

BLACK POLITICS - 1988

JUNE -

Black councillors fear ANC attack

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attack me and my followers. My supporters could have been attacked the same way as the Sofasonke members on May 22."

A spokesman for the ANC in Lusaka dismissed the claim as "nonsense". He blamed "armed political renegades" for carrying out acts of violence which were then blamed on the ANC, and denied knowledge of the attack on the Sofasonke meeting.

DANIEL SIMON reports security police are still investigating the May 22 attack. Police spokesman Captain Reg Crewe said yesterday a 19-year-old youth held for questioning had been released.

SIPHO NGCOBO

1/6/88

Support unions, Soweto service told

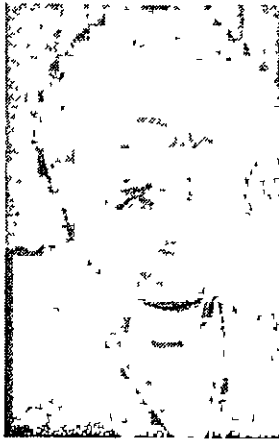
Churches back call for protest action

By Jo-Anne Collinge

Churches have declared their unqualified support for the national protest action called by the trade unions for early next week.

Their decision was made against the background of ongoing emergency rule and the threat of new labour legislation.

The announcement that churchgoers could be expected to rally behind the unions was made at an interdenominational service in Soweto's Regina Mundi church yesterday marking the end of a two-day convocation of more than 200 church leaders from the Protestant and Catholic denom-



Archbishop Tutu

inations and some independent black churches.

The convocation was called specifically to plan strategies of non-violent resistance to apartheid.

A brief outline of some campaigns to be undertaken was made during the Soweto service, attended by more than 3 000 churchgoers and led by the national heads of several denominations.

A more comprehensive statement on the outcome of the convocation is expected soon.

SA Council of Churches general secretary, the Rev Frank Chikane, said a national committee had been set up to launch a programme called Standing for the Truth to introduce social analysis into pastoral work.

In a sermon which brought the entire congregation to its feet, Cape

Town's Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu declared "We as the Church have determined we are going to obey God rather than man — whatever it costs".

Comparing the 40 years of National Party rule with the 40 years the Israelites spent in the wilderness before crossing into the Promised Land, Archbishop Tutu said "We are on the march. We are going to cross the Jordan into a new South Africa, a just South Africa, a non-racial South Africa."

Warning those who stood in the path of the freedom march to beware, he added "We don't look for enemies. We don't want to drive whites into the sea. We hope our white sisters and brothers will hear us. We want a non-racial South Africa where black and white will be able to live together."

World Alliance of Reform Churches president, the Rev Allan Boesak, said the Government realised the days of minority rule were numbered and "for them there is no choice but more repression — more detention without trial".

15 Nov 1/6/88

Britain's rightists hits at Runcie on SA

The Star's Bureau

LONDON — The Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr Robert Runcie, has come under fire from right-wingers who accuse him of backing sinister forces in South Africa.

Western Goals UK, a new campaign group headed by former Tory

MP Major Sir Patrick Wall, says that religious organisations which maintain dialogue with the ANC or UDF are "giving respectability to a group of savage murderers who are trying to overthrow civilisation in southern Africa and establish Communist totalitarian rule"

AID PLEDGE FOR THE APARTHEID VICTIMS

Sowetan 1/6/88

BRUSSELS — The European Economic Community on Monday pledged to maintain humanitarian aid to South African anti-apartheid groups even if such groups are effectively banned under a Bill being prepared by the South African Government.

Church leaders given assurance

EEC development commissioner Lorenzo Natali met on Friday in Brussels with South African church leaders and leaders of the Kagiso Trust, a South African group that aids apartheid victims.

EEC officials said Natali assured them of the organisation's support of those who "use all pacific (peaceful) means to fight for the abolition of apartheid

dollars) in 1987 and 1986, respectively.

The South African religious leaders from several denominations urged the EEC to pressure South Africa into shelving the "Promotion of Orderly Internal Politics" Bill.

The Bill, likely to be adopted by South Africa's Parliament later this year, will let Pretoria seize funds from abroad if it believes these will be used for political activities.

South African churches and church groups rely heavily on foreign funding. Under the Bill,

The EEC has earmarked 25,5 million European currency units (30,6 million dollars) for humanitarian aid to South African opposition groups in 1988, up from the 20 million and 10 million ecus (24 million and 12 million

they would need government approval to get foreign aid.

EEC officials did not say how the EEC would continue its humanitarian aid if the Bill becomes law.

Last week, a group in the European parliament urged the EEC to increase economic sanctions against South Africa if it tightens up its anti-apartheid legislation.

1/19

In 1986 the EEC banned new investments in South Africa and halted imports of iron, steel and gold coins from the country — Sapa-AP

CML 7/11/88 11/6/88

Councillors fear 'elimination by ANC hit teams'

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Soweto councillors say they are afraid to campaign for the forthcoming October municipal elections for fear of being "eliminated" by the ANC.

A number of councillors — former members of the Sofasonke Party who did not wish to be named — said yesterday they had "inside information" that the ANC had resolved at a meeting in London to eliminate anyone campaigning.

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"My supporters could have been attacked the same way as the Sofasonke members on May 22."

A spokesman for the ANC in Lusaka dismissed the claim as "nonsense". He blamed "armed political renegades" for carrying out acts of violence which were then blamed on the ANC and denied knowledge of the attack on the Sofasonke meeting.

● Security police are still investigating the May 22 attack. Police spokesman Captain Reg Crewe said yesterday a 19-year-old youth held for questioning had been released.

MPs urge inquiry into Delegates 'Info row'

THE behaviour in the House of Delegates was strengthening the forces of resistance instead of assisting in broadening the base of democracy, said the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, in the House of Representatives.

He was replying yesterday to the Budget debate on his vote in which Mr Desmond Lockey (LP Nom) and Mr Miley Richards (LP Toekomsrus) said that members of the House of Delegates had done great damage to the credibility of Parliament and were embarrassing everybody in the system.

Mr Heunis said the behaviour of the members had been disappointing and he agreed that it affected all Members of Parliament, as well as the institution itself.

Both the National Party and the Labour Party had put their parties at stake in the reform process

Request

The House of Delegates was retarding this process

He said that after the slanging match on irregularities, President Botha had indicated that he was prepared to consider a commission of inquiry if a resolution was taken and a request was submitted.

Mr Botha had also instructed the Auditor-General to scrutinise the accounts of all the Houses, he said

Mr Lockey said a new "Information Scandal" was developing in that House and there was an urgent need for a commission of inquiry.

