced if any laws were violated and/or the public order and the safety of the public were endangered. In this regard I would like to point out to the hon member that the South African Police acted in accordance with this agreement. However, the same cannot be said of all other parties.

†Mr S S VAN DER MERWE: Mr Speaker, arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, can we assume therefore that when similar restrictions is announced in future, the SA Police and the Department of the hon the Minister will again be available for discussion in connection with the application of such restrictions?

†The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, the reply is yes. We shall be available to discuss these matters with those who conduct such services.

Potchefstroom: refuse dumped

\*12. Mr J H VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Defence:†

(1) (a) Where in Potchefstroom does the South African Defence Force dump its refuse or have its refuse dumped and (b) to whom does the dumping ground belong;

(2) whether ammunition which can still explode is dumped there by the Defence Force; if so, (a) why, (b) (i) what control is exercised over the dumping ground and (ii) by whom and (c) what categories of persons have access to this ground;

(3) whether the Defence Force has investigated an incident at a dumping ground in Potchefstroom on or about 3 August 1987 in which two members of the public were killed; if not, why not; if so, what were (a) the circumstances surrounding the death of these persons and (b) the findings of the investigation;

(4) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

†The MINISTER OF DEFENCE:

(1) (a) In a refuse dump in the General De la Rey Training Area.

(b) The State.

(2) No, it is a refuse dump for domestic and garden rubbish.

(a) Falls away

(b) (i) The area is fenced and the prescribed warnings that it is a restricted area, are displayed.

(ii) The refuse dump caretaker. A labourer is on duty full time during the day and the Military Police perform periodic inspections to discourage the presence of unauthorized persons.

(c) Authorized employees of the SA Defence Force.

(3) Yes, (a) and (b) A departmental Board of Inquiry was instituted to determine what the circumstances surrounding the incident were and whether any failure to take proper precautions occurred or remedial actions were required. The findings of the Board of Inquiry are subordinate to the Inquest which still has to take place and consequently it is not poss-

can Police have a statutory obligation to preserve the security of the State and to this end, like its counterparts the world over, indulge in monitoring the actions of revolutionary activists whether on or off campus.

Taking into account several instances that have occurred in the past that necessitated the arrest, trial and conviction of individuals, connected with the University of Cape Town either as students or as lecturers and who has acted as ANC or SACP agents, the police would be failing in its duty if it should exclude the said university from such action.

This was further necessary because the South African Police, as well as parents and the moderate majority of South Africans are concerned about the situation at the particular university.

I have asked the Commissioner of Police to investigate fully why Mr Pretorius has exposed his involvement with the South African Police.

Furthermore, I am quite prepared to discuss the matter with the vice chancellor of the University of Cape Town, Dr Stuart Saunders. I also have a few other matters which I would like to raise with him.

12-8-87.

ADRIAAN VLOK.

MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER.

Mr S S VAN DER MERWE: Mr Speaker, arising from the hon the Minister's reply, I would just like to ask him whether it is the policy of his department to recruit people for these purposes while they are still at school and whether it did indeed happen in other cases.

The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, I do not think we could send people to the university who are for instance 60 years old. I will therefore not add to the reply I had given previously.

Mr K M ANDREW: Mr Speaker, arising from the hon the Minister's reply, may I ask whether any steps are being taken in the light of the photographic evidence of the participation of this policeman in certain activities?

The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, for the ben-

efit of the hon member I have explained it in full in my reply and in the Press release about the activities of the Police. I will not add to my reply.

Mr K M ANDREW: Mr Speaker, further arising from the hon the Minister's reply, in view of the photographic evidence may I ask him whether he expects anybody to believe his answer? [Interjections.]

#### Disability rebate

\*12. Mr M J ELLIS asked the Minister of Finance:

- (1) Whether he has given any consideration to increasing the maximum disability rebate of R3 000 from the income of severely handicapped persons for tax purposes; if so, with what result; if not, why not;
- (2) whether he will consider increasing this rebate in the light of the direct and indirect additional expenses of severely handicapped persons; if not, why not; if so, (a) by what amount and (b) when;
- (3) whether he has received any representations for this rebate to be increased; if so, (a) when, (b) from whom and (c) what was his response thereto;
- (4) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF FINANCE (Mr K D S Durr):

- (1) No. No representations have been received in this regard.
- (2) I wish to point out that the relief in question is given in the form of a deduction from income and is not a rebate, i.e. a reduction in tax. An increase in the amount of the deduction, or relief in some other form will be considered, together with other personal reliefs, in the light of recommendations contained in the Margo Report.
- (3) No.
- (4) No.

(3) No.

(4) No.

*Howard*

*25/8/87*

#### ANC/SA businessmen: discussions

\*13. Mr T LANGLEY asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs:†

- (1) Whether his Department was in contact with a group of South African businessmen and newspaper editors who held discussions with the ANC in the Luangwa Game Park in Lusaka on or about 13 September 1985; if so,
- (2) whether his Department was in contact with the said group (a) before and (b) after these discussions; if so, (a) with what purpose, in each case;
- (3) whether he gave (a) instructions and/or (b) permission that this group be so contacted;
- (4) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

†The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

- (1) No, the Department of Foreign Affairs was not in contact with the group. The then Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr D J L Nel, was informed of the visit by one of the persons involved in the arrangements of the group which would visit Lusaka. Mr Nel informs me that he discouraged them most strongly from talking to the ANC and said that nothing could be achieved by talking to the ANC. Mr Nel also supplied facts to the person concerned about the ANC's violent aims and furnished them with particulars to indicate that the ANC was dominated by the South African Communist Party. This was done to underline that nothing could be achieved from talking with that organisation. Mr Nel's views were repeated in an interview with the BBC which fact was reported in SA.
- (2) and (3) Falls away.
- (4) No.

#### Lusaka: airport

\*14. Mr T LANGLEY asked the Minister of Transport Affairs:†

- (1) Whether the South African Transport Services have received any complaints and/or representations about the landing facilities at the airport in Lusaka, particulars of which have been furnished to the Transport Services for the purposes of the Minister's reply; if so, what is the purport of these complaints and/or representations;
- (2) whether the Transport Services have taken or are contemplating any action in this connection; if not, why not; if so, (a) what action and (b) when;
- (3) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

The MINISTER OF TRANSPORT AFFAIRS:

- (1) No.
- (2) Falls away.
- (3) No.

†Mr T LANGLEY: Mr Speaker, arising from the hon the Minister's reply, we are dealing here with transport facilities which could have very serious complications for the South African public flying to Lusaka, and I therefore want to ask the hon the Minister whether he knows absolutely nothing about it, and whether he intends doing something about the matter.

†The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, I have answered the hon member's question exactly. If he requires further information, he must put a new question.

Mr D J N MALCOMESS: Mr Speaker, further arising out of the hon the Minister's reply and in view of the fact that earlier this week or last week in reply to a question of mine he stated that the ILS and a number of runway approach lights at Lusaka Airport were out of action, I want to ask whether he is prepared to reconsider the fact that SAA's planes are apparently still landing in Lusaka.

The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, we will at all times ensure the complete safety of our aircraft.

Mr K M ANDREW: What about the passengers?

*Howard*

*25/8/87*

*(Signature)*

# Labour squarings up to PW

AKS 1  
2/18/87  
11K 3004

By TOS WENTZEL  
Political Correspondent

THE Government's legislative programme, including President Botha's plan to amend the constitution to delay the white elections, could run into heavy weather following the resignation from the Cabinet of Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse.

It is clear the Labour Party has rallied behind Mr Hendrickse and it is unlikely the Deputy-Minister of Population Development, Mr L T Landers, or any other member would accept a Cabinet appointment in his place.

## Uneasiness

The Labour Party is committed to adopting a more aggressive stance. Other measures which could face close scrutiny include the proposed national council, which President Botha proposes to use for negotiation with blacks, and measures aimed at breaking the rent boycott in black areas.

There has been uneasiness in the party for some time because of a belief that it was seen as a junior partner of the National Party which helped to implement the apartheid policy

and aspects of security measures abhorred by its followers.

Proposed Government measures which the Labour Party could delay or obstruct are wide-ranging. President Botha's plan to change the constitution to allow elections for the three chambers of Parliament to be held at different times — a device to delay white elections due in 1989 — is particularly vulnerable to Labour Party obstruction, since amendments to the constitution, unlike ordinary legislation, require the approval of all three Houses.

## Status

Mr Hendrickse resigned from the Cabinet yesterday amid bitter recriminations about President Botha's insensitivity to the feelings and perceptions of others.

His status and his salary and allowances as a Minister will not be affected by his resignation from the Cabinet. He remains chairman of the Ministers' Council of the House of Representatives.

The President is not obliged to appoint another member of the House of Representatives to his Cabinet.

It is, in any case, unlikely that another Labour Party

member would accept such a post from Mr Botha, a position made clear yesterday when Mr Hendrickse said his party caucus had unanimously backed his decision to resign.

The position of Mr Landers, Labour's only other member in the central government structure, is not likely to be affected.

He is not a member of the Cabinet.

Mr Hendrickse said today that in his view Mr Landers was appointed as a deputy-minister by virtue of being a member of Parliament and not because he was specifically a member of the House of Representatives.

## More critical

Mr Hendrickse said the reaction to his move from party structures in all parts of the country had been overwhelmingly positive. He and other Labour MPs had received messages from supporters almost throughout the night.

Now that he had been "unshackled" from his commitment to central Cabinet decisions, legislation could be more closely scrutinised in the standing parliamentary committees.

He said there would be no rejection of legislation for the sake of rejection but he indicated that the Labour Party's stand would become more critical.

At a Press conference following his speech in the House of Representatives, Mr Hendrickse said the price for continued membership of the Cabinet had become too high if it meant the Labour Party had to surrender its principles.

## Talks with NP

He said he did not have a problem with the move to prolong the term of office of the House of Assembly and to have separate elections for the other two Houses, but the Labour Party wanted greater clarity on the National Party intended future reforms before it agreed to these moves.

Some Labour MPs felt strongly today that there would have to be talks on these issues with Nationalist MPs.

Mr Hendrickse is to meet ultra-conservative American senator Jessie Helms for a "private, low-profile meeting" in Cape Town today, according to a spokesman for Mr Hendrickse's office. Senator Helms is here on a trip organised by the South African Agricultural Union.



Picture: JIM McLAGA The Argus

THE Labour Party leader the Rev. Allan Hendrickse whose snock signature is on the left, is expected to plunge the Government into a constitutional and credibility crisis today. Hendrickse's wife, Mrs Terry Hendrickse.

Hendrickse's letters — page 8.  
Hendrickse's career — page 28.

Student  
Cape Times 25/1/87  
leader  
shot dead  
in his bed

11A

**BENONI.** — Mr Caiphus Myoka, a leader in the Transvaal Student's Congress, was shot dead in his Daveyton home early yesterday morning, allegedly with a silenced gun.

A member of his family, who did not want to be named, said that a group of more than 20 men arrived at the home. Some of the men prevented family members from leaving the main house, while others forced the door of Mr Myoka's outside room.

Three other men, Mr Gugu Nyakane, Mr Alson Mnykeni and a man whose name is not known, were sleeping in the room with Mr Myoka when the men entered.

"We did not hear any shots, but after a while a funeral parlour car arrived and a body was carried out on a stretcher," the spokesman said.

After the men left, the family found the outside room empty and the bed covered in blood. A family member later tracked down Mr Nyakane who told her "Caiphus had been shot in the head with a silenced gun".

She traced his body to the Apex Funeral Parlour in Benoni.

Other allegations made by the family cannot be reported by the Cape Times because of legal considerations under Section 27b of the Police Act. — Sapa

ARGUS 25/8/87 (UR)

# Hendrickse — man at odds with the system

By DAVID BRAUN  
Political Staff

**T**HE Rev Allan Hendrickse has come a long way with the State President, Mr P W Botha.

If the road for them is to part after yesterday's angry exchange of letters which prompted the Labour Party leader to resign from the Cabinet, it will not be the first time that Mr Hendrickse has been seriously at odds with the system.

During the unrest which followed the 1976 Soweto riots Mr Hendrickse was detained under security legislation for two months, then banned from making political speeches and entering the magisterial district of Port Elizabeth for a brief period.

In 1978, as new leader of the Labour Party, Mr Hendrickse pleaded for the imposition of economic sanctions on South Africa.

In 1980, after deciding on a policy of non-violence and non-co-operation with the Government, his party collapsed the Coloured Representative Council, the instrument created by the Government to give political expression to the coloured people.

According to Shelagh Gastrow's *Who's Who in South African Politics*,

Mr Hendrickse was seen as a supporter of the black consciousness movement and of other liberation movements in Southern Africa including Swapo, the ANC, the PAC and the Patriotic Front, only differing in terms of strategy.

Yet in August 1980, Mr Hendrickse met Mr Botha, then Prime Minister, for the umpteenth time, in what Mrs Gastrow described as a "new spirit of negotiation".

It marked a sea change in the Labour leader's approach.

In 1977 Mr



Rev Hendrickse

Hendrickse opposed the Government's constitutional plans because they entrenched apartheid, gave dictatorial powers to the State President, and sought to ally whites, coloured and Indians against blacks.