Apart from the unauthorised expenditure disclosed last week, there was talk that the Delegates' Administration was building a school in the Transvaal far in excess of R10-million — Sapa

TOUGH, BUT GLEN DEACON WAS

^{CAPT Times}
^{2/16/88}
Phone home, ANC tells Annegarn

By CHRIS STEYN and Own Correspondent

THE ANC has instructed Mr Paul Annegarn — the alleged fifth member of the all-white Broederstroom ANC cell — to telephone his mother, who is anxiously waiting for news of her son

Johannesburg businessman, Mr Joe Annegarn, said that his son was apparently not in the ANC's Angolan punishment camp, Quatra, and was reportedly still "pro-ANC"

He said NDM leader Mr Wynand Malan had been given an assurance by top ANC executive Mr Thabo Mbeki that his 23-year-old son had been pressurized to contact his mother in London

By late last night the call had not yet been made and Mr Annegarn said that if it was not made by the end of the week, Mr Malan would again talk with the ANC

"I've personally spoken to Lusaka, but I was told that he was in a place where he can't be easily reached," said Mr Annegarn

"We'll try to get him out — if he is anti-ANC. But if he is still pro-ANC, there is nothing we can do," he said

"Ultimately the best solution would be to see him face to face, because I don't know what he w

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11A

FROM PAGE 1

say if he makes a phone-call under duress," said Mr Annegarn

"We may find that he just had a fall-out with the group because of internal dissent, and that he is still sitting pretty with the ANC," said Mr Annegarn

Not pro-ANC

"But if I had an opportunity, I would try to change his mind, because I am not pro-ANC," he said

"Information from the ANC is that he is still loyal to the ANC," Mr Malan said yesterday

"But if there is the least indication that he is being held against his will, I will do everything to get him out"

Law and Order spokesman Brigadier, Leon Mellet said last night that they had received certain information on Mr Annegarn Jnr which they believed was "more reliable than that given to Mr Malan"

Rajbansi survives as rebel alliance breaks up

Political Staff

AR645 2/6/88 (11/4)

THE chairman of the Indian Ministers' Council, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, has survived another concerted attack as the majority alliance which fought for his dismissal broke up today in all but name

The 11 rebels who sparked the crisis when they broke away to form the People's Party of South Africa two weeks ago have decided to toe the line after being faced with the threat of either an election or

four of its members being sacked as Ministers' Council members and as a deputy-minister

In another day of high drama yesterday meeting followed meeting with no agreement being reached before the deadline set for today by President Botha for the members of the House of Delegates to resolve the position

However, it is understood Mr Botha will be told today the PPSA will support a motion

moved yesterday by independent Mr Fiaz Khan, a supporter of Mr Rajbansi, of full confidence in the entire Ministers' Council

WARNING

None of the members of the PPSA or their alliance colleagues in Solidarity were prepared to comment today

The backdown by the PPSA was clearly sparked by President Botha's warning that he could either call an election or

reconstitute the Ministers' Council but without reappointing a rebel

Mr Khan's motion is expected to be debated later today but another, by Mr Pat Poovalingam MP (PFP Reservoir Hills), is likely to be left at the bottom of the order paper

Mr Poovalingam's motion is a direct attack on President Botha for not asking Mr Rajbansi for his resignation following a vote in the House of Delegates

Big anti-apartheid jamboree

The Star Bureau

Stev 2/6/88

LONDON — The international anti-apartheid movement's biggest thrust against Pretoria gets underway in Britain next week with an all-day pop concert at London's Wembley Stadium

Thousands of people will gather on June 11 at England's national soccer stadium and home of the FA Cup final for a Live Aid-scale concert that will launch the five-week "Nelson Mandela — Freedom at 70" campaign.

The concert will be broadcast live on BBC television and radio, and beamed by satellite to 60 countries.

Harry Belafonte, British comedian Billy Connolly and film director Sir Richard Attenborough will compere a show that, so far, will feature Dire Straits, Whitney Houston, Simple Minds, George Michael, the Eurythmics and Chrissie Hynde, Miriam Makeba and Hugh Masekela

BRAINCHILD

The concert is the brainchild of singer Jerry Dammers, who wrote and performed the Free Nelson Mandela record

Money raised will go to charities aiding child victims of apartheid and the Anti-Apartheid Movement. The main purpose of the event, however, is to disseminate the political message

Tory MP Mr John Carlisle, one of the South African Government's staunchest supporters, has attacked the BBC over plans to broadcast 10 hours of live coverage of the concert.

And he has found support in the British branch of

the International Freedom Foundation whose director, Mr Mark Gordon, says. "It is as if the BBC were to film a fund-raising concert for the Sinn Fein."

The International Freedom Foundation is to mount an advertising campaign in Britain's tabloid newspapers alleging links between the ANC and the IRA

Mr Gordon said: "The original spirit of the concert has been breached and the money will be used to enable middle-class political activists to print more terrorist propaganda"

Mr Carlisle's criticism came in the House of Commons, where he told MPs it was outside the BBC's charter to give so much air time to an unashamedly political organisation.

But the BBC says: "We are only televising the musical aspect of the concert and want listeners to enjoy the broadcast without political intrusion"

In fact, the concert is the start of what has been billed as the most ambitious anti-apartheid campaign mounted abroad

The campaign culminates five weeks later — after a 1 000 km march from Glasgow — in a mass rally at Hyde Park. The celebration, marking Mandela's 70th birthday, underscores one simple demand: Release Mandela

ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo will be guest of honour at the pop concert. A day later he will be joined in Glasgow by Dr Alan Boesak for the start of the Glasgow to London march. Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Swapo general secretary Mr Andimba Toivo ja Toivo will be among the speakers in Hyde Park

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Indian House faces probe into corruption

Political Staff

MR Amichand Rajbansi, chairman of the Indian Minister's Council, still faced an uncertain existence today after a two-week battle for his political existence

And after years of allegations and counter allegations it now appears certain that a wide range of investigations are to be launched into claims of corruption and maladministration surrounding the House of Delegates

It was Mr Rajbansi's refusal to ask President Botha for a full investigation into all the allegations made by all sides of the House that sparked the most rebellion

Although Mr Rajbansi has brought off another amazing feat of survival, his National People's Party still remains in the minority and the opposition alliance have indicated that in spite of a vote of confidence in the Ministers Council they are still unhappy with Mr Rajbansi as chairman

The investigations that are to be launched into the allegations of corruption and maladministration in the House of Delegates are likely to include

- An investigation by Advocate General, Mr P J van der Walt, into allegations made to him by former Indian Minister of Housing, Mr Baldeo Dookie MP, who led last year's revolt against Mr Amichand Rajbansi

Mr Dookie has submitted a 138-page affidavit with 104 annexures to the Advocate General referring mainly to land transactions and the award of service station sites

- The appointment of a select committee of the House of Delegates to investigate the various accusations of corruption in land deals

The committee is likely to be appointed following a debate in the House of Delegates today, and,

- The appointment of a commission of inquiry into allegations of maladministration in Indian education.

Notice of a motion calling for the inquiry is due to be given today for debate on Monday

Meanwhile another House of Delegates select committee, which is investigating claims whether there was any truth in the allegation made by Mr Yunus Moolla MP, Solidarity chief whip, that a building contractor gave Mr Rajbansi a cheque of R10 000 during a recent by-election, is due to report shortly

The wrath of Amadlozi strikes Dark City

The divisions between Pietermaritzburg's warring factions are invisible to me, but not to my teenage guide. On the one side, Dark City, home of the *Zim Zim*. On the other, White City, home of the *Warara*. And woe betide anyone foolish enough to wander into enemy territory.

THANDEKA GQUBULE
reports

A LOCAL journalist is trying to explain the political balances in Pietermaritzburg's townships, now that the bloody battles have abated and there is relative quiet.

She offers a map: Ashdown, Edendale Valley, Dambuza and Georgetown — these are United Democratic Front turf. Imbali is a "tricky one to handle", administered by Inkatha but ruled in large part by UDF supporters. Taylor's Halt and Sweetwaters are "half-and-half".

But matters are even more complex. Other groups are involved. And some individual blocks and streets are held in rival territory. For example, Imbali's "Stage 2" falls under the sway of a notorious "warlord".

In this area, UDF "comrades" will not be so quick to use the derogatory term *Thelewani* when referring to Inkatha (*Thelewani* means "one who throws all caution over a cliff, one who is destructive", and the "warlord hates it").

Her lecture is evidence that despite the decline in killings, the Pietermaritzburg area has not returned to its former "sleepy hollow" status.

Beneath the ashes of war the boundaries and battle lines lie intact, and the townships simmer. It is difficult to tell whether the two-year war is really over, and still harder to say who the victors are.

There is certainly less violence these days, as "warlords" appear in courts and Inkatha purges its ranks. The UDF struggles under the weight of its banning order.

But, as the "map" shows, townships remain divided among and within themselves, and the spheres of influence of the two rival political groupings persist. The problems are wholly unresolved — not least the fact that hundreds of youths who fled



At the height of the violence mourners at the funeral of two UDF members near Howick

the area at the peak of the carnage have not come back to their homes.

This shows in the schools, where girls, who were far less involved in actual fighting, now heavily outnumber boys.

"I am preparing to go in to see for myself, but there is more I have to hear from experienced locals first. Like the stern warning not to go 'anywhere near' the place on Dambuza Road in the area of Edendale called 'Lusaka'."

This is the "comrades' headquarters", I'm told. At the height of the Pietermaritzburg war, it is alleged, the fate of many was decided at "Lusaka". A common sentence was "modelling" (being made to parade naked in the street). Others, it is said, included the drinking of washing powder or cooking oil, or being "treated" forcibly to a perm hairstyle.

I finally ride into the valley by bus, and start talking to two student priests about life in the area. "Things are a bit quieter these days," says one, "but we do not know for how

long." His companion whispers that he should be careful about talking too much.

I alight at Sigodini, deep into the valley. The bus stops below the luxurious house of Chief Mimi, one of the few traditional leaders who still lives in the area. He has kept a low profile during the conflict, I am told, and does not wield much power.

I move to help a middle-aged woman who is struggling with her bags. She explains how she sees the current situation: "the city is cursed," she says, and talks of the floods, the war, and chronic unemployment. She thinks the floods were punishment for the killings and hatred that came with the war. This is a very commonly-held opinion among older people — especially women — of the area. They attribute "the troubles" to the wrath of *Amadlozi* (ancestors).

The South African Defence Force maintains a presence in the townships, and I see soldiers driving around the previously war-torn streets. They are not a welcome sight

to local Inkatha leader Ben Jele. "Let them go back to their barracks," he tells me. He seems to imply his people can handle things on their own.

I reach Sobantu village, lying apart from the other townships. The conflict has had a different effect here, adding yet another dimension to the "Inkatha UDF" conflict. Sobantu is a small, very old village, almost medieval-looking. But today it is divided by an invisible "Berlin Wall" — on one side lies "White City", on the other "Dark City".

The street which forms the divide looks like any other, but it has great political significance. One of my informants, a youth of about 15, tells me Dark City is *Zim Zim* territory, while White City belongs to the *Wararas*, who enjoy overall power.

He is a *Warara* himself, wearing the obligatory Crockett and Jones shoes, and turned-up trousers. Along with many of his colleagues, he is a veteran of a spell in police detention. (He punctuates his speech with township slang, addressing me as "sister".



Inkatha youth at a rally

and ending each sentence with *elise*). *Warara* is the term for supporters of the UDF-Cosatu alliance (as the relationship between the two groups is described in the area). I am told the word is imported from Johannesburg by black consciousness supporters to describe directionless people.

The *Zim Zims* are supposedly black consciousness supporters, thus dubbed by opponents because of the ever-present letter 'z' in the names of organisations like Azasam, Azapo, and Azanyu.

It seems these groupings do not engage in political programmes other than recruitment. There is no coordination between their various elements, and no coherent political programme to guide their actions.

Their emblems and chants are political, but the impression remains that they are little more than gangs.

Zim Zims throw their fists high into the air and cry "Power". *Wararas* use a clenched fist with the thumb sticking out — the old Congress alliance salute of the 1950s — accompanied by slogans like "freedom in our lifetime".

They wear different T-shirts. *Warara* colours are black and green, *Zim Zims* strong yellow and black. The groups call each other reactionaries.

The much-vaunted "Pietermaritzburg peace talks" stalled some time ago. If they ever get started again, they will have to deal with the complexity of these divisions, of unemployment, of the restriction of some groups and not others. If not, the relative quiet of today may turn out to be nothing more than a temporary lull.

whites, I told him"

laid down

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Vote of confidence in Rajbansi, council

THE chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Delegates, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, has been given a vote of confidence along with his council

During a debate on a motion of confidence in the council he said he would have handed in his resignation had the motion of May 20 been one of no confidence in him

Instead, there was only an unmotivated call on him to resign and therefore convention, as protected in the Constitution, had not been followed

A motion of confidence was moved by Mr Faiz Khan (PPSA Lenasia East) at the start of business yesterday. Mr Kisten Moodley (PPSA Lenasia East) said there was a predicament and that the motion was needed to save a "certain situation".

"GRAVY TRAIN"

Mr Pat Poovalingam (PFP Reservoir Hills) said his party saw no such predicament and accused the defected members of the Ministers' Council of having created their own fears of losing the position they occupied in the "coaches of the gravy train"

It was clear they had not supported the earlier motion against Mr Rajbansi out of principle in honesty and sincerity but had wanted only to "re-arrange the gravy train"

He blamed President Botha for having "in a devious and misleading manner threatened these people".

"He was devious and deliberately misled them and I am ashamed that members permitted themselves to be misled," he said

WITHDRAWN

Later, after a point of order was taken, the chairman ruled that as the reference was made to actions of the State President which had a bearing on events in the House, Mr Poovalingam should withdraw the words "devious" and "misleading" He did so

Mr Mahmoud Rajab (PFP Springfield) moved a motion calling on the House to reaffirm its May 20 decision and calling on the State President to constitute a commission of inquiry

into corruption and to dissolve the House for an early election

It was the only way in which to restore the tattered image of the House, he said

Solidarity's chief whip, Mr Yunus Moolla (Stanger), said that if the principles of democracy and convention were to be understood, what had happened on May 20 should have been gracefully accepted

"DIRTY WORK"

He objected to insinuations in the media that the House was divided on language and religious lines They were doing the National Party Government's "dirty work" by trying to divide the community

He also asked why, if the leadership in the House was an "own affair", the President had not respected its decision.

His party could not support a motion of confidence in the Ministers' Council if it meant support for all the Ministers — not after the motion that was passed on May 20

Replying, Mr Rajbansi said the President's name had been dragged into the debate while it was common knowledge that he had met the Ministers' Council last Friday and yesterday morning

"I am sure the misunderstanding that members had will be cleared up," he said.

WOULD HAVE QUIT

"The State President does not take sides, he is bound to uphold the Constitution"

The motion calling for his resignation had not contained a motion of no confidence in him

"I would have handed in my resignation if convention had been followed," he said

Any motion that directly or indirectly expressed no confidence in the council would have forced the State President to act in terms of Section 39 of the Constitution.