In 1983, his party voted overwhelmingly in favour of the Government's updated constitutional plans.

Mr Hendrickse led his party into the general election for the coloured House of Representatives in 1984, in the face of heavy opposition from the UDF, Azapo, Kwa-Zulu's Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, with which the Labour Party shared the SA Black Alliance, and several civic organisations.

## Ambassador

The LP took 76 of the 80 seats and Mr Hendrickse, as leader, was appointed by Mr Botha as chairman of the Ministers' Council and a member of the President's Cabinet.

This was a source of great pride and wonder for the Labour leader.

He often spoke to foreign visitors, critics and journalists of the historic precedent that he and the chairman of the Ministers' Council of the House of Delegates, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, were the first people of colour to sit in the Cabinet, the highest executive body in the country.

In this regard, Mr Hendrickse was probably the best ambassador the Government could have wanted to promote the "success" of the tri-cameral system.

Many a Government leader has used the example of Allan

Hendrickse, a former security detainee, as evidence of the success of negotiation and consensus politics.

For a while, Mr Hendrickse and his party won a number of victories, including the repeal of the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act and the scrapping of laws which prohibited multi-racial membership of political parties.

Mr Hendrickse only yesterday pointed out that 80 laws had been repealed or amended since the birth of the tri-cameral Parliament.

Yet two laws still on the statute books were to contribute to yesterday's drama: the Separate Amenities Act and the Group Areas Act, both of which enforce segregation of one race from another.

In January this year Mr Hendrickse publicly flouted the Separate Amenities Act by swimming on a whites-only beach at Port Elizabeth — and earned a severe dressing down on national television from the State President because he had "not behaved with the dignity as befits a Minister".

Mr Botha gave him the option of calling an election or apologising, and Mr Hendrickse chose the latter.

The episode cost Mr Hendrickse much of his support and precipitated a split in his own party.

Last week frustrations within the Labour Party over this and the Government's evident foot-dragging on the Group Areas Act boiled over, and the party voiced its feelings in unambiguous terms to Mr Botha during his Budget Vote in the House of Representatives.

Mr Botha lashed back, criticising the House for its negative and insulting attitude and taunted members to move a motion of no confidence in the Cabinet, which if successful would result in the dissolution of the chamber.

Mr Hendrickse again took heavy criticism from all sides.

Smarting from the tongue-lashing, he threatened to block Mr Botha's plans to extend the life of the House of Assembly beyond 1989, and the crisis was precipitated.

Offer

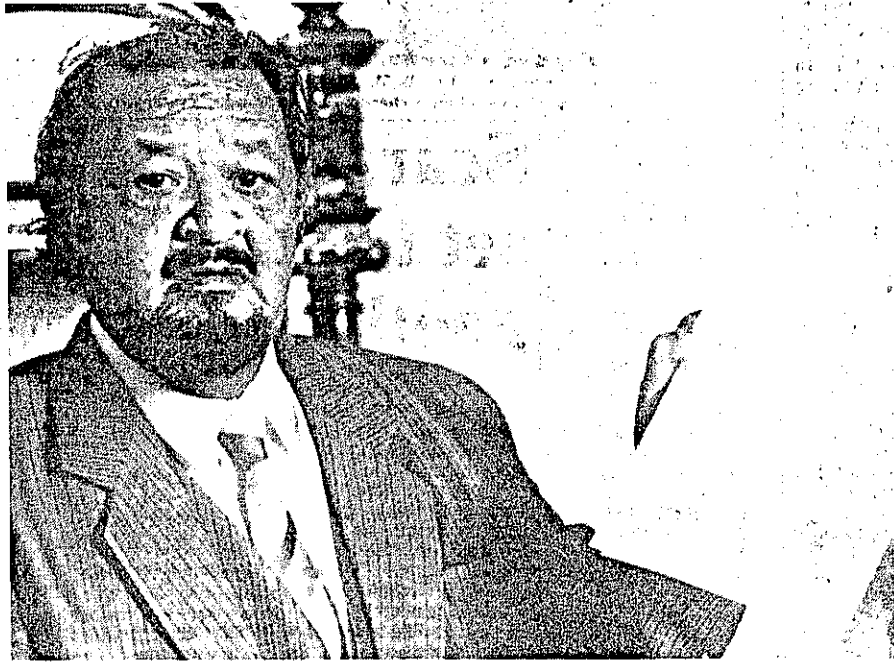
# Labour might block new laws

11A  
25/12/87

By David Braun, Political Correspondent

Cape Town

The Rev Allan Hendrickse's Labour Party will confront the Government over planned key legislation.



The Rev Allan Hendrickse holds the letter from State President Mr P W Botha stating that he comply with Cabinet decisions or resign. Mr Hendrickse said he had no choice but to resign.

The new aggressive style of the governing party in the House of Representatives is the first significant consequence of Mr Hendrickse's resignation from the Cabinet yesterday.

Mr Hendrickse said today his party members were no longer bound by his commitment to the Cabinet and all legislation would from now on be more carefully scrutinised.

According to other Labour sources today the Government is — as a result of the new strategy — not easily going to get its way on the following items:

- Legislation forcing employers to deduct amounts owed for rents and services from the salaries of their employees. This Bill was already running into heavy weather, but now will almost certainly not be accepted by the House of Representatives or the House of Delegates.
- The National Council Bill, which President Botha wanted to be introduced this session so as to speed up his plans to involve black leaders in a forum for negotiations.
- Legislation extending powers to self-governing states. The Labour Party is against consolidating the system of separate development.
- Cabinet plans to change the Constitution so as to give each House of Parliament a separate maximum life. The effect of this measure would be to allow the Government to postpone the white elections currently scheduled for 1989.

## No need to fill seat

Constitutional experts said today President Botha was under no obligation to replace Mr Hendrickse in the Cabinet.

He was in the Cabinet at the invitation of the State President, who appointed the Labour Leader in his capacity as Chairman of the Ministers' Council of the House of Representatives.

As such, Mr Hendrickse did not have a general affairs portfolio so his departure created no specific vacancy.

In terms of the Constitution, Mr Botha is not obliged to appoint any specific representative of a House to his Cabinet.

Even though he no longer serves on the Cabinet, Mr Hendrickse is still a Minister with the full salary, status and perks of any other Minister.

On this last item Mr Hendrickse appears to have Mr Botha over a barrel as the constitution specifically excludes the President's Council from being able to arbitrate on matters concerning the life of Parliament.

The crisis which resulted in Mr Hendrickse's resignation from the Cabinet was precipitated by his threat to withhold support for this amendment until the National Party clarified its plans for reform.

Mr Hendrickse said yesterday the Labour Party was still prepared to talk to the National Party and if necessary would take the initiative in this regard.

He said the Labour Party would be taking a more aggressive stance in the House of Representatives towards legislation.

● See Page 15.



# Student shot after police 'found arms'

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Police yesterday declined to comment on the whereabouts of three men who may have witnessed the fatal shooting by the police of East Rand student activist Mr Caiphus Nyoka.

The three men were sleeping in the same outside room as Mr Nyoka when policemen arrived at the house in Daveyton township about 2.30 on Monday morning. A family member said the three were put in a police van.

A police spokesman referred to a police statement on the shooting, which said Mr Nyoka was shot "during police follow-up operations after the arrest of two suspects who were found carrying a number of mini-impet mines and handgrenades of foreign origin".

The statement rejected claims that a silenced weapon had been used, and referred the press to Section 27B of the Police Act which prohibits the publication of "untrue statements".

No details of the shooting itself were given.

Mr Nyoka, 23, was president of the

Mabuya High School student representative council and an active member of the UDF-affiliated Transvaal Students' Congress. A family member who saw the body at a funeral parlour said he had been shot in the forehead and in the side.

Mr Nyoka's father, Mr Moses Nyoka, said yesterday that he had heard no shots being fired in the room, which was three metres from his house.

"About 2.30 we heard footsteps. Suddenly we heard the loud shouts of a white policeman. We heard them kicking a door open saying 'Maak oop' and then 'Kaptein hy's hierso'. A policeman came and knocked at my kitchen door. He stuck a gun at my neck and pushed me inside ...

"At 4.10 a white 'Black Maria' came and four municipal policemen drew a tray out of the back of it. I was peeping through my bedroom window. I saw later on the tray a dead body which looked like Caiphus.

"I did not hear any shots. I have since found a shell in the room next to a pool of blood."

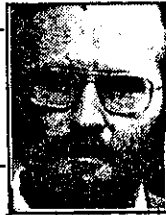
# Labour bargaining power could win respect for MPs

11A  
CAPT TAVIS 20/8/82

MR Allan Hendrickse's latest protest against apartheid legislation could result in the former cabinet minister becoming the toast of the Conservative Party.

The irony that the government's colour-coded Parliament could spawn such an off-beat scenario is compounded by the fact that it is all made possible by a loophole in the "white baasskap" principle that undergirds the entire tricameral constitution.

The government's 1983 constitution is designed to ensure that the majority party in the white House of Assembly — the National Party — the last four decades —



**Midweek Politics**  
By ANTHONY JOHNSON

has the decisive voice in the legislative process.

If the "coloured" House of Representatives or the Indian House of Delegates get uppity and refuse to pass new Bills or amendments to old ones, the NP-dominated President's Council can be counted on to break the deadlock in the government's favour.

However, there is an exception to this legislative cynicism when it comes to changes to the fundamentals of the constitution, which require the support of the majority of MPs in each of the three Houses.

President P W Botha therefore needs the cooperation of Mr Hendrickse's Labour Party — which has 72 of the 85 seats in the House of Representatives — to push through the constitutional changes necessary to postpone the white election.

If Mr Hendrickse stands firm on undertaking to block the election postponement until the government undertakes to scrap the Group Areas Act, the Conservative Party will be handed the 1989 white election it so desperately wants.

Unless, of course, the government scraps the Group Areas Act (which it will not do) or President Botha is able to engineer a split in the Labour Party that will get the majority of MPs in the House of Representatives to go along with his election plan.

What would suit the government best would be for Mr Hendrickse to walk out of Parliament and take a band of close supporters — Labour Party sources estimate fewer than a dozen — with him.

This would open the way for fresh leadership in a more conservative House of Representatives and a probable compromise on the election issue.

However, Mr Hendrickse has made it plain that he does not intend to leave just yet and that any major moves would have to wait for the party's annual congress in the Skilpadsaal at the end of the year.

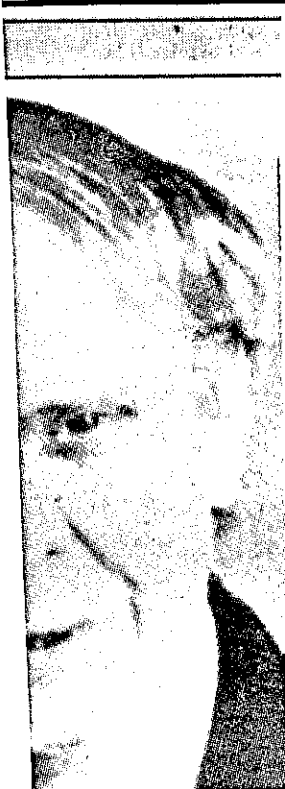
Mr Botha could also work away at Labour Party resistance to his election plans by creating a division within the party.

One possibility would be to lure one of Mr Hendrickse's colleagues on the Minister's Council — say, Mr David Curry — into the cabinet and make available certain financial or other incentives to MPs in return for playing ball on the white election.

MPs in the House of Representatives — who themselves face the scary reality of an election in 1989 — may find the offer of a postponement to 1992 difficult to resist. This would ensure that "coloured" MPs all received pensions for life.

An offer to make pensions applicable after only five years as an MP could also help to relieve the feeling of trepidation and insecurity affecting MPs likely to take a pounding at the polls.

The scene appears set for an absorbing battle that could earn the Labour Party some much needed respect in the community and further erode the legitimacy of the government's tricameral creation.



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are bewildering se-

# Vlok 'shocked by Kriel death disclosures

Cape Times  
26/8/8

## Political Staff

THE Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, said yesterday that he had noticed with shock and dismay that certain preliminary findings by a pathologist into the death of Ashley Kriel, an ANC member, had already been disclosed.

He said he was not prepared to disclose any information about the death of Mr Kriel, who was shot and killed by police in Athlone, Cape Town, in July this year, because he did not want to anticipate the judicial process.

"I notice with shock and dismay, therefore, that certain preliminary findings by a pathologist regarding this matter, have apparently already been disclosed and received wide publicity.

"Consequently the investigations and findings of a competent court were disgracefully anticipated and prejudiced," Mr Vlok said in a reply to a question tabled in the House of Assembly by Mr Tian van der Merwe (PFP, Green Point).

He said the sub judice rule was normally respected by professional people.

"The South African Police adheres strictly to the sub judice rule and I believe we are justified in expecting any other professional person or those who hold our judicial system in high esteem, to do the same," Mr Vlok said.

Soon after Mr Kriel's death, it was reported that the pathologist for the family had found that he had been shot in the back at point-blank range, he had a three-centimetre laceration on his forehead, the right side of his head was bruised and there were abrasions on his right upper arm, left shoulder and chin.

In reply to another question by Mr Van der Merwe, Mr Vlok said the police acted in accordance with the agreement reached with a delegation of church leaders at Mr Kriel's funeral on July 16.

Restrictions were imposed on the funeral "because the South African Police had information at their disposal that laws could possibly be violated and the safety of the public and public order could have been endangered."

After the funeral, the independent MP for Claremont, Mr Jan van Eck, accused the police of breaking the agreement with the church leaders.

Somehow  
26/8/87

(11A)

(scribble)

# 'Blacks denied equal rights'

**BLACKS** are justified to refuse conscription into the army that defended apartheid in a country that denied them equal rights, Mr Popo Simon Molefe, general secretary of the UDF told the Pretoria Supreme Court.

Mr Molefe, who has been in the witness box for four weeks, also testified that the continued occupation of Namibia by the South African Forces "is draining our financial resources which could have been used to develop our country."

The Namibian people, Mr Molefe added, had a right to govern themselves.

The witness said a substantial amount of money received through the general sales tax was used by the Government to unnecessarily build vast arsenals of weapons. This money, Mr Molefe said, could instead have been used to subsidise foodstuffs, housing and transport.

The UDF was concerned about the cost of living and the GST, the court heard.

"This money could be spent where it was needed most if there was no apartheid in South Africa," Mr Molefe told the court.

He rejected propositions by Mr B P Jacobs SC, for the State that the UDF was linked with the banned African National Congress and that they had continued with the struggle for the ANC.

(Proceeding)



THE resignation of the leader of the Labour Party, Reverend Allan Hendrickse, from Cabinet this week did not fool anybody, the Azanian People's Organisation said yesterday.

Mr Muntu Myeza, national publicity secretary of Azapo, said in a statement that Mr Hendrickse still retained all his functions as "one of the chief collaborators with the system".

## Nobody is fooled says Azapo

Mr Myeza said the "latest charade" demonstrated that no person could hope to influence or negotiate with the system in its own territory from a position of weakness.

"Secondly, much as Mr Hendrickse would like to eat his cake and

still have it, it is clear that one needs a very long spoon to sup with the devil.

"Many people have undergone painful experiences because of his insistence in participating in this dummy parliament. Azapo has

always maintained that Government-created platforms are not instruments for change," Mr Myeza said.

At the same time, the Southern Transvaal region of Azapo has called on Mr Hendrickse and his party to go the

whole hog by discontinuing their participation in the tricameral Parliament.

Mr Thabo Ndabeni, secretary of the region, said yesterday Mr Hendrickse's resignation highlighted one factor in the "politics of co-option". It was either one

towed the line or got shown the door.

"The futility of the strategy of trying to change the system has been exposed. P W Botha knows that participation in the two houses (of Representatives and Delegates) are vulnerable

because they (MPs) were not elected by the majority of the people they purport to represent," Mr Ndabeni said.

He said victory was certain outside Parliament.

"We therefore reiterate our call that the Houses of Delegates and Representatives gracefully refrain from participating and let the white Parliament fumble alone," he said.

The crisis facing the Government after Rev Allan Hendrickse's resignation from the Cabinet raises complex questions for President Botha. PROFESSOR GERHARD ERASMUS of the Department of Public Law, Stellenbosch University, analyses the constitutional consequences.

ARKUS 26/8/87

30/8/87 11A

# 1989 election issue: PW needs Hendrickse

**W**HAT are the consequences of the resignation from the Cabinet by the Rev Allan Hendrickse? It seems safe to assume that the honeymoon between the Government and the Labour Party is over, that is, if Mr Hendrickse makes true his promise to adopt a more aggressive approach.

One of the steps envisaged by Mr Hendrickse is to scuttle the State President's plan to postpone the general elections to 1992. Is he in a position to do so?

The answer depends on the powers of the House of Representatives and the process in terms of which the Constitution itself can be amended. Since the adoption of the 1983 Constitution and the inclusion of coloureds and Indians in Parliament, the adoption of laws is of course based on a division of legislative matters into general and own affairs.

## Empowered

Bills on "own affairs" are disposed of by the House of the population group in question. Such bills must be accompanied by a certificate issued by the State President in order to ensure that one population group does not interfere in the affairs of another.

Ordinary general affairs legislation might be adopted in spite of the fact that one or even two of the Houses oppose it. This can be achieved because the State President is empowered to refer such a Bill or the different versions thereof to the President's Council for its decision. (He may, however, also decide to withdraw it).

The President's Council

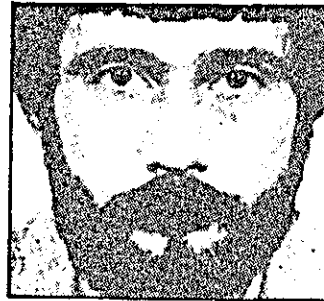
may then decide which version is to be presented to the State President and its choice "should be deemed to have been passed by Parliament." It should be added that the composition of the President's Council is such that together the State President and the National Party, which is the majority party in the House of Assembly, appoints and elects 35 out of the 60 President's Council members.

Decisions by this body are taken by an ordinary majority of the members present. It is therefore clear that opposition by the House of Representatives or Delegates cannot prevent adoption of ordinary general affairs bills. There is even provision that if one or two Houses should boycott Parliament, that Parliament shall then consist of the remaining house or houses.

The issue of the postponement of the general election does however raise another important constitutional point. The South African Constitution is not like, for example, its American counterpart which is really the supreme law of the land.

It is, but for two basic qualifications, very much like an ordinary Act of Parliament that can be changed like any other statute. It is stated in one of its clauses that "Parliament may by law repeal or amend any provision of this Act".

The only qualifications concern the protected status of the two official languages and the requirements set by Section 99 (3) of the Constitution. Afrikaans and English are en-



Prof Erasmus

trenched as the official languages and this can only be altered through a Bill that "has been agreed to in every House by not less than two thirds of the total number of its members." Section 99 (3) lists a number of provisions of the Constitution that are also to some degree entrenched.

They can only be repealed or amended through a Bill that "has been agreed to in every House by a majority of the total number of its members." The duration of Parliament, which is five years, is included in this list. (The other such provisions deal with the election of the State President, the definition of own and general affairs, the composition of the executive branch of government, the legislative process, the constitution of the various houses of Parliament, franchise requirements, joint committees, and certain aspects of the President's Council.)

The period of five years will have expired in 1989 and unless all these Houses agree to a constitutional change and therefore to a prolongation of the life of Parliament, the general elections cannot be postponed to 1992. Since Mr

Hendrickse's Labour Party enjoys a clear majority in the House of Representatives, no such amendment of the Constitution is possible without his party's support.

The fact that a white election has taken place this year cannot satisfy the constitutional requirement if only the other two population groups go to the polls in 1989. Parliament consists of all three Houses. The constitution states quite explicitly that "Parliament shall continue for five years." The State President is, however, empowered to dissolve Parliament at any earlier date.

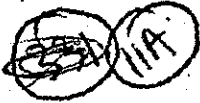
## Requirements

It could also be added that a Supreme Court is competent to decide questions related to the procedural requirements (not merits) that apply to the adoption of laws. An Act that has therefore been adopted in a manner contrary to the procedural requirements of the Constitution, may be declared void by the Supreme Court.

This episode has also shed light on the constitutional implications for those Cabinet ministers who are not members of the party in control of the Cabinet.

In the past and under the Westminster system Cabinet members all belonged to the same party and stood under party and caucus discipline. Under such a system the principal of collective ministerial responsibility made good sense. This has changed fundamentally now and has resulted in an unenviable position for people such as Mr Hendrickse.

# UDF official 'will go on criticising SA laws'



Pretoria Correspondent

SA 26/8/87

The general secretary of the United Democratic Front (UDF) yesterday told the Pretoria Supreme Court he had criticised South Africa's security laws in the past, and would do so in the future as long as they operated as they did.

Mr Popo Molefe (35) is standing trial with 18 other high-ranking members of the UDF, Azapo and local civic organisations. They have pleaded not guilty to the main charge of treason and to the alternative charges of murder, subversion and terrorism.

He said many organisations and people had criticised the security laws — both in and out of Parliament.

He referred to long periods of detention without trial and to detainees' rights to visits from legal representatives, saying those who had been subjected to the laws knew "what goes on".

The State is attempting to prove the UDF conspired with the African National Congress and the South African Communist Party to overthrow the Government.

Mr Molefe said the UDF did not subscribe to the Freedom Charter, although many of its affiliates did.

He said the UDF had not identified the issues of black housing, the economy, general sales tax and the rising cost of living as ways of building up anger and politicising the masses, but rather as social problems that had to be dealt with.

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# Police responsible for Nchabeleng death

W/Mania  
21-7-81

A SESHEGO inquest magistrate this week found that nine members of Lebowa police's Mankweng riot unit caused the death of UDF leader Peter Nchabeleng, 59, who died within 12 hours of his arrest on April 11 last year.

The Nchabeleng family lawyer, Nic Haysom, said dockets handed to the magistrate, CN Nkweonyane, by Warrant Officer Molapo included statements by the riot police which he (Molapo) knew were false and which concealed Nchabeleng's interrogation.

Haysom said his firm intend to request the attorney general to investigate not only the actions of the policemen who assaulted the UDF leader but also those who conducted the investigation into his death. "It appears from the evidence and the findings that the investigating officer's efforts had the effect of concealing who assaulted Nchabeleng as well as the circumstances of the assault," he said.

Counsel for the Nchabeleng family, Bob Nugent, argued that police "at a very high level" attempted to conceal the identity of those responsible for Nchabeleng's death.

Nugent said the police failed to make enquiries or give an explanation

By THAMI MKHWANAZI

until three months after the death. Molapo only investigated the riot unit after he had received the post-mortem report which indicated there had been a severe assault. Yet no mention of assault or interrogation appeared in any of the statements he had taken.

Findings of the post-mortem conducted by the chief state pathologist, Professor Johan David Laubser, revealed that Nchabeleng's body was so covered with lashes that it was not possible to distinguish one lash mark from another. There were more than 25 lash marks.

The width of the tram marks indicated that two kinds of instruments were used.

The beatings had caused subcutaneous bleeding. The loss of blood was so intense that Nchabeleng had lost consciousness. He had inhaled vomit which had blocked his respiratory system.

The Detainees' Parents Support Committee said in a statement it was "no good for the South African government to claim that it is not responsible for Nchabeleng's death merely because it happened in Lebowa". It was "that type of attitude" which gave homeland police "total license".

# Namibian court orders strikers out

By MARK VERBAAN

A WINDHOEK Supreme Court judge this week ordered the eviction of more than 3 000 dismissed mine-workers from the hostels at three mines in Namibia.

A dispute between the entire workforce of Tsumeb Corporation Ltd and mine management concerning wages, racial discrimination and poor living conditions broke out late last month.

More than 4 000 TCL workers from the mines at Tsumeb, Otjihase and Kombat downed tools after negotiations failed. TCL management also refused to talk to the Mineworkers Union of Namibia, saying that the union was not representative.

Goldfields of South Africa, the majority shareholders in TCL, then announced the dismissal of the striking workers. The miners refused to accept their dismissal and continued to occupy the mine hostels.

The result was a legal battle in the Windhoek Supreme Court last Friday, with TCL management applying for an eviction order. Respondents in the matter were 3 010 workers still living on mine premises.

During the hearing, counsel for the workers, Ian Farlam, stressed they had temporarily withheld their labour because there was a material breach of contract on their employers' part.

## FOR THE RECORD



FIRST-EVER DETAILS IN A  
SOUTH AFRICAN NEWSPAPER

# MY YEARS ON ROBBEN ISLAND

Journalist THAMI MKHWANAZI, recently released after seven years in prison, continues his series on life behind the cell doors of Robben Island prison. This week: profiles of some famous political prisoners on the Island

ON Robben Island, Section-B held those the prison authorities considered the leadership of all political organisations on the Island, including not only the ANC but also the PAC, the Black Consciousness Movement and Swapo.

I had been on the Island for just over two years when I was transferred to B-Section, following a raid on A-Section, where prison officials found some letters which I had received from Nelson Mandela and failed to destroy.

Despite the leadership role played, even in prison, by the Rivonia trialists and the fact that they were regarded with awe by many members of the Prisons Service, they were treated no differently from the rest of the inmates in Sections A and B. They participated equally in the cleaning of their section, although those who were considered too old for heavy work were given light tasks by the community. Their rations were the same as other inmates, except for individuals who were on medical diets.

However, there was one way in which all inmates in Sections A and B were treated differently from the other inmates on the Island. Whereas prisoners from other sections would go out to do carpentry, painting, building and all sorts of work around the prison, the A and B-Section people did not work, except in the *phaka span* (the dishing up team) or in their own cleaning spans.

In fact it was our impression that the prison officials didn't want us to work because from time to time we would get injured and for a minor injury we would demand proper medical treatment. Some among us had been doctors. So to the prison authorities it was a blessing that we refused to work.