The PFP motion was defeated with only six members counting — too few to force a division — Sapa

ANC film debut in Lusaka

Star 4/6/88

LUSAKA — The African National Congress hopes to produce a series of quality documentary films to be shown around the world highlighting its fight to end apartheid and win black majority rule. (11A)

The first showing in Southern Africa of an ANC film, "Before Dawn", took place in Lusaka last night. Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda and other diplomats watched the film at State House.

The film shows South African artists performing at a cultural festival in Amsterdam last year, as well as sequences filmed in South Africa.

Footage of police beating black and white demonstrators is interspersed with interviews with the artists about culture in a post-apartheid South Africa. — Sapa-Reuter.

Talking to the ANC

w/c ARG 4/16/88
11A

IT is hard for white South Africans to escape the effects of government propaganda about the African National Congress. I find this to be true of myself in spite of the fact that I am, so involved in politics. And if it is true for me, how much more so must it be true for others?

When I was asked to be part of a National Democratic Movement delegation to talk with the African National Congress I accepted without hesitation.

The African National Congress is a political reality which cannot be ignored.

Unfortunately, most white South Africans are forced to accept only what the government tells them about the movement. This makes it difficult to respond to the movement in a balanced and rational way.

I wanted an opportunity to see for myself what the African National Congress is like. They are a part of South Africa's political future, whether we like it or not. It seemed to me essential therefore that we should use every opportunity we have to talk with them about how we see that future.

Considerable press confusion surrounded our meeting. Partly this was our own fault. We had been told that the meeting should take place out of the public gaze.

As often happens however, the story leaked. What was supposed to have been a quiet, low-key affair became apolitical, spectacular. In a way which we never intended, our visit was projected as a mission to change the face of South African politics.

In fact, we had no grand ambitions in respect of the meeting. All we wanted to do was to share perspectives on the South African situation. If we could find common ground with them about how our country should look one day, then that would be a bonus.

MEMBERS of the NDM delegation gathered at Jan Smuts airport on Wednesday, May 25 in an almost clandestine atmosphere.

Why should this be so — why should it be that meetings with the African National Congress take place in this way?

Meetings are taking place between members of the African National Congress and other South Africans almost all the time. This includes many people who would be considered to be "establishment" Afrikaners.

Yet, meetings with the African National Congress are still

by Dr JAN HOFMEYR, of the National Democratic Movement, who was in Germany recently with Dr van Zyl Slabbert and Mr Wynand Malan. While there they spoke with ANC representatives.

seen to be irregular and taboo. So it was that one of our party asked whether the South African government could still withdraw our passports. "Any minute," he said, "I expect 'Vlokkie' to come walking around the corner and take us away!" Of course, the South African government can do what it wants, and it usually does. But they never came. I have to suppose therefore, that we went with their "blessing" — perhaps they thought it would be more embarrassing to us than to them.

The overnight flight to Frankfurt was smooth but not comfortable. We were keen to arrive fresh for the talks, but many of us had difficulty sleeping. One of the party, Christo Nel, eventually laid himself out on the floor to try and get some sleep. Some even tried sleeping tablets.

After a couple of hours of squirming in my seat, I joined Christo on the floor. We arrived early on Thursday morning and left immediately for the Intercontinental where we would be staying. One television crew had found us. They were to be the first of a host of international journalists who hung around throughout the talks trying to get a line on what we were doing.

The talks were due to begin at about 10 o'clock. After a quick shower and a shave I met up with the other members of the NDM delegation in the lobby of the hotel.

As we waited we joked in a lighthearted way about what a disaster it would be if the Congress delegation didn't come. When 10 o'clock passed without their arrival however, the joking turned to concern. By 11 o'clock we were worried enough to go looking for them.

Just then Thabo Mbeki walked in. He was also worried — he didn't know where the other members of his delegation were. It turned out that security on the side of the African National Congress had been much better than ours. Even the members of their own delegation didn't know where they were going. This led to a series of jokes about

nobody knowing where they were going, not the National Democratic Movement, not the African National Congress, and especially not the South African government.

Co-incidentally, the day we met was the 40th anniversary of the election of the National party in 1948. We hadn't intended to spoil PW Botha's party by meeting with the "enemy" on that special day. But we all felt a peculiar symbolism in our meeting.

The National Party was celebrating 40 years of disasterously poor government — 40 years which had led the nation into a political wilderness. In a way therefore it was entirely appropriate that we should be where we were because there was nothing to celebrate. We, at least, were talking about the future of our country and about how we might escape the dead-end into which the National Party seemed to be leading us.

The talks themselves were extremely constructive. They began in a relatively formal atmosphere, but soon became frank and open.

There is an urgency about the South African situation which makes it impossible not to be completely honest in such situations.

From the NDM side we talked about how we see the potential for change while they defended their position on the strategies they have chosen. In the end it was clear while there remain fundamental differences in our approaches to the problem, we both see the future in a similar way.

Both sides seek a nation in harmony in which individual rights are protected. Both sides seek a democratic future in which race has been removed totally as the basis for politics. It became clear as the talks unfolded that the way to create convergence was to keep our gaze firmly fixed on the future. Once that is done it becomes a lot easier to argue rationally on the best way to get there.

What were the members of the African National Congress like? Well, it's difficult to deal with this question without de-

scending into clinches. They were South Africans. There is no question about their commitment to the country even though they have been away for many years. They were flexible and pragmatic.

After each day's talks we broke for drinks, dinner, and more relaxed social interaction. It is probably a measure of the intensity with which we regard South Africa's problems that there was very little casual conversation.

Day and night it was politics, politics, and more politics. At times it was repetitive and boring. At others I think we were able to analyse the South African situation in fundamentally new ways.

Finally, on the Saturday morning, the day of our departure, we took a break. We bought presents for the children and stopped in at the station restaurant for drinks. At 5 o'clock that afternoon a final round of informal discussions took place and then we left.

I came away from our meeting reflecting on a peculiar irony. Like many South Africans in my position there have been times when I have considered and rejected the possibility of emigrating.

In our meeting I came for the first time across people for whom the problem was not one of leaving, but one of coming back. And I found myself wondering how it must be not to be able to return to South Africa. It was an almost unbearable idea. What a sad state our country is in — how sad it is that there have to be fellow South Africans who cannot participate, even if their perspective is different from mine, in the creation of a joint future.

The African National Congress has a long tradition of struggling for what it believes to be the fundamental rights of all people. The South African government has a long tradition of resisting this struggle.

In the meantime, many ordinary South Africans wish simply for peace and justice and a decent life.

How much longer are we going to have to wait for the polarisation to end? We saw our task, as members of the NDM, not simply as the business of building bridges. We did not go to Frankfurt to meet with the African National Congress simply so that we could agree to disagree. Our task is to find a way forward, to refuse to play the polarizing game of both sides and to create convergence among all those South Africans, no matter who they might be, who are prepared to work for a better country.