The ANC leadership always wore a smile, despite the intransigence of the Prisons Service. Since the Sixties they had worked together with cadres of other political organisations in tackling problems with the authorities. Indeed, rivalry between leaders of the ANC and those, like Zeph Mothopeng of the PAC, was hardly noticeable. Irrespective of political affiliation, inmates stood united whenever prison authority was being challenged.

It was this unity which made Robben Island different from mainland prisons. There were exceptions, of course. But only rarely did anyone go on a hunger strike, for example, that had not been debated at length and agreed to by the community. Goals and strategy were determined democratically.

It was in B-Section that I met Rivonia trialist Govan Mbeki, now 77, who has spent 23 years on the Island. The father of the ANC's director of information, Thabo Mbeki, he is known as "Zizi" — his clan name — to his fellow prisoners and as "Gevangene 21/67" to the warders.

Govan Mbeki never went to film shows and watched television only for the news. He never went to

church. He was notorious from the state's point of view for what they considered his uncompromising communist leanings. Yet at weekends this same Mbeki would strum his guitar and play Afrikaans folk songs like "*Hasie, hoekom is jou stert so kort ...*" and "*Jan pierewiet staan stil ... goeie môre my vrou, goeie môre my man ... daar is koffie in die kan.*"

Mbeki had developed a strange habit of switching off the lights whenever he saw one on. Most people just attributed this habit to old age. But we were told that in the early Sixties, when he arrived, the authorities insisted that all the lights be turned off during the night and when they were not needed. Since B-Section inmates refused to be ordered around by warders, Mbeki had been assigned the task of turning them off.

Since that time, Mbeki would walk through the corridors and switch off any lights that were on. Sometimes when it was cloudy and there was not enough sunlight coming in to read, he would walk along the corridor past your cell and switch your light off, just from habit. Later he would say, "Sorry, Comrade".

This habit was made more poignant by the trouble he has had with his vision. Ten years ago, the authorities began sending him to a specialist in Cape Town, who prescribed spectacles and eye drops. At the beginning of the Eighties, as his sight began to blur, he was sent to another specialist at Woodstock Hospital, who diagnosed glaucoma. His eyes were oper-



Thami Mkhwanazi atoned in 1983. Two years later, the left eye developed a cataract; an artificial lens was implanted.

At the time of my release in March, Mbeki was using eye drops again, and one of the inmates — Theo Cholo — had to read for him, because if he read for as long as an hour his eyes would need a long rest.

Mbeki's task was to clean the cell windows. He did it almost daily with a cloth and water — comparatively light work because he was one of those prisoners whom the community had exempted from hard work by virtue of his age. Mandela, whom we called by his clan name, Madhiba, was also exempted, as was Walter Sisulu.

My cell in B-Section was directly opposite that of Swapo leader Herman Toivo ja Toivo. He was the only member of Swapo in the section; the



Toivo ja Toivo pictured with Allan Boesak shortly after the Swapo leader's release from Robben Island

rest of the Swapo inmates were housed in D-Section.

Toivo was as tall as Madhiba. He was bald and wore a full grey beard. He and Mbeki still wore prison-issue knee-length trousers, instead of long pants; Toivo would not change to more "formal" dress, even for visits.

He was militant and hostile to members of the Prisons Service. He refused to appear before the institutional board for classification, thereby denying himself any chance of upgrading so he could buy food or subscribe to newspapers.

He, like me, was forbidden access to newspapers. But prisoners who had the right to subscribe to newspapers would take some of them to the courtyard and we would assemble there, sitting in the courtyard as if we were enjoying ourselves. Two inmates would read the highlights of their respective newspapers, in turn, then some of the longer pieces.

He was the only inmate outside the Freedom Charter camp who had access to the camp's political syllabi; his political views were in concert with those of the Charterists.

Almost on a daily basis we sat outside analysing the Namibian struggle and its relation to the South African struggle. A master in Namibian politics, he read extensively from voluminous books borrowed from the pris-

on library.

Tight security in B-Section made it virtually impossible for us to communicate with prisoners of other sections, but from time to time Toivo would peer through the bathroom windows and engage in a lengthy discussion with Swapo inmates doing work outside.

He had the habit of saying "unlucky" whenever an inmate was faced with a problem.

I also met PAC leader "Uncle" Zeph Lekoama Mothopeng in B-Section. Bending forwards, he would pace up and down the courtyard, humming Mozart, often *Eine Kleine Nachtmusik* — he was a former schoolteacher who had also taught music. He subscribed to the Afrikaans newspaper, *Rapport*; I used to slip out of film shows and visit his cell to glean a few articles from it. We chatted, but I would leave whenever I sensed he was about to engage in politics with fellow PAC inmates walking into his cell.

At 74, Mothopeng is serving a 15-year sentence; and when I was transferred to Johannesburg Prison at Diepkloof he was there. It became known he had cancer of the throat, which led to attempts to secure his release on medical grounds, but these attempts have failed so far.

# Minister denies reports of ANC leader's release

Cape Times 27/8/82 11A

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

AS rumours of veteran ANC leader Mr Govan Mbeki's release from prison spread like wildfire from Lusaka to Cape Town last night, the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, stepped in with an "it's not true" disclaimer.

And the chief prisons service spokesman responded to a flood of queries about the possible release of the Rivonia trialist with: "We are not prepared to answer to hallucinations and the creation of stories based on rumour."

Expectation surrounding the release of Mr Mbeki reached fever pitch early yesterday evening as the Cape Times newsdesk was inundated with calls from around the world. Foreign news agencies had Lear jets on

standby; and at least one journalist travelled to a remote Transkei village where some of the ANC leader's family live.

A number of government sources dismissed the speculation as inaccurate or premature before the minister finally waded in with: "The rumours that Mr Mbeki has been released are not true."

Last year foreign and local journalists camped outside Pollsmoor Prison in Cape Town for over a week when rumours were rife concerning the release of ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela.

The latest air of expectation surrounding the release of Mr Mbeki has been sparked by the announcement in Parliament by President P W Botha that he had asked Mr Coetsee to "give attention" to the case of ANC leader.

Argus 27/8/87

# Murdered Idasa boss 'not ANC'

Argus Africa  
News Service

LUSAKA. — Mr Eric Mntonga, the murdered co-director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa), was not a member of the African National Congress, the banned organisation said today.

In a statement the ANC said Mr Mntonga became known to the ANC only after his death, as did his association with Idasa.

The allegation that Mr Mntonga was in an ANC cadre was broadcast by Radio Nigeria.

The leader of the Idasa delegation which met the ANC in Dakar, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, has denied that Mr Mntonga helped to organise the trip.



BATH TOWELS

11A 27/8/89

FOR SUBSCRIPTION INQUIRIES — TELEPHC

# Repression will spur resistance warns professor

**GRAHAMSTOWN** — Revolution in South Africa was a process, not an event, the professor of political studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, Professor Alf Stadler, said here last night.

He predicted a change of regime in ten to 15 year's time.

There would be no fundamental change but more a fundamental transformation, possibly to some form of a more socialist regime, Professor Stadler said.

He is the author of a newly published work, *The Political Economy of South Africa*.

Professor Stadler said state reform might be seen as responses to a revolt, an intervening to modify fundamental changes.

The contemporary crisis was caused by the changing relations between capital and labour. There were symptoms of serious corrosion of unstable homelands, including the "showpiece" national states which had leadership crises.

The wave of strikes all had their roots in the pace and form of revolutionary struggles.

"1987 will cast a long shadow, with repression used to break rebellion and the state's counter-revolution," Professor Stadler said.

Repression had the effect of broadening and stiffening resistance, he warned.

It was also extraordinary what resilience some organisations had shown in withstanding the repressive powers of the state.

The recession had contributed to a massive increase in unemployment. There was also a decline in employment opportunities.

Professor Stadler said the belated decolonisation of the Portuguese territories, particularly Angola, had caused

South Africa to expand its operations.

South African blacks had then seen that political change could be brought about through the use of force.

The use of the military externally had resulted in the extension of its use internally.

"On both sides there is now a willingness to take more risks, particularly among young African intellectuals," he said.

The struggle had also enabled the African National Congress to shorten its lines of communication.

On the home front there was the chronic problem of financing local government services.

Professor Stadler said that during the 1970s the sales of traditional beer had fallen off. This caused a crisis of falling revenue, escalating demands and high inflation.

The concept of regional government was seen as providing new sources of revenue.

Elected bodies had now become appointed bodies. It was an obvious move: to remove key decision-making from the arena of direct attack by party-political groups.

On military options, Professor Stadler said those who believe there was military rule were probably right but military intervention would not radically transform the real crisis.

"Military intervention makes it more difficult to generate reform," he said.

The military base for the struggle for power was considerably advanced. The far right were already making advances to the military.

"If the military respond to these advances as they did in 1914 they will have no compunction in shooting their cousins," he said.

# EEC rejects ANC-front claim

PIETERMARITZBURG — The End Conscription Campaign (ECC) has rejected an SABC-TV programme linking them with the banned African National Congress (ANC).

A spokesman, Mr Gary Cullen, said the ECC took strong exception to the "puerile and incorrect attempt" to present the ECC as an ANC front.

"It is not the ANC which gave rise to the ECC, but the system of conscription itself.

"The ECC represents a significant sector of the white community who are unwilling to take up arms to defend apartheid. We believe that talks such as those held in Dakar can contribute to a peace based on justice."

Mr Cullen said the "political pundits" of the SABC seemed threatened by the idea of talks with the enemy.

He said he hoped the government and the SABC would realise the need to talk "before too many lives are lost." — DDC



DD

B/27/7/87

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# Dakar meeting showed the way for future conferences

Carl Tink 27/12/7



**London Dateline**  
By STANLEY UYO

THE entire contents of a recent issue of Third World Quarterly, a London-based publication, are devoted to South Africa — all 380 pages. There are 14 articles, most written by academics, and reviews of 43 books and assorted publications on South Africa.

The fact that a substantial journal such as Third World Quarterly can set aside a whole issue for a discussion of South African affairs shows how intensely interested the Third World is in South Africa. There is even a translation of "Nkosi Sikelel' i-Afrika" for those who want to join in the singing.

The interest is not confined to the third world though.

Writing and talking about South Africa is an international growth industry. South Africa has seldom been out of the news over the past 39 years of National Party rule but I wonder whether there has ever been such an outpouring of words as there is now.

New books on South African subjects appear in bookshops all the time and I have several recent ones on my shelves that escaped review in the Third World Quarterly. Increasingly over the past few years academics have been weighing in with major contributions, almost as if they are making up for lost time.

Some of these contributions have been very impressive indeed; others not so.

Recently the emphasis has been shifting from discussion of present-day South Africa to discussion of what a future South Africa could look like — a 2001 Space Odyssey. Those who have been reading this literature can now say they have seen the future and

**Dakar, Senegal ... a rare meeting-point for Afrikaner and African nationalism. State President Botha's refusal to talk to anybody who holds opposing views should not inhibit others. The meeting of the two groups is essential to a peaceful resolution of conflict.**



it works — or looks as if it could work.

Conferences on South Africa are also very much in fashion. Conferences, seminars, group discussions — walk into almost any European capital or major North American city and you will find one in progress.

South Africans would be surprised to discover how much information flows across these conference tables — information to which they might not have access themselves, particularly on Southern Africa.

London continues to sustain its reputation as a sorting house for information on Africa. Not only does the news flow through here in an uninterrupted stream but also the newsmakers come and go in endless procession.

Some discussions, of course, are uninformed and superficial but one can always learn something. Most of it, too, is remarkably objective.

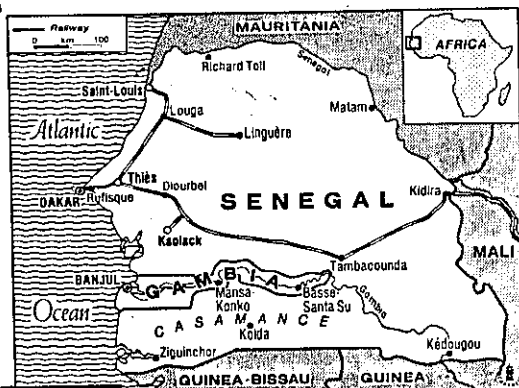
The image many South Africans have of international conferences as places where South Africa is dismembered limb by limb is simply not true.

Naturally, there are other conferences whose purpose is not to impart information but to rally the liberation troops. These are instantly recognizable by the flow of adjectives. It is never "the South African Government" but always "the racist regime"; never "Renamo rebels", but always "Botha's bandits".

These speeches are meant to promote solidarity in the ranks, a perfectly legitimate aim, but sometimes I find them very tiresome. They become a substitute for the cerebral process.

Many of the conferences and seminars are still all-white affairs. White foreigners and white South Africans sit around and chew the fat. Sometimes it just happens this way, because the whites unthinkingly don't see any need for a black perspective. At other times it is not easy to find black participants.

This is beginning to change now because the ANC is emerging from purdah to take part in an



increasing number of conferences. It still sometimes plays hard-to-get and it has its list of people with whom it will not be seen in public, such as Inkatha (although Inkatha's new London representative Ben Skosana appeared on a radio programme the other day with a member of the ANC's executive committee).

Sometimes, too, the ANC feels — no doubt with justification — that some of the conferences are a waste of time.

However, the other omission from international conferences on South Africa which has not been corrected is the absence of Pretoria's spokesmen and/or Afrikaner nationalists. It's a bit like Hamlet without the Prince.

This is why, I believe, the Dakar conference was such a success. The structure was right: African nationalists on one side and Afrikaners on the other. Admittedly there were not many rawboned Afrikaner nationalists in the South African team but they were Afrikaners, the closest any major conference has come to bringing the two real adversaries, African and Afrikaner nationalists, together, eyeball to eyeball.

The Dakar conference seems to be inspiring all sorts of follow-up conferences — a huge one in New York at the end of September. Herr Genscher's rumoured one for the spring of 1988 in West Germany, and so forth.

Dakar certainly has caught the international imagination and now everybody's doing it, except of course Mr P.W. Botha, who apparently tangoes with no one these days.

None of these conferences, however, will achieve the chemistry of the Dakar conference if they don't bring Africans and Afrikaners together. This is what the power play in South Africa is all about. This is why Slabbert got Dakar right.

Of course it is not easy to bring Africans and Afrikaners together. Pretoria keeps its distance: as the Afrikaners say "hy vat aan dit met langtande". Also, having

identified the ANC as the principal enemy (the Great Satan as the Iranians would say), it can't readily sit around a conference table with it, even with a neutral chairman such as the president of a US foundation or a West European foreign minister, presiding over the exchange of views.

But I also encounter a reluctance among some conference and seminar organizers to engage the Afrikaners. It is almost as if they feel the presence of apartheid supporters will taint their conference; that they will be seen as admitting apartheid has a right to be heard; that it enjoys at least a conference legitimacy.

This holier-than-thou attitude can be tiresome, too. The idea that the South African conflict can be resolved without engaging Afrikaner nationalists is fanciful. No conference can be meaningful until it has African nationalists on one side and Afrikaner nationalists on the other, speaking their minds.

Perhaps the time has come, then, for international conferences on apartheid to raise themselves to a new level. They must persuade African nationalists to talk to other Africans and both must be persuaded to talk to Afrikaner nationalists.

No one is suggesting this will be easy. Each side has its own proud position, its list of who it is prepared to talk to and under what conditions.

One is talking here about international conferences, not about African nationalists serving on President Botha's National Council. The internal situation is another tactical game altogether. That will come later, but conferences held outside South Africa can serve the very useful purpose of bringing together groups and individuals who cannot meet each other with any comfort inside South Africa.

This is what the Dakar conference did and this is the model which should be followed. Foreign conference-goers cannot go on talking to each other forever.

# LP heckles Heunis as he defends Botha

By ORMANDE POLLOK  
Political Staff

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. — Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Planning and Development, yesterday strongly defended the State President, Mr P W Botha, in the face of heckling here from Labour Party members.

Still sensitive about the tongue-lashing Mr Botha gave them last week and the forced resignation from the cabinet of party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse, Labour MPs constantly fired interjections.

But Mr Heunis defended Mr Botha as the "only man" with the courage and ability to undertake reform.

Mr Botha had instituted more changes than anyone before him and he had been prepared to allow the National Party to split because of the rights he believed other people should have.

Labour members had defended their leader, and he saw nothing wrong with that.

"But members must allow me to do the same."

The present constitution was not the end of the process, Mr Heunis said. The government was committed to black participation at the highest level.

Members were clearly enthusiastic when Mr Heunis started to deal with the Group Areas Act and a member immediately interjected that the law itself was discriminatory.

He said the government was totally against discrimination on grounds of race, ethnicity or colour but provoked rounds of interjections when he said there could be "justifiable differentiation".

Much progress had been made in the dismantling of discrimination in the past three years.

"We are not at a standstill," he said.

Mr Hendrickse: "Are we back to 1948 yet?"

Mr Heunis: "We are long past it."

Mr Hendrickse: "We are not there yet."

Mr Heunis later said South Africa was in a life-and-death struggle against violent revolution and he believed the best way to survive was to end discrimination.

Interjection: "Then apartheid laws must go."

Mr Heunis said there could not be change in an atmosphere of violence.

"Government by consent is the government's ultimate goal and this was also the LP's goal," he said.

There was more to democracy than simply counting votes, he said, to which a member interjected: "The hearts and minds."

cess of negotiation, Mr Botha said

## Curry spurns 'suicide'

THE Minister of Local Government, Housing and Agriculture in the House of Representatives, Mr David Curry, said he was not prepared "to commit political suicide" by serving on the cabinet. The LP minister was reacting to press speculation that he may be lured on to President P W Botha's cabinet following the resignation of LP leader Mr Allan Hendrickse. "I stand by my leader Allan Hendrickse," Mr Curry said yesterday.

CAP Times 27/8/87

11A

CAP Times 27/8/87 11A



ARG 28/87

## Squatter leaders welcome plan to find more land

Staff Reporter

TALKS on the troubled question of land allocation in Crossroads have been held between provincial representatives and leaders of squatter communities driven out in last year's fighting.

Leaders of the Masincedane, Portland Cement, Nyanga Bush and Nyanga Extension squatter groups met Mr Koos Theron, MEC for local government, and Mr G Lawrence, deputy director of Community Services yesterday.

At a Press conference afterwards, the leaders said they welcomed a statement that there was no intention of forcing communities to move to Khayelitsha.

They were encouraged to hear of the Provincial Administration's attempts to find additional land in the vicinity to solve the land and housing problems.

A memorandum outlining the communities' standpoint was delivered at the meeting. They rejected the concept of forced removals and stated their opposition to moving to Khayelitsha.

It was "completely unacceptable" that Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana should decide on allocation of land in Crossroads.

**Sakburger-Hof**

**Police major dies**

Staff Reporter

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First of the 32 to face gallows on Tuesday

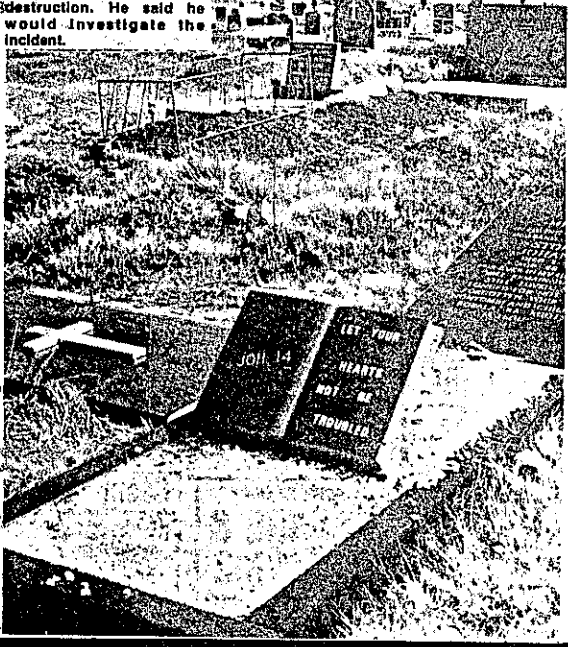
# DATE WITH HANGMAN

11A Sowetan 28/8/87

MORE than 100 tombstones at Soweto's Avalon cemetery have been damaged by vandals.

The destruction took place over the past few weeks. It appears as if the vandals concentrated on the more expensive-looking tombstones. In some cases it looks as if a heavy hammer was used to damage the memorials. Some of the tombstones are those of Mr Donald Mlambo, Mrs Emily Tsolo, Mr Petros Magagula, Mrs Maggie Macasa, Mr Raphael Mapanga and Mr Nelson Nkonyana. They were buried from about 1975, 1976 and 1977. When approached for comment by the Sowetan, the head of the Soweto Council's cemetery section, Mr G Watson, said it was the first time he had heard of the destruction. He said he would investigate the incident.

## Vandals go on the rampage at Avalon cemetery



By NAT DISEKO

TWO men, Wellington Mielies and Moses Jantjies are to be hanged in Pretoria on Tuesday for their part in the killing of Uitenhage councillor and undertaker, Mr Thamsanqa Kinikini.

The two are among the 32 people on death row who the South African Youth Congress and other organisations are campaigning for their lives to be spared.

Yesterday, Mr D Scholtz, senior registrar of the Supreme Court said the two condemned men had been informed they would be hanged on Tuesday. The families of the two and their lawyers had also been informed.

Mr Kinikini's mortuary was set alight by an angry mob nearly three years ago. He and his son, Luvuyo, tried to escape from the blaze but were caught and clubbed with stones and set alight.

"Out of respect for all parties concerned, I will say nothing more than that," Mr Scholtz said.

### Condemn

A spokesman for the Northern Transvaal Youth Congress, an affiliate of Sayco, said his organisation condemned the imminent hangings in the strongest terms.

He said: "The blame should be put at the door of the apartheid regime. We call upon the international community to throw its weight behind the 'Save the 32' campaign."

A spokesman for the Detainees' Parents'

• To Page 3

## Date with the hangman

said the hanging was an act of fascism and must be condemned by all peace-loving people the world over.

Sayco called upon the community to hold prayer services on the evening of Tuesday and everybody to wear an armband in colours black, green, gold and red, which are the colours of the organisation.

The organisation also sent a message of "hope and comfort" to the families of the two men.

of the organisations which support the campaign to save the 32 said yesterday that Fedtraw strongly condemned the intention of the Government to hang Mielies and Jantjies.

"We hope the Government will reconsider the sentence of death passed against all people who are involved in a struggle for peace. Capital punishment is barbaric," Mrs Mlangeni said.

Meanwhile the South African Youth Congress

• From Page 1 Support Committee said yesterday: "We can only regard the execution as the victims, the prisoners — if you will — of a situation in this country that is not of their making. "We fully support the call for the reprieve of the 32."

Mrs June Mlangeni, vice-president of the Federation of Transvaal Women (Fedtraw), one

11A (Sowetan)



Press curbs — See Page 3

Where you get what you ask for.

GREY PERSPECTIVES 43057/02011

11A (18) B/Dwy 28/8/87

**LONDON —** Three men accused of plotting to kidnap ANC leaders in London and fly them back to SA made a sensational claim yesterday that the British government was involved in the case.

Frank Larsen, 53, his son John, 28, believed by the police to be Zimbabweans, and Briton John Wheatley, 28, said they would supply documentary and other evidence to reveal the "full extent of British government involvement in this case and other projects".

In a statement read to a Press conference by their solicitor John

**IAN HOBBS**

Fiddler, they denied "totally" the charge that they conspired with others between September 1986 and July this year to kidnap top ANC officials.

The Larsens, from Aldershot, and Wheatley, from Guildford, also claimed they had no connection whatsoever with the SA government or any of its agencies.

However, the three men said they were involved with Seychelles exiles in Britain and this was "well-known to the British

government and is documented".

The three said the purpose of their statement was to gain publicity to help trace witnesses in the case.

At the request of their counsel, Ben Conlan, restrictions on media reporting the case in Britain were lifted for the first time.

The twist to the alleged plot came after the three and a fourth accused, Evan Dennis Evans, 49, appeared under armed escort at Lambeth High Security Court in London and were further remanded in custody for a week.

# UK govt involved in kidnap plot — claim

*CAM Tuis 28/8/87* (13) (11) (25)

From IAN HOBBS

LONDON. — Three men accused of plotting to kidnap ANC leaders in London and fly them back to South Africa claimed yesterday that the British government was involved in the case.

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In a statement, they denied "totally" the charge that they conspired with others between September 1986 and July this year to kidnap top ANC officials — including the movement's president, Mr Oliver Tambo, and Mr

Joe Slovo, leader of the military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe.

The Larsens, from Aldershot in Hampshire, and Wheatley, from Guildford in Kent, also claimed that they had no connection whatsoever with Pretoria or any of its agencies.

However, the three men said they were involved with Seychelles exiles in Britain and this was "well known to the British government".

At earlier hearings the court was told that they and a fourth accused, Mr Evan Dennis Evans, 49, were arrested in separate raids in mid-July and held under the terms of Britain's Prevention of Terrorism Act.

At their separate homes police found forged passports, forged warrant cards and masses of documents.

A large number of weapons and ammunition as well as forged documents were found at Mr Evans's home, but he told police

they were largely useless antique and collectors' weapons.

The court was told that Mr Evans, a former senior officer and sabotage expert in the Rhodesian and South African defence forces, had been asked by a wealthy South African described as "the fifth man" to blow up the ANC headquarters in London and to help kidnap leading members. Mr Evans, a qualified solicitor and former Royal Air Force officer, said he told the alleged plotters to "get lost".

He alleged that the "fifth man" is Mr Johan Niemoller, a wealthy Afrikaans businessman of Uppington. Scotland Yard is allegedly trying to obtain a statement from Mr Niemoller.

Spokesmen for Scotland Yard have declined to comment on any aspect of the case — including allegations by Mr Evans that the alleged kidnapping plot had connections with a planned coup in the Seychelles.

## Stalemate broken as RSC, squatters meet

*CP/1-12-15 28/10/82/119*  
Staff Reporter

A 14-MONTH stalemate was broken yesterday when squatter leaders from greater Guguletu met the MEC in charge of Hospital, Health and Community Services, Mr Koos Theron.