'Fifth man' to talk soon — ANC

By SYBRAND MOSTERT
PAUL ANNEGARN —

the alleged fifth member of the Broederstroom cell — would hold a Press conference soon, an ANC spokesman said in Lusaka this week

Mr. Annegarn fled South Africa late last year, according to police who pounced on an isolated Broederstroom farmhouse three weeks ago, arresting four alleged terrorists and seizing a large arms cache

Fears have been expressed that the 23-year-old is being held in an ANC punishment camp in northern Angola as a disciplinary measure for breaking ranks with his cohorts

"I don't think that we should worry about where he is at the moment," the ANC spokesman said

"As soon as he is in a place, from which he can tell the world where he is and where he has been, he will

The spokesman said that Mr Annegarn was "on assignment" and "safe, alive and well"

11/17

Worried

Soon after police arrested Damien de Lange, Susan Westcott, Ian Robertson, and Hugh Lugg, they said that Mr Annegarn had slipped back to Lusaka late last year and was being held in a secret ANC punishment camp known as Quatra

Independent MP Wynand Malan, who recently led a delegation to Lusaka to discuss violence with the ANC, said on his return he had asked about Mr Annegarn

He had been told that Mr Annegarn was being held by the ANC but reports that he was in Quatra had not been confirmed or denied

Joe Annegarn, a prominent Johannesburg businessman, said that he and his wife were "terribly" worried about their son

"Through Mr Wynand Malan's efforts, pressure was supposed to have been put on the ANC to get Paul to phone us," he said

"But, so far, we have not heard a word

"The theory that they are 're-pairing' Paul before presenting him to the public could be true," he said

STimes

5/6/88

Pressure on BBC over Mandela concert

SOWETAN
Foreign
Service

LONDON — The BBC is facing mounting pressure to scrap its broadcast of Saturday's Wembley pop concert marking Nelson Mandela's 70th birthday. Critics claim it should not be screened because it is too political. The 10-hour tribute to the jailed South African leader will go out live on BBC-2 from 12.15 to 10.30pm.

It will be beamed to more than 50 countries and features the strongest line-up of stars since Bob Geldof's Live Aid concert. The show, a 72,000 sell-out, is being staged by the Anti-Apartheid Movement and Tory MP John Carlisle believes the BBC is breaching its charter by screening "an overly political event".

Appalling

He may apply for a High Court injunction to halt it. "The BBC is treading on very dangerous ground. The Anti-Apartheid Movement must be rubbing its hands at the thought of all this publicity. I find this appalling and I hope the BBC will



Mrs WINNIE Mandela
... message?

have the sense to withdraw before legal action is necessary.

He told the Commons the BBC's involvement was "providing oxygen to a terrorist organisation".

The BBC says, however, it will "take greatest care to ensure that viewers and listeners can enjoy the broadcast without political intrusion".

Elephant House, an independent company promoting the show, said no political speeches were planned but a recorded message from Mandela's wife, Winnie, might be played.

Worst bombing hits Roodepoort

Sowetan 6/6/86

A BOMB exploded in a Roodepoort street crowded with lunchtime shoppers on Friday, killing four people and injuring 19, police said.

It was the deadliest bombing in South Africa in a year.

A police spokesman, Tiene Halygryn, said those killed included three black men and a white woman.

Halygryn said eight people were seriously injured, including two whites and six blacks. He said 11 other people suffered minor injuries.

Police at the scene, near the Standard Bank, told reporters the bomb exploded in a rubbish bin in the Central Business District of the satellite town about 15 km west of Johannesburg.

It was the fifth bombing reported in the Johannesburg - Pretoria area in a nine-day span.

Police have blamed the blasts on the outlawed African National Cong-

ress guerilla movement, which wages a bombing and sabotage campaign, as part of its efforts to topple the white-controlled government.

Those killed have been identified as Motsamai Moimane (Soweto), Frans Mothoa (Dobsoortville), Godfrey Thebe (Bedfordview) and B Bihard of Florida Lake.

• See Page 6.

bers.

SA worried about Mandela show

(11A)
LONDON — The South African Embassy has expressed concern at BBC TV's decision to screen a 10¼-hour pop concert which is a 70th birthday tribute to the jailed African National Congress leader, Nelson Mandela.

The Embassy's counsellor for media and information, Mr Aubrey Dwyer, told the *Evening Standard*: "We are worried that it might raise money for dissident and terrorist movements, but if we can be convinced that the majority will go

to help under-privileged people in South Africa, we'll cheer things on."

The concert at London's giant Wembley Stadium next Saturday is being billed as the biggest pop event of the year and will feature top acts such as Dire Straits, Whitney Houston, George Michael, Phil Collins and the Eurythmics.

Several right-wing Tory MPs, notably Mr John Carlisle, have said they are unhappy that the BBC appears to be en-

dorsing a tribute to Mandela

The *Standard* said the South African Embassy and Mr Carlisle had pointed out that although half the proceeds of the concert would be split between charities involved in work with children in South Africa, the other half would go to the Anti-Apartheid Movement.

The BBC refuses to say how much it is paying for broadcasting rights, but it is "undoubtedly a six-figure sum", said the newspaper. — Sapa.

THE WEATHER

Lebowa to

PWV is bomb capital of South Africa

FOCUS

THE Witwatersrand has become the "bomb capital of the country," with seven explosions rocking the area in just more than a week

The blasts may be connected to an increased struggle for supremacy between South Africa's two largest liberation movements, the banned African National Congress (ANC) and its rival the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) according to observers

It was pointed out this week that the ANC has not claimed responsibility for the recent blasts

Prof Mervyn Frost, head of the Department of Political Science at the University of Natal, said the ANC had everything going for it at present "in terms of a proposed ultra tough US sanctions package, increased international recognition and highly publicised talks with liberal white leaders"

Another expert however believes the ANC may have altered its strategy and is now increasingly selecting civilian targets

Prof Willie Breytenbach of the Africa Studies Department at Stellenbosch University said it appears a concerted effort is being made to single out the PWV area for violent attacks

Two years ago the bomb capital of the country was Durban but since the Mozambique route has been effectively closed (to ANC insurgents) other routes, possibly from Botswana

and Zimbabwe, are being used," he said

Prof Frost, meanwhile, pointed to recent reports which indicated the competition between the ANC and the PAC had 'hotted up' recently

The PAC also recently stated it wanted to revive its military wing

"I'm sceptical about a policy shift in the ANC," Prof Frost said "The ANC has very recently said it would aim at non-civilian targets including military installations"

He said it was possible renegade ANC members were responsible. The military wing is not as highly disciplined as it would be

Reports this week said the PAC wanted to resuscitate its military wing which has been dormant for a decade

A split

The PAC was founded in 1959 after a split the previous year in the ranks of the ANC

It is recognised by the United Nations and the Organisation for African Unity (OAU) as a liberation movement

It was reported this week that a total of 531 insurgents and collaborators killed or captured by security forces last year '85 were either PAC members or were allied to the organisation

It was also stated that three insurgents shot dead by police in a shootout in Johannesburg 1st August were PAC members

Fridays three blasts brought to seven the

number of explosions to rock the PWV in eight days

The worst blast outside the Standard Bank in Roodepoort at 1.10pm claimed four lives and injured 19

Then on Friday night an explosion ripped through the Lascon Lighting factory near Baragwanath Hospital on the road to Soweto. No one was injured

In another blast on Friday night a 310gm mine exploded on the steps outside the South

African Irish Regiment in Anderson Street central Johannesburg. Police said slight damage was caused and no one was hurt

The blasts follow closely on two explosions in central Pretoria on Thursday May 26 in which four women were injured

Last Friday a bomb exploded in a refuse truck in Johannesburg injuring the driver. The following day three people were injured in a blast at Johannesburg

station

The Roodepoort bomb went off in a refuse bin at a time when the city's streets were packed with shoppers and office workers

Injured passersby described the nightmare from their beds at the Leratong Hospital near Krugersdorp shortly after the blast

They told how a peaceful afternoon lunch-hour turned into a bloodbath as people were blown apart and shards of glass flew through the air



CURIOUS onlookers at the scene of the bomb blast outside a bank in Roodepoort on Friday. The blast claimed the lives of four people — three black men and a white woman

Pic LEN KUMALO



AN unidentified man assessing the damage caused by a bomb blast on one of the cars in Roodepoort on Friday. The explosion took away the lives of four people — three black men and a white woman

Pic LEN KUMALO

Sour note in Mandela pop concert

LONDON — The South African Embassy in London has expressed concern at BBC Television's decision to screen a marathon 10 1/4-hour pop concert next Saturday marking the 70th birthday of the imprisoned African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela.

The embassy's counsellor for media and information, Mr Aubrey Dwyer, told the London Evening Standard: "We are worried that it might raise money for dissident and terrorist movements, but if we can be convinced that the majority will go to help under-privileged people in South Africa, we'll cheer things on."

The concert at London's giant Wembley Stadium is being billed as the biggest pop event of the year and will feature top acts such as Dire Straits, Whitney Houston, Sting, George Michael, Phil Collins and the Eurythmics.

Unhappy

Several rightwing Tory MPs, notably Mr John Carlisle, have said they are unhappy that the BBC appears to be endorsing a tribute to Mr Mandela.

The Standard said the South African Embassy and Mr Carlisle pointed out that although half the proceeds of the concert

would be split between the Save The Children Fund, War On Want, Christian Aid, Cafod and other charities involved in work with children in South Africa, the other half would go to the British Anti-Apartheid Movement.

"Both the BBC and Elephant House Productions, which is promoting the concert, refuse to say how much the BBC is paying for broadcasting rights, but it is undoubtedly a six-figure sum," said the newspaper.

The Standard said the BBC was treating the concert as a musical event.

"The biggest"

It quoted a BBC spokeswoman as saying: "It will be one of the big rock events of the year, perhaps the biggest, and we ought to be there."

"I imagine we'll opt out of any political speeches and have interviews with some of the stars, because that's what our viewers will want."

However, the Standard quoted sources within the production office as saying: "If you're covering a Cornhill test match you can't pretend that it has got nothing to do with insurance."

Cornhill is an insurance company which sponsors cricket tests in England. — Sapa

UDF PRO held

FOUR Cape Town children were left "orphaned" last Friday when their mother, United Democratic Front Press officer, Mrs Hilda Ndude, was detained under the emergency regulations.

The children's father, Mr Alpheus Nkwana Ndude (45) was arrested in October last year. He is on trial with 10 alleged African National Congress members, including Ms Jenny Schreiner, daughter of the vice-chancellor of the University of Natal.

Mrs Ndude was detained at her Guguletu home at 6am, the family lawyer, Mr Bolelam Ngcuka, confirmed. She took her youngest child, three-year-old Noluthu, to prison with her.

Friends of the family expressed concern for the child. "She is asthmatic and needs medication," said Ms Buyiswa Jack, a Western Province Council of Churches worker who is looking after the children — Nolizwe (12), twins Nosisi and Toto (8) and Yuzumzi (7). — Sapa

Sowetan 6/6/88

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118

ANC men get 20-year prison sentences

Sawetani 6/6/88

11A

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TWO African National Congress members were each sentenced to a effective 20 year's imprisonment in the Maritzburg Supreme Court on Friday after being convicted on terrorism and attempted murder following attacks in northern Natal.

Gayo Jabulani Nxumalo (35) of Durban was sentenced to a total of 29 years imprisonment and Desmond Motha (25) of Newcastle was given a 26 years sentence. The

sentences are to run concurrently.

The two men were originally charged with 16 counts, including terrorism, attempted murder and illegal possession of arms and ammunition and explosives.

Car

They also faced charges of possession of unlawful publications and the theft of a motor vehicle.

Both men were found guilty of having contravened the Internal Security Act, of attempting to murder Constable Dlowakhle Malinga in Newcastle in November 1986 and of the theft of a motor vehicle.

Nxumalo was also convicted of blowing up the Newcastle/Volksrus railway line and Motha was convicted of placing explosives at a shopping centre in Newcastle in April last year.

The men were denied leave to appeal against the sentences — Sapa

Free ANC's Gwala, lawyers urge Botha

Own Correspondent
DURBAN — President Botha has been petitioned to release terminally-ill Harry Gwala, one of the African National Congress old guard, serving life imprisonment.

Lawyers acting on

Gwala's behalf have written to Mr Botha, asking him to release Gwala on humanitarian grounds.

The lawyers were instructed to petition Mr Botha after Gwala himself made numerous pleas to prison authorities, allegedly without success.

The lawyers wrote that doctors at Groote Schuur Hospital last year found that Gwala suffered from motor neuron disease which has no known cure. The probability is that he will die in a "couple of years" or death could come sooner.

Gwala, who is about 60, is said to have lost the use of both arms. His sight and hearing have also been affected, it was said in the letter.

The Prison authorities said in a statement: "It is the policy of the SA Prisons Service not to comment on the physical conditions or medical treatment of individual prisoners as it is regarded as a private matter between the prisoner, his family and the doctor."

HIGH STANDARD

"It can, however, be stated that Gwala, like all prisoners, has regular access to doctors.

"The prisons service is satisfied that the medical treatment of all people entrusted to its care is of a very high standard and any prescription or reference for specialised treatment is strictly adhered to."

4 Azayo (11A)

Soweto 7/6/88
2 killed (12)

TWO members of the Azanian Youth Organisation were killed in politically motivated violence in Maritzburg last week.

Their deaths were announced by the president of the Azanian Student Movement (Azasm), Mr Thami Hlekiso, because Azayo is a restricted organisation.

Mr Hlekiso said Mr Sithembiso Mwandla (19) was stabbed to death on Wednesday

His funeral will be held in Imbali tomorrow.

Mr Mthandeni Ngcobo (18) was sought out by the same group the following day and stabbed. He died on his way to hospital.

Mr Hlekiso felt the deaths were politically motivated because of friction the Black Consciousness organisations — Azayo and Azasm — had with two other political groups in the Maritzburg area.

(12)

ANC plans to increase bomb attacks

By Michael Hornsby
of The Times

LUSAKA — Leaders of the African National Congress are planning to increase military action in an attempt to raise sagging black morale and to undermine whites' faith in the Government's ability to protect them.

Wide-ranging interviews have been conducted with ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo and leaders of the organisation's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe, but The Star is unable to report what Mr Tambo said because he is banned in terms of the Internal Security Act and may not be quoted in South Africa.

ANC leaders argued that the Government's state of emergency and its clampdown in February on most black organisations pursuing non-violent protest had left it no option but to intensify armed action.

They had concluded, after the white general election last year, that most whites would stop supporting the Government, only when it was no longer seen as able to guarantee their safety.

A primary aim of the ANC will be to disrupt nationwide elections on October 26 for segregated black and white municipal councils, and to ensure a mass black boycott of the polls.

A large turnout by blacks would be devastating, enabling Pretoria to claim it had successfully re-launched the Government-sponsored system of black township authorities largely destroyed in the insurrectionary turmoil of 1984-86.