The stalemate had resulted from squatter leaders' refusal to negotiate living conditions with the government-recognized Cape Town Town Committee (CTTC). However Mr Theron stressed after the meeting that the leaders would still have to "reach some understanding" with the conservative CTTC under Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana.

The meeting resulted in Mr Theron appointing a representative of his regional office to liaise with the squatter leadership.

CA 116 Tom's 28/8/77 11A

**Own Correspondent**

**MORE THAN 250** enthusiastic Labour Party supporters jammed into the Port Elizabeth airport to serenade their leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, on his arrival there last night.

Mr Hendrickse, who on Monday resigned as a cabinet minister, was visibly moved when a welcoming committee of about 250 people erupted into song and jostled to congratulate him. He was then carried shoulder-high through the terminal.

The crowd burst into applause when Mr Hendrickse told them he had "walked a long and lonely road, but am now back with you (his people)".

Mr Hendrickse is in the Eastern Cape to address a Labour Party meeting on Tuesday night for the LP candidate for Gelvandale in the coming by-election, Mr Mia Loonat.

In an interview, the LP leader said

# Hendrickse gets hero's homecoming

the turnout indicated that his people were "right behind me and support my decision to leave the cabinet".

On his resignation Mr Hendrickse said: "From the time the State President launched his humiliating attack on me in Parliament last Wednesday I began to experience a sense of release — but since my decision to resign I have felt the most enormous sense of unshackling."

A policeman recorded the proceedings on video.

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## PIENADE

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Rejecting Mr Watson's evidence.  
Cape Times 29/8/87 (11A) (11A) (11A)

# Girls injured as armed men attack school

By CHRIS BATEMAN

AT LEAST eight schoolgirls were treated for injuries after about 20 men allegedly armed with pangas, axes and whips stormed the Malizo High School in Khayelitsha on Thursday "to teach the boycotters a lesson".

Pupils and teachers later identified the men as "vigilantes" from the township's Site C, which falls under the leadership of Mr Mali Hoza.

A Khayelitsha doctor who treated the injured pupils said they were suffering from "weals, many of which bled, all over their bodies". He had prescribed pain-killers and sedated one hysterical Std 9 girl, identified as Miss Phumuza Dontso.

Pupils and teachers at the school said yesterday that the men arrived in three vehicles soon after 11am and approached pupils on the school grounds, asking: "Why aren't you writing tests?"

Miss Dontso said the men "just began hitting us. We tried to run to the fence, but there were others there, so we ran back into the classes. Two men came into the classes and hit us with sticks and whips. When I ran out again, one hit me on the back of the head with the blunt end of an axe. The next thing I remember was waking up in the clinic".

A Std 8 pupil, Patricia Manquasane, said the men simultaneously "asked us why we weren't writing tests and hit us".

### Pupil demands

Several pupils claimed one pupil had fallen over a top storey balcony in her haste to escape the vigilantes, identified by them as "Mr Mali Hoza's Site C men".

A senior teacher at the school who declined to be identified for fear of victimization, said that on Wednesday pupils demanded the establishment of a parent-teachers-students' association and the postponement of tests they were supposed to be writing this week.

On Thursday a teacher had delivered the pupils' demands to Mr Hoza, who was to attend a meeting with teachers later that day.

A police spokesman said that no charges had been laid but that he could "confirm that adults later identified as parents" had sjambokked the pupils.

Mr Hoza could not be traced for comment.

## ESTATE HIGHLANDS ESTATE E FUND RAISING AUCTION SALE MERZLIA MIDDLE SCHOOL

Acting on instructions of the PTA, Kenny Finberg will offer this fascinating and valuable collection of donations for the Annual Auction 8:

ON SUNDAY the rich diversity of the eggs - from the gold, dark and

# Biko film: Pretoria has the key

29/8/87  
11A

Weekend Argus Foreign Service  
LONDON. — The key to whether South Africans will be allowed to see the R40-million film Biko later this year rests in Pretoria.

For the Richard Attenborough film is based on two books by former East London newspaper editor Donald Woods ... and he is banned.

But the banning order expires in October, just one month before Biko is given its world premiere in London. And if it is not renewed, the film's producers believe it could be on South African screens early next year.

However, the ban on Mr Woods, first imposed in 1977, has already been renewed once and it could be ex-

tended again, scuppering any chances of South Africans seeing the film.

Director of publicity Mrs Diana Hawkins said: "I suppose the question of Donald's banning could be crucial. But then again, the film does have long passages of speech by Steve Biko, and he was banned too. I don't know whether a person remains banned when he's dead, do you?"

But if the film is not allowed in South Africa, it will be shown in neighbouring countries.

"It will be released throughout Africa, so I would imagine cinemas in places like Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland and Zimbabwe could do big business out of it," Mrs Hawkins said.

The R4-million budget is roughly similar to that of Sir Richard Attenborough's big box office hit Gandhi and the backers are hoping Biko will prove a similar success.

"We can only hope it will go down well and make money. This is the risk business, so the fingers are crossed," said Mrs Hawkins.

"There is a good story line, based on Donald's book about Steve Biko, and he is obviously the pivotal character. But it also takes in Donald's own autobiography Asking for Trouble."

The film runs to 2 hours 37 minutes and ends with the story of the Woods family's escape and flight to London.

"Whether it will have any impact on South Africa's image abroad, is not for us to say. We have followed the books fairly closely and believe we have a film that will arouse a lot of interest."

Mrs Hawkins said the film would open in various world capitals following the London premiere, but "not all the dates have been confirmed. What we do know is that there will be a succession of premieres until mid-March".

The film stars Americans Kevin Kline and Denzil Washington as Woods and Biko respectively, with British actress Penelope Wilton taking the role of Mrs Wendy Woods. It was shot on location in Zimbabwe and in studios in London.

## Hit squad threat to Swazi-SA links

Argus Africa News Service  
MBABANE. — The hit-squad attacks on African National Congress members in Swaziland are straining South Africa's relations with the kingdom, one of the few countries in Africa which maintains diplomatic ties with the Republic.

The Swazi government has twice in the past eight months made formal protests to South Africa about raids across the border and in May the entire Swazi cabinet stayed away from a party given by South Africa in Mbabane to celebrate Republic Day.

A filmed report on the party was cut off soon after it began running on Swazi television and was replaced without explanation with other material.

Relations between Mbabane and Pretoria are said by independent sources to have descended to the "cool but correct" level following a series of raids by mystery hit squads which have killed at least 11 ANC members in the past 12 months.

Swazi authorities reject suggestions that the raids have been carried out



Devastation after Salt River explosion

# Union house blast

11A  
21/8/87  
WJE  
Argus



Picture: JIM McLAGAN, Weekend Argus

Above: The spot where the bomb was placed — under the blackened walls in the background. The picture was taken soon after the blast at 3.03am.

Right: Ms Emma Huisman, right, of the Western Province Council of Churches, and a friend survey the spot where the explosive device was placed.

More pictures, page 3.

## EMERGENCY UPDATE

### Limpet mine may have caused blast

PRETORIA. — An explosive device, possibly a limpet mine, caused the explosion at Community House in Salt River, says the Police Public Relations Division unrest report.

The report said the explosion happened about 3.15am and caused extensive damage to the building.

"A cordon was thrown round the scene of the blast and preliminary investigations were conducted by explosives experts. No other explosive devices were found," the report said.

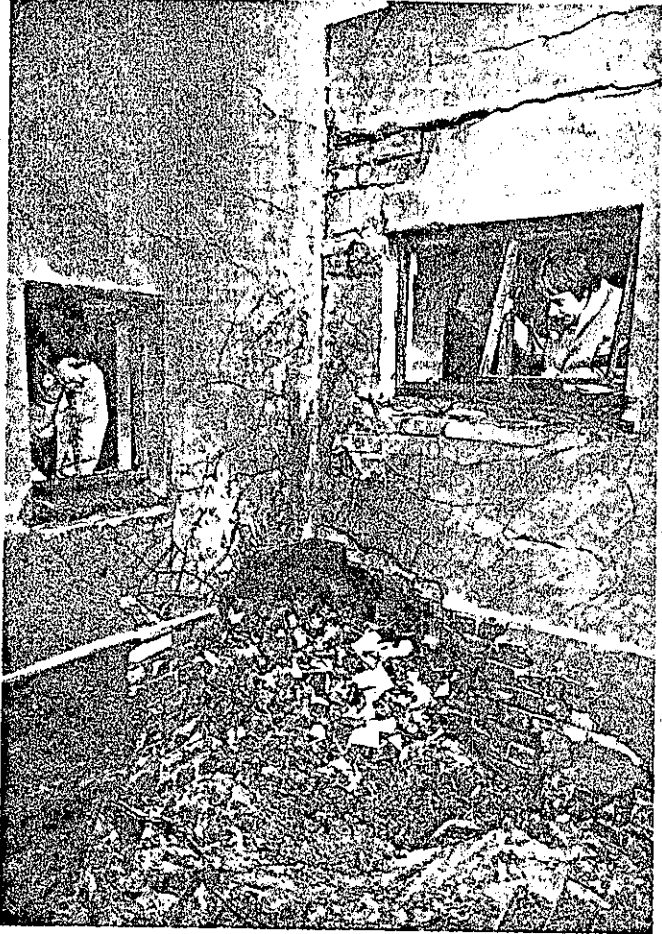
"No arrests have yet been made and police investigations are continuing."

It also said that the home of a member of the security force was extensively damaged in Bonteheuwel when it was set alight by arsonists last night.

In another incident in the area a private vehicle was damaged when it was stoned by a group of youths. There were no injuries.

At Elsie's River a number of private vehicles and a delivery vehicle were damaged in stonethrowing incidents. There were no injuries. Police have arrested five people.

At Paarl East scholars at a



Picture: DANA le ROUX, Weekend Argus

by STEPHEN WROTTSLEY and TYRONE SEALE  
Weekend Argus Reporters

CRACKED walls, shattered window panes, doors dangling from mangled hinges and tough security screening of visitors marked the aftermath of a blast at Community House in Salt River — the headquarters of a number of community organisations.

The blast came soon after 3am and extensively damaged the new building, which was opened by Dr Allan Boesak, patron of the United Democratic Front, last Sunday.

Nearby houses were also damaged. There were no casualties.

The explosion came just hours before more organisations were due to move in today.

### "Unchecked"

The explosive device had apparently been placed in a confined, alley-like section of the building.

The South African Council of Churches condemned "in the strongest terms this unchecked act of terrorism against anti-apartheid groups and personalities in the country".

The Divisional Commissioner of Police for the Western Cape, Brigadier Roy Doring, expressed his condolences with the owners of Community House "for damage caused by people whose identities are as yet unknown to the police".

Among the organisations and representatives occupying the building are the Community Arts Project, the Domestic Workers' Union, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), the Railways and Harbours Workers' Union, Cape Town Trade Union Library, Labour Research Service, Woodstock Advice Office, Western Province Council of Churches, Churches Urban Planning Commission and the Western Cape Students' Congress.

### Two vehicles

A spokesman said it was difficult to assess in financial terms how much damage had been caused to the building but initial estimates were that certain sections will have to be demolished.

The blast, thought to have been caused by high explosives, ripped through the building in Salt River Road, near the Civilian Blind Society.

Mr Headman Monose, a security guard who was on duty in the gatehouse at the entrance to the property, saw two vehicles — one light blue and the other red — drive slowly past just before the explosion.

"Then there was a very loud bang," Mr Monose said.

According to Mr Alan Wagner, who was driving past the building when the explosion happened, police and an ambulance arrived within "a couple of seconds".

The blast blew out most of the windows in a row of houses behind Community House and one resident was slightly injured.

### Burglar alarms

A café and a post office across the road were also damaged. Burglar alarms in a number of premises were set off.

The Argus switchboard was jammed with calls from people saying they had heard the blast



Picture: JIM McLAGAN, Weekend Argus

Above: The spot where the bomb was placed — under the blackened walls in the background. The picture was taken soon after the blast at 3.03am.

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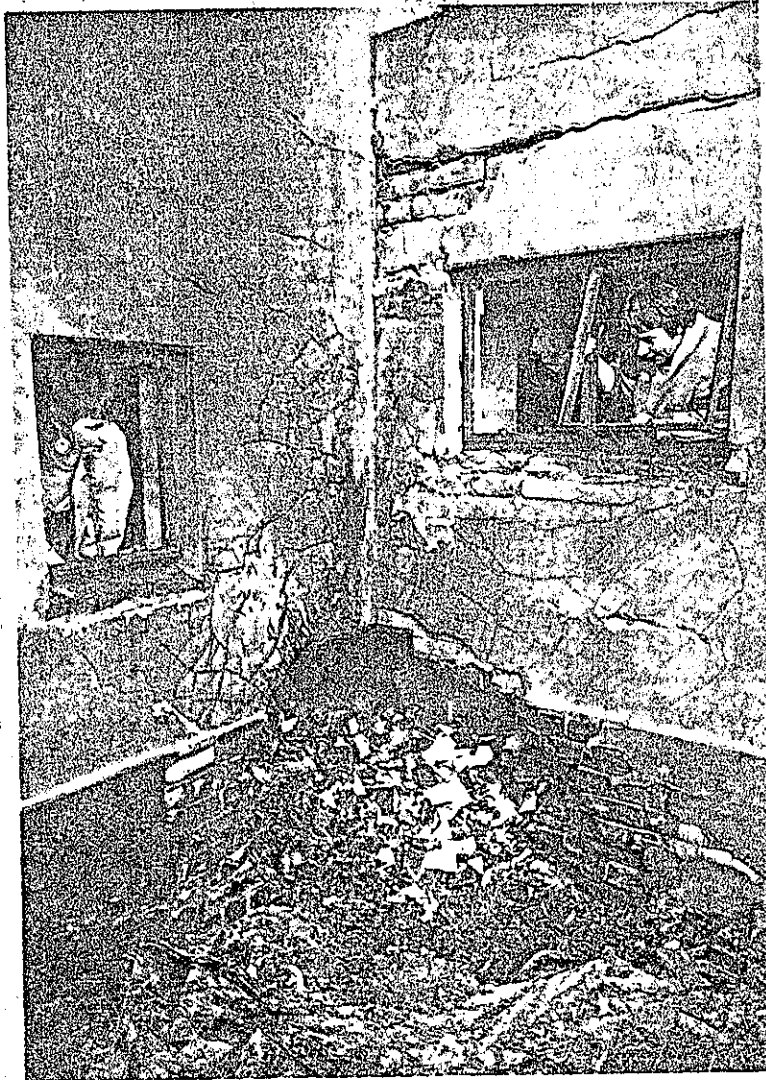
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At Elsies River a number of private vehicles and a delivery vehicle were damaged in stone-throwing incidents. There were no injuries. Police have arrested five people.

At Paarl East scholars at a senior secondary school were forbidden to take part in a procession and meeting on the school premises, the report said. They then smashed window panes and damaged fire-hoses. The school was closed by the vice-principal.

At Kwa Mashu, Durban two buses were damaged by stoning. One man was slightly hurt. — Sapa.



Picture: DANA le ROUX, Weekend Argus

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The Argus switchboard was jammed with calls from people saying they had heard the blast from as far away as Rondebosch and Sea Point.

At Community House this morning tenants were assessing the damage and co-ordinating clean-up debris.

The blast blew a hole in the wall of the alley in which it was placed. Windows in offices in the main section of the building were blown out. Ceil-

Continued on page 3

# Participation politicians are latest Nat scapegoats

PARTICIPATION politics has been severely criticised in the past for conduct which, in some instances, bordered on co-optation.

But extra-parliamentary politics has also, in the last three years, unleashed forces of anger that easily became uncontrollable and degenerated into violence.

It is true that the white built-in majority in the constitution empowers government to steamroll legislation regardless of opposition from the Houses of Representatives and Delegates.

The use of draconian powers has been characteristic of the South African Government from the days of John Vorster as Minister of Justice, if not before. It is, therefore, misleading to argue that the police state stigma is a new factor.

Participation politicians are merely the new scapegoats.

The evils manifest in the system are the products of a long history of repression and not instant products as the result of participation.

It is, therefore, highly irresponsible to equate us in a guilt-by-association complex, just as it would be grossly irresponsible to equate the atrocious necklacing of human beings, condoned by an affiliate of the UDF, as being the political philosophy of the leadership of the UDF.

The argument that Parliament is totally irrelevant since political power has shifted to executive and "extra parliamentary" State struc-

**By ISMAIL OMAR**  
*Member of the President's Council*

tures, even if true, would hold only if such shift was irreversible.

The fact of the matter is that it is still possible to reverse the process through Parliament should the narrow white electoral process so determine.

Granted, there are many areas where government remains unreasonably intransigent, particularly in the area of its obsession with race as a criterion and its glaring inability to provide an opportunity for negotiations with the full spectrum of political leadership and organisations in South Africa.

The Government's sincerity or bona fides should not of necessity be a precondition to negotiations.

## Confrontation

If the results of such negotiations fail to materialise in meaningful progress, then by its own actions government would invite confrontation at a constitutional level.

Withdrawal from all ministries, from parliamentary activity or a host of strategies in-between, would be the logical consequence of participation politics (passive participation).

The non-violent ethic demands the avoidance of destruction of life,

limb and property. Conflict, of necessity, has to be regulated. The suggestion that the "only way" of ensuring change is by intensifying the struggle outside Parliament by strengthening such organisations as the UDF and COSATU merely serves to highlight some components of the complex South African scene, but avoids methodology.

I have never been given a satisfactory response to the question that if the so-called 15 percent minority participation bloc is the obstacle, why did the extra-parliamentary organisations (with their 85 percent support base) avoid taking control of the two Houses and simply closing shop.

Even their neutral approach to white elections differs from their boycott approach to elections in the politics of colour.

A nonracial approach ought to be consistent in both theory and practice.

To call upon Indian and coloured (and recent PFP) MPs to walk out simply because the tricameral system has been a failure is to credit us with what many of us proclaimed as an objective.

We never intended to use the present structure for more than a holding operation, in a progress-cum-consolidation scenario.

For if the 'tricam' were to succeed as the end product of constitutional development in South Africa, we would have failed.

30/8/87

~~XXXXXXXXXX~~

11A

S/Hines

# Odd events terrifying to family

30/8/67 By SOL MORATHI

THE family of a Mamelodi businessman who was abducted under mysterious circumstances by white people claiming to be from the ANC a month ago, are living in fear of their lives.

The family believes there may be people who are either plotting to abduct or kill them.

Mabel Makope, wife of the abducted man, said unknown people often shadowed their movements, sneaked into their yard at night and inspected their house.

Looking noticeably worried and shaken, Makope recounted how she scared away some strange people from her yard on Wednesday night after they stood talking next to her bedroom.

"They fled when I switched on the light," she said.

Makope said unknown people often parked their cars in front of their gate at night and drove away without getting out or saying anything.

"This looks strange. It began after my husband was abducted. If these people are not trying to kidnap some of us, they may be plotting to kill us."

Andrew Makope, 38, and his business partner, Harold Sello Sefolo, disappeared on July 15 and July 16, respectively, after they were allegedly kidnapped by unknown people claiming to be from the ANC.

Their families believe the pair may be used by their abductors as decoys to lure members of the ANC, who are in exile, for the hit squads operating in Swaziland, Lesotho and Botswana.

Makope's grandmother, Martha Legoka, died two weeks ago of a heart attack. She had fallen ill soon after Makope was kidnapped.

Before her death, she had expressed concern about the plight of Makope.

Police in Pretoria said they have launched investigations.

*Clare*

# Surprise over ANC funeral

By S'BU MNGADI

THE widowed wife of former African National Congress official in London, Masabalala Bonnie Yengwa, 64, this week told *City Press* that her family in London was kept in the dark about the burial of her husband's ashes at KwaMaphumulo last weekend.

Speaking from her Vukayibambe home in London, Edith Yengwa, a schoolteacher, said that news that Inkatha and the KwaZulu government were also involved in arranging the symbolic funeral of Masabalala came as a surprise to the family and friends abroad.

This follows accusations that the funeral - expected to bring together warring Inkatha and United Democratic Front supporters - was turned into political point-scoring by Inkatha.

This was sparked off by announcements that the KwaZulu government, re-

sented by a senior Inkatha official, Simon Mthimkhulu, donated an ox and R1 000 towards funeral expenses.

"We don't know what transpired at the funeral. What was carried by the SA Press all seemed strange to us," said Yengwa.

She said she was aware that UDF people in Natal had set up a committee to arrange the funeral.

Meanwhile, a strong security force contingent at Kwamaphumulo last weekend aborted what could have been a historic UDF-Inkatha gathering.

The first bus carrying UDF supporters to the funeral was turned back by police at a roadblock not far from Yengwa's traditional home of Kwamaqumbi.

People wearing T-shirts of UDF-affiliated organi-

sations and Cosatu unions were made to take them off and were helped by those who had jerseys and jackets to cover up.

Nevertheless, former ANC officials, Doroty Nyembe, Umlazi residents' association fugitive chairman Sponono Gasa, and UDF co-president Archie Gumede were allowed to go through after the Yengwa family had intervened.

They also gave speeches despite occasional interruptions, according to Gumede.

The funeral proceedings were chaired by Clermont Education Crisis Committee chairman Hendross Gumede.

Police barred 11 journalists from covering the funeral.

A Lt Van Rooyen read to the journalists the relevant clause from the Public Safety Act empowering them to bar newsmen.

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# 'Politics' teacher is not guilty

(11A)



**Kaizer Matanzima**

A TRANSKEI school teacher claimed that when he spoke of the ANC, Nelson Mandela, the Transkei and the Matanzimas to his class, he was teaching modern history in accordance with the syllabus.

But public prosecutor David Sankey contended in the Umtata Magistrates' Court that Lundi Mqinwana taught his pupils politics.

Sankey alleged that, during October 1985, Mqinwana taught his class political songs, told them that the ANC was a lawful organisation, insulted ex-President Kaizer Matanzima and inscribed political slogans on school walls.

Presiding magistrate R. Micklesfield said in his judgment that because of several contradictions by State witnesses he acquitted him.

# Former ANC man shot dead

A FORMER member of the banned African National Congress, Sithembale Zokwe, 31, of Nqamakhwe in Transkei, was shot by police in Umtata this week, according to the family lawyers, Sangoni Partnership of Umtata.

Zokwe was allegedly forced into a police vehicle and driven to a quarry on the outskirts of Umtata where, after a scuffle, police allegedly shot him and left him for dead.

In her affidavit, his mother, Beauty Nonceba Zokwe, said after receiving a message she went to the Umtata Hospital and found that her son sustained gun shot wounds on his forehead and on his neck.

Zokwe, a self-confessed member of the ANC, was arrested by South African police on the South Africa-Bophuthatswana border a year ago.

He spent some time in detention before he was deported to Transkei where he also spent a few months in detention.

Earlier this year he was forced into a Kombi in Butterworth at gun point and taken to the Butterworth Police Station and driven to Umtata where he was later released.

His family lawyers have written to the Commissioner of Police asking him to explain the reasons surrounding the shooting incident.

# 'Music goes with struggle'

CH/20 3D(8/87)



Willemse: Abdullah, you once said that you see yourself as a "delivery boy". What does that mean in terms of your music and your commitment to South African society?

Ibrahim: In traditional society, especially in Africa, musicians were never viewed (as they are today in the Western world) as being entertainers.

If, in traditional society, you showed any musical inclination at an early age, you were immediately drafted in the field of medicine — traditional medicine.

Medicine and music are synonymous as healing forces.

Do you really see your music as affecting society? I can remember seeing you singing a tribute to Solomon Mahlangu unaccom-

**Jazz pianist and composer Abdullah Ibrahim — better known as Dollar Brand — is South Africa's most internationally acclaimed musician. In December last year he spoke to South African poet Hein Willemse in New York.**

panied. I was greatly moved and touched by it.

Do you see your music as being a vehicle through which people can view themselves; an instrument through which they can react?

Oh, definitely. I couldn't have put it better. What is our role? What shall I do? Become a millionaire? Buy a house in Malibu Beach? That has no meaning.

Our duty is just to remind ourselves and others what true reality is, especially in South Africa.

They make us believe that what we have is inferior. That's all part of the

strategy, too, on a political level. Make you feel inferior or as a human being; make you feel inferior as far as learning is concerned.

It's the same with the music and culture. Once they get you to do that, I think you've become completely subjugated.

I agree with you completely. We have to get to the stage where our language is the norm, our music is the norm, our poetry ...

I see your music, from earlier times onwards, taking elements of the community, taking elements of the downtrodden, the forgotten people, the working class

and making that accessible.

The music is playing out our tradition. Being aware of our tradition is the most potent way of truthfully looking within ourselves.

People used to tell me about "this great musician", this "great music".

You know, Kippie Moe-ketsi always used to ask: "What is great music?"

And when Kippie asked that question nobody answered. What shall they answer?

I have asked myself that question many times. I've come to the United States and I've been all over the world and listened to "great musicians".

You hear that "by general consensus" this is supposed to be great music.

So you just agree to it; you go with the stream. But deep in your heart you know this doesn't really move you.

Then I go home — I've stayed in the United States for nine years — to the Athlone Stadium on New Year's day with the Klops. And this troep comes by! Man! And the music! It makes my hair stand on end, man!

Daai tamboerene en die banjo's en die bass. That's rhythm, man! I feel tears come to my eyes.

Here is no other music that does this to me. That, for me, is the yardstick. I don't care how intellectually it has been considered.

Coming back to that, Dollar, it is common knowledge that you see your roots essentially in the Coons.

A lot of people vilify that music saying it's "only Coon music". What you did was to take it, put a revolutionary content — almost — to it, saying: "This is the music of the people. Listen

to it."

You want to say this is not traditional music? Then what is? If this is not traditional music, what is?

Die mense gaan sê, "Jy's 'n case. Moenie vir my kom vra of dit tradisionele musiek is nie. Dis 'n vastrap of dis 'n square!" You know, the music functions as the music's functions.

On March 26, 1658 the Dutch ship, Amersfoort, docked at the Cape with about 300 slaves from Angola. These slaves were captured by the Dutch ship from a Portuguese vessel bound for Brazil.