"The ANC is committed to aborting the municipal elections," said Mr Chris Hani, the 45-year-old chief of staff of Umkhonto.

It is accepted that bomb attacks in white-zoned city centres must be increased and that this will inevitably mean more civilian deaths, both white and black.

But there is intense debate within the ANC about how far armed action should be taken and about how broadly the concept of a non-civilian target should be defined.

Mr Tambo outlined the ANC's official policy on bomb attacks and referred specifically to last week's lunchtime bomb in Roodepoort which killed four civilians.

The Star may not report what he said.

'Cry Freedom' for SA release in July (11/19)

Star 11/18/85
"Cry Freedom," Sir Richard Attenborough's film on Black Consciousness leader Steve Biko and banned newspaper editor Donald Woods, will be released in South Africa at the end of next month, according to a spokesman for the distributors

This follows top-level meetings in London between senior management of United International Pictures and Mr Peter Dignan, managing director of UIP South Africa

Marketing details are being finalised

The film is about the relationship between Biko, who died in police custody in 1977, and Woods who was banned the same year and fled South Africa through Lesotho with the nearly completed manuscript of a book on Biko

"Cry Freedom" was filmed in Zimbabwe and features Denzel Washington as Biko and Kevin Kline as Woods

Bid to free Alex 5 fails

11A
Sowetan
7/6/88

A DEFENCE application for the discharge of Alexandra community leader Mr Moses Mayekiso and four other men on charges of treason and sedition failed in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday.

Giving judgment in the application which was brought at the close of the State's case, Mr Justice P J van der Walt said the indictment against the five men contained all the legal elements necessary for the charges of treason and sedition.

Advocate for the defence, Mr D J Soggot, SC, had argued that violence was a necessary component in a charge of treason and, since violence was not alleged in the indictment, the charge could not be sustained.

Hostile

The judge said "that treason can be committed in peacetime is clear from our case law."

Treason, he said, was a crime committed by a person, whom with hostile intent disturbs or injures the authority of the State.

It was not necessary that acts of violence should actually have been committed.

The five men, Mr Mayekiso (38), his brother, Mr Mzwanele Mayekiso (22), Mr Paul Tshabalala (38), Mr Richard Mdakane (29) and Mr Obed Datla (28) have all pleaded not guilty to charges of treason, alternatively sedition, alternatively subversion.

The State alleges that from 1985 to June 1986

SOWETAN Correspondent

the five men attempted to overthrow the authority of the State by conspiring to seize control of Alexandra and make the area ungovernable.

They did this, it is alleged, by establishing organs of "people's power".

This included forming or participating in the Alexandra Action Committee and forming people's courts.

According to the State, the trialists waged a campaign against the South African Police, the South African Defence Force, and their members and the Alexandra Town Council.

Boycott

It is claimed they launched a rent boycott and organised boycotts of shops, industries and businesses in the

Alexandra area.

The five men heard yesterday that the trial, which began in October last year, was postponed to August 1 after the recess of the Rand Supreme Court.

The court heard that the defence case would begin on this date and conservatively, with evidence and cross-examination, would take three months.

Appearance Mr Chris Human, SC, appeared for the State.

Sergeant shot during drug deal

A SOUTH African Police sergeant is in a satisfactory condition after he was shot during a drug deal at a five-star hotel on Durban's Golden Mile on Sunday.

Police said yesterday that Sergeant G H Mashego, a member of the Narcotics Bureau in Johannesburg, was working with members of the Durban drug squad when the shooting occurred in a bedroom of the hotel on the 20th floor.

Mandrax

Major Charl du Toit, police public relations officer for Port Natal said that the police had arrested three coloured men soon after the shooting and were anxious to contact a fourth person, Mr Velayathum "Vela" Thamburan (37), who they believe can assist them, in their investigations.

Major du Toit said the policemen were approached by a group of men who were about to do a mandrax deal with him. The men then said they were policemen and attempted to rob Sergeant Mashego.

During a struggle one of the men fired a shot which struck the policeman in the mouth, emerging through his neck.

Other members of the drug squad who were deployed nearby then arrived and saw the suspects running out. Two shots were fired at them.

Three coloured men were arrested as they were leaving the hotel. The other man managed to escape.

Police have taken possession of a 32 revolver.

Charges of dealing in drugs and attempted murder are being investigated.

Police said they would like to interview Mr Thamburan, who was last year sentenced to seven years' imprisonment for dealing in mandrax. He is presently out on bail, pending an appeal.

Cocaine: Man held

RABAT — Police have arrested a Uruguayan at Casablanca airport after customs officials found 1,5 kg of cocaine hidden in his suitcase, the daily *Le Matin* reported yesterday.

The newspaper named him as Enrique Villanueva Deani and said he was on his way to Malaga, Spain.

Le Matin said the cocaine had an estimated street value of three million dirhams (R750 000). — Sapa-Reuter.

Cape man to hang — claim

ONE of the 32 "political" prisoners awaiting death at the Pretoria Central Prison, Paul Tefo Setlhaba (22), may be hanged on Friday

A spokesman for the sheriff in Pretoria yesterday said that he could not deny or confirm that Mr Setlhaba will be executed on Friday. He said he did not want to disclose such information beforehand and asked the *Sowetan* to phone again on Friday when he could confirm that the execution had taken place.

An attorney acting on behalf of Mr Setlhaba, Mr H Lalla of East London, said that he has sent stay of execution applications to the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok. If that fails he would apply to the Supreme Court to stop the hanging.

He said when he heard that a notice to execute Setlhaba had been issued he flew to Pretoria on Sunday to speak to him. He gained the impression that Setlhaba was unaware of the notice.

Mr Lalla said he was also caught by surprise because he did not expect the execution to take place so soon after

SOWETAN Reporter

the dismissal of Mr Setlhaba's appeal. He had expected the notice to be given after six or nine months.

Mr Setlhaba was sentenced to death on December 13, 1986 in Graaff-Reinet in the Eastern Cape for his involvement in the death of an alleged police informer in Coleberg in the Northern Cape during a consumer boycott.

A campaign was launched last year by the South African Youth Congress and several other organisations to "Save the 32" "political" prisoners who are on the death row. Mr Setlhaba is one of them.

The Southern Africa — The Imprisoned Society (SATIS) organisation in London is to hold a demonstration in front of the South Africa House in London over Mr Setlhaba's impending execution. The demonstration is to take place on Wednesday.

The Anti-Apartheid Movement together with SATIS will make representation to the Foreign Office urging it to intervene over Mr Setlhaba's pending execution.

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AZAPO PRO SLAMS UDF

THE Azanian People's Organisation yesterday accused the United Democratic Front of seriously lacking in responsibility and duty to maintain a degree of consistency in its operations.

The attack followed weekend reports that the UDF could take part in the tricameral parliamentary elections scheduled for 1989. The speculation was allegedly caused by UDF co-president, Mr Archie Gumede, and stunned political observers. He said such a decision would not represent any significant switch in UDF policy and the idea is still to be put forward to a national executive council.

Mr Muntu Myeza, Azapo's publicity secretary, said in a statement the notion of even discussing participation in the 1989 election was something akin to culpable political bohemianism. "The dust has hardly settled from the noise made by the UDF rejecting the May 6 whites-only election and now it is considering entering the same frame," Mr Myeza said.