When we play this rhythm they say: "Dis samba, and samba comes from Brazil." Do you know how it comes from Brazil? When you go to Brazil there's a large Angolan community.

You're known, not only for your music, but also for your political commitment. You're not only singing about *African Herbs* or *Mannenbergh*, you're also singing about the heroes of the struggle.

What does that do to you as an artist?

It puts everything in perspective. If you haven't done that it is very hard to describe.

It's something you cannot explain in words. It's a feeling.

The time must come when we say, "We are not afraid of freedom".

I think we have reached that stage. The last 18 months especially have proved that we've reached a pinnacle in the development of an historical consciousness of South Africans.

Now we know: It's possible for us to overcome. It's the marvellous thing of the committed artist. He is able to see himself and insert

himself in society and see that his interest are the same as those of the oppressed community.

That's why I've said I'm a delivery boy. My function in society is no more important than that of the street sweeper or a worker. The musician is no exception.

One way in which cultures function is that, very often, elements of the subjugated classes are co-opted into the culture of the ruling class.

But I am yet to learn of ruling-class musicians who are coopting it. It seems to be hard to adapt and coopt. Why?

The music is only the ultimate expression of the intention. The music says exactly the same about the intention of the people. The intention is so concrete and so strong that it cannot be coopted.

Taking the point of commitment a bit further, how do you see artists — people like yourself — struggling in the ghetto?

In order to express themselves they say: "Okay, to be known, I'll choose to play commercial disco," rather than looking at the real roots of the people here.

To come back to the previous question: It's the intention. When we started playing the music there was no question of wanting to be known.

If you're busy, if you work with the purpose that it's going to take you at least 30 years to learn what to play, then it takes another 30 years to learn what not to play.

We have arrived at the second 30. There is no way that you can get in here by faking it. The admission

fee is ...

Honesty and truthfulness? That's right — and dedication. We can recognise it. That's how we met Ellington. There was that immediate recognition.

Your own history is an interesting one. You went from the Cape to Sophiatown. En die boytjie van District Six kom in Sophiatown aan. At that time what was the 50s like for you?

What was it like to be in Sophiatown? To be there where you actually saw a culture being developed in struggle. Trying to get out against all the "cultural imperialism" around you?

It was fantastic. But it was not just there, it was all over. All over South Africa. It was in the Cape as well. It was in Durban. It was in Port Elizabeth. It was all over the place.

How do you see yourself in the future? Your vision as an artist.

Perhaps on three tiers. Firstly, there's the devotional aspect, then there's the personal aspect of the music, of working with oneself and discovering and working with new directions.

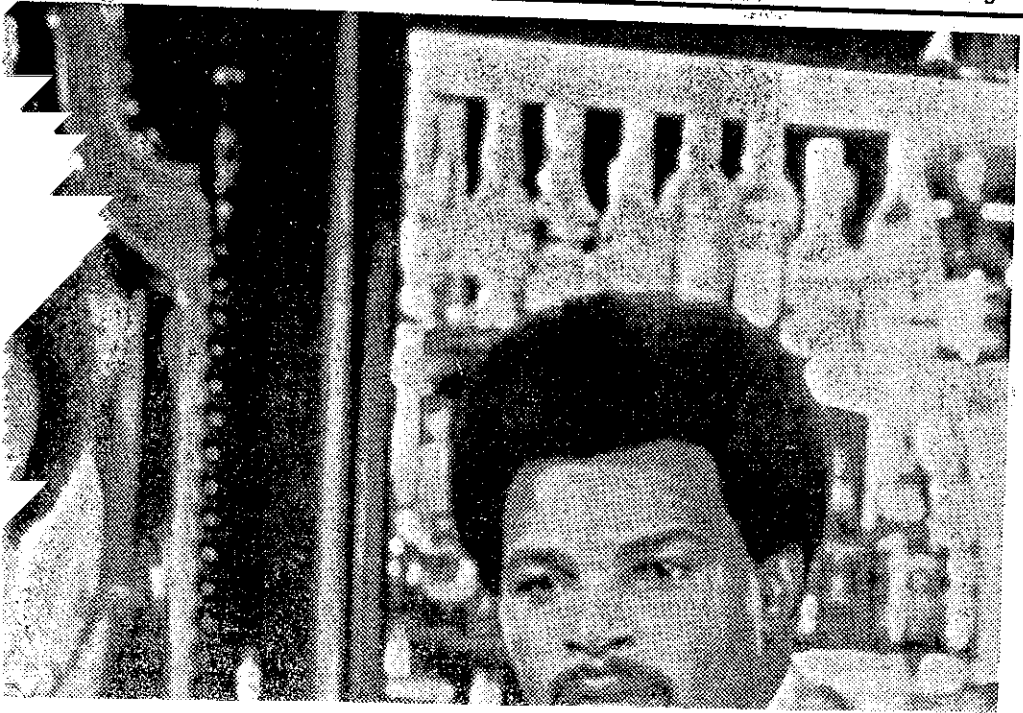
And then there is the question of the struggle. And the struggle and the music are synonymous. Where, the struggle goes, the music goes.

Doesn't the music sometimes lead as well?

The music is only coincidental, you know. The music is like a freedom fighter.

One time it's a pen, another time it's a sword. At other times it's a stick. We're in a revolutionary situation, so we have to use revolutionary methods and flow with the wind.

musician's function is not of a street sweeper or





# Wrong body in coffin stops Guguletu funeral

*Call to Corp 2/8/87 114 8221 23*

By CLARE HARPER

RELATIVES of a slain Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) guerilla from Guguletu discovered on the morning of his funeral at the weekend that the body in the coffin was that of an elderly stranger.

A weeping Mrs Elizabeth Khoza said late yesterday she still did not understand how the mix-up occurred — but she assumed her son's body was still in the Johannesburg mortuary.

Mr Neo Sarel Khoza, 23, was due to be buried on Saturday morning but the funeral was called off after relatives viewing the body found an old man in the coffin.

Mr Khoza was shot dead by police in a car chase in Johannesburg on August 4.

The PAC subsequently confirmed from Dar Es Salaam that Mr Khoza and Mr Tshepo Lilele of Welkom were guerillas of the PAC's military wing, the Azanian Peoples' Liberation Army.

A third man, who has not been identified, also died in the shootout. Police said the three were armed with Scorpion machine pistols.

Mrs Khoza said hundreds of mourners had gathered for the funeral which had to be called off.

Mourners travelled by bus from as far away as Kimberley.

They remained at the family home from about 10am until 4.30pm singing freedom songs, but no church service was held.

Mrs Khoza, a widow who was suffering from severe shock, said yesterday she believed her son's body was still in Johannesburg at the mortuary.

"If we can find the body, we will hold the funeral this coming Saturday. I am very upset. I thought it would be over. I was consoled that at least I would see my child," she said.

Mrs Khoza last saw Neo alive in 1983, shortly before he left the country for military training. She identified his body at the state mortuary in Johannesburg last week.

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More news on Page 11



**FEDSAW RELAUNCH . . .** Part of the crowd that gathered at the Claremont Civic Centre yesterday for the re-launch of the Western Cape region of the Federation of South African Women.

Picture: RICHARD BELL

By CLARE HARPER

# Women re-launch federation

**MORE** than 1 000 people packed the Claremont Civic Centre yesterday to

re-launch the Western Cape Federation of South African Women (FEDSAW), which has been dormant since its affiliates were banned in the 1950s.

President of Fedsaw Ms Dorothy Zihlangu urged women to join the federation saying that South Africa could not be really free until the women were free.

"It won't help us to sit in sorrow thinking nothing can be done — we must unite and go forward, alongside the menfolk," she said.

The regional chairman of the United

Democratic Front, Mr Dullah Omar, said the federation was not engaged in a struggle against men, but "against the system that creates this kind of exploitation".

He described the federation as being akin to a ship launched in rough seas which should join up to form one fleet (with other organizations) to cross the seas and come into the land of freedom together.

He said the media curbs had failed to make people think the way the government wanted them to — "let us remember Fed-

saw was launched in the state of emergency," he said.

Organizations affiliated to Fedsaw include the United Women's Congress, the Athlone Women's Organization, Rape Crisis, and several women's organizations in the Southern Cape, West Coast and Boland.

Busloads of people, mainly women, travelled from all over the region to attend the launch, as well as leaders and representatives of Women for Peace, the Black Sash, the National Education Crisis Committee, and the SA Domestic Workers' Union.

CAPE TOWN

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# Tambo talks with Mulroney on SA

OTTAWA. — The president of the ANC, Mr Olivier Tambo, met the Canadian Prime Minister, Mr Brian Mulroney, on Saturday.

The meeting took place in advance of the bi-annual summit of Commonwealth nations which Canada will host in Vancouver next month. The question of tougher economic sanctions against South Africa is expected to dominate the summit.

Canada's Progressive Conservative government has imposed a limited range of sanctions against South Africa.

Mr Mulroney described the 30-minute meeting with Mr Tambo as excellent and said it would help Canada guide discussions on apartheid at the meeting.

He said Canada wanted a multiracial, democratic society based on non-violence to emerge in South Africa. But he gave no indication that Ottawa was about to sever diplomatic and economic ties, as long as dialogue continues.

The Mulroney government has consistently denounced the use of violence as a means of dismantling apartheid.

At the United Nations two years ago, Mr Mulroney said Canada was prepared to sever all diplomatic and economic relations with South Africa unless it put an end to apartheid. — Sapa-Reuter

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# Soweto women's group in plea to save Kinikini killers from the gallows

Star 31/8/87

11A

The Soweto Women's Group has made a plea to Mrs Elize Botha, wife of the State President, to intercede on behalf of two men scheduled to be executed in Pretoria tomorrow.

The appeal to Mrs Botha was made public at a press conference in Johannesburg today.

The condemned men, Moses Jantjies and Wellington Mielies, were sentenced to death for the murder of kwaNobuhle town councillor Mr Ben Kinikini and five other people on March 23 1985, outside Mr Kinikini's funeral parlour, which was allegedly used to jail abducted activists.

The building was set alight and Mr Kinikini, his four sons and a friend were hacked to death and burnt as they ran out.

"Your speedy intervention will surely save our two children, Wellington Mielies and Moses Jantjies, whose lives the State has decided to terminate tomorrow morning," the Soweto group

has written to Mrs Botha and to Mrs Corrie Vlok, wife of Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok.

Meanwhile, an urgent court application for a stay of execution of the death penalty imposed on the two is expected to be brought in the Pretoria Supreme Court today.

They are among the first to face hanging for crimes arising from the wave of unrest which swept South Africa from September 1984.

The application likely to be brought on behalf of Jantjies will argue that his execution should be postponed to allow the courts to consider new information about his mental condition.

The West German government, Archbishop Desmond Tutu and the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference are among those who have pleaded with Pretoria to spare the lives of those convicted of politically inspired murders.

11R 31/8/87

# New committees <sup>Angus</sup> 'not representative'

## Staff Reporters

COMMUNITY organisations and the City Council today condemned the appointment of management committees for Woodstock and Schotsche Kloof.

The committees will represent coloured people in Woodstock, Salt River and Walmer Estate, and Schotsche Kloof. Their formation was promulgated in the Provincial Gazette on Friday.

The notice said the Administrator had, with the approval of the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, established the committees in terms of the Local Authorities Ordinance of 1963.

Five members have been appointed to each committee pending the general municipal elections next year when members will be elected.

### FORCED

"These appointed local authority bodies will have no credibility," said Mr Wilfred Rhodes, chairman of the Cape Areas Housing Action Committee.

The province was forced to appoint the committees "because they would never be able to be elected", Mr Rhodes said. "They will not be representative of the area. They will never be able to meet or represent the demands of the people."

The president of the Association of Management Committees, the Rev Edward Manikkam, said he preferred not to comment today.

The committee members for Schotsche Kloof are Mr Ismail Achmat, Mr I Hartley, Mrs N Abader, Mrs A Koopman and Mrs S Salie. The members for Woodstock, Salt River and Walmer Estate are Mr C Hen-

dricks, Mr A Williams, Mr A Bayat, Mrs S Mohammed and Mrs H Martin.

The committees will be represented on the Regional Services Council.

The secretary of the Woodstock, Salt River and Walmer Estate Residents' Association, Mr Anwar Nagia, said the residents had "clearly demonstrated their rejection of all such racist structures" at the time of the tricameral elections, in which only four percent of the electorate in the area voted.

### UNDEMOCRATIC

"The association rejects all undemocratic structures such as these management committees," he said.

A co-ordinator of the Bo Kaap Action Group, of which the Bo Kaap Civic Association is a member, said the people appointed to the committee had "aligned themselves with a racist structure".

He said: "The organisations under Bokag reject these undemocratically nominated, unknown people."

The establishment of new management committees with the attendant administrative costs and problems were "not in the interests of the city", said Mr Dick Friedlander, chairman of the City Council's executive committee.

He said council policy was "direct representation" and a council delegation had met the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, to plead its case. The council had also addressed the Administrator, Mr Gene Louw, on the matter.

"We are very distressed that our representations have not borne fruit," he said.