He said that the UDF believes circumstances have changed so much within two months that it now thinks that participation in the white parliament merits

discussion. Must the people conclude that this is partly the outcome of Mr Gumede's recent meetings with Mr Stoffel van der Merwe, the Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development? he asked.

Mr Myeza said at its recent "so-called secret conference" the UDF took a decision to prevail upon the Progressive Federal Party (PFP), its allies to move out of the parliamentary system of politics. Does the UDF now want to replace the PFP in Parliament?

"This represents confusion and lack of direction at its worst," he said. "We would be able

to criticise these twisted signals effectively if the UDF had a discernible ideology.

However, what we have is a conglomeration of organisations and people with conflicting interests who have only transient issues and an archaic document as a basis of commonness. We have the wisdom of history behind us to know that such manoeuvres and compelling the oppressed to be unwilling participants is a grotesque charade."

• The Western Cape region of the UDF has disassociated itself from Mr Gumede's remarks.

Vlok warns ANC on new terror strategy

LAW and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok last night condemned a new ANC strategy to assassinate judges and MPs as part of a stepped-up terror campaign to disrupt the October municipal elections.

Asked for comment on reports on the ANC's plans in overseas newspapers, Vlok warned the ANC not to "underestimate our fist of iron" and said experience had shown the ANC was no match for the SA security forces and its intelligence. He said its terrorists were being killed off, arrested and hounded by the SA forces, and this would continue.

Vlok said. "Terror acts by the ANC

and its communist masters will make South Africans more determined not to fall for its Marxist tyranny."

The ANC's new strategy was reported by the New York Times and the London Times in a series of interviews with Umkonto We Sizwe chief-of-staff Chris Hani and Umkonto political commissar Steve Tshwete, who outlined a stepped-up terror campaign to disrupt the elections.

Hani was quoted by The Times as saying he regarded NP and CP MPs as

legitimate targets for attack and assassination

Others who fell into that category were "reactionary judges who dish out death sentences on our people" and other white people involved in the enforcement of apartheid.

The New York Times said the military leaders admitted responsibility for the recent spate of bomb attacks and defended what they called armed propaganda in city centres.

© To Page 2 →

Vlok warns ANC on terror strategy

But the interviews revealed profound differences between the ANC's military and political wings on whether MPs and judges should be possible targets for assassination, reports MIKE ROBERTSON from London.

Political leaders, including ANC

president Oliver Tambo and others who may not be quoted in SA, have denied in the interviews that assassinations were or would become ANC policy.

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Business Day Reporters

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Champagne for cheerful blood donors Mr Godfrey Badenhorst and his wife, Jacey, of Discovery in Roodepoort. Mr Badenhorst has given 100 units since 1946 and Jacey 75. Picture by Karen Fletcher

Search goes on for peace talks site

Political Correspondent
CAPE TOWN — South Africa and Angola have now worked their way through about 20 percent of Africa's capital cities in their bid to find a mutually acceptable venue for their next round of peace talks

The search for an African venue for further negotiations between South Africa, Angola, Cuba and the US is apparently proving to be a major stumbling block

Diplomatic sources today revealed that the latest series of African capitals on the table for consideration, submitted by South Africa, are Gaborone (Botswana), Kinshasa (Zaire), Lilongwe (Malawi) and Abidjan (Ivory Coast)

This follows Angola's earlier proposals of Praia (Cape Verde), Harare (Zimbabwe) and Lusaka (Zambia)

Although South Africa did not formally reject any of these out of hand, it is understood that Pretoria is not in favour of either Zambia or Zimbabwe because of their hostile attitude towards South Africa

Cape Verde is considered to be ill-equipped (from a hotel and conference point of view) to handle the large delegations from four countries and the world's media.

'Do not underestimate our fist of iron,' Vlok replies to ANC threats

By David Braun, Political Correspondent
CAPE TOWN — The Government has reacted angrily to the latest threats by the African National Congress of massive violence against the white community, particularly white MPs, judges and "other legitimate targets for attack and assassination".
These threats, and threats to disrupt the October municipal elections, were made by various ANC leaders in interviews with Mr Michael Hornsby of *The Times*, London.
The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, hit back yesterday with a strong counter-warn-

ing: "Do not underestimate our fist of iron. We will not just sit back and allow you to threaten and endanger the lives of South Africans."
Mr Vlok said the report by Mr Hornsby following interviews with Mr Oliver Tambo, Mr Chris Ham and others of the ANC clearly depicted the true colours of the murderous organisation.
Mr Vlok said "If what is reported are the views of the ANC, and I have no reason to believe otherwise, then it is more proof that the ANC has realised that it has lost all support for its cause in South Africa."
"It cannot get any voluntary support to negotiate because it

has no mandate to do so."
"Its last hope of becoming a ruling dictator is to force and coerce people through violent intimidation, murder, chaos and large-scale bloodshed to follow their communist line of thought."
"From its own mouth it is nothing but a terrorist organisation which kills wantonly and indiscriminately, such as was again the case last night when an eight-year-old Soweto child was killed when a hand grenade was hurled into his bedroom."
Mr Vlok said that although in the interview the organisation reveals certain of its plans, it was another matter whether they would succeed

...THE DRAGON THAT

Please
Sowetan 8/6/03 11A
answer

• From Page 6

Why can a Christian, Allen Hendrickse, become a member of the House of Representatives, and not the HoD or the House of Assembly? Why can another former priest, Andries Treurnicht be a member of the House of Assembly and not the HoR or HoD?

Freedom of movement, freedom of association, reform?

Muhammad, the prophet of Islam, spoke out strongly against the notion of any one race group being superior to another. In fact, Islam calls on its followers to pick leaders from the best among us.

If Nelson Mandela, Chief Buthelezi and even P W Botha are regarded by the people as the best, why are they not allowed to vote for them as leaders of the country?

I also want to ask you: If the majority of "Indians" don't support the UDF or ANC, then whom do they support—The HoD?

If so, then how come less than 20 percent of those classified "Indian" endorsed the Tricameral system? And if the vast majority of "Indians" reject the HoD, is that where you want to be?

And if and when you get into the HoD, will you be speaking only for Indians as an "own affair"? Will the Muslims who are classified "black" or "coloured" or "other coloured" or "white," or any of God's other children for that matter, be someone else's affair?

Either you are politically confused, Mr Bawa, or I am. Please answer these questions to put my simple mind at ease — Ameen Akhaway

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MEET 'KING HOSA' OF KHAYELITSHA

by EDWARD MOLONIYANE
Special Correspondent

IN sprawling Khayelitsha township, Mali Hosa is a household name — referred to in tones of awe, reverence, fear or scorn usually reserved for presidents or people of great power.

In his own restricted sphere of influence Mr Hosa — a slim 49-year-old — probably wields more clout than many presidents

As chairman of the 15 member Langeletu Committee, he has effectively "ruled" Site B, Site C and Green Point since the time Khayelitsha was established

Some residents believe he is the richest man in the township. He is certainly the most powerful, the best-known and, in some quarters, the most feared

His committee collects R25 for every new shack erected in Khayelitsha, imposes discipline on residents, prescribes and dispenses punishment for certain offences — apparently with the authority's tacit approval

But to claim by some residents that he is a self-elected despot, who is backed by a mysterious group of white men, he replies bluntly "That is a lot of lies"

In an interview with Weekend Argus, he said he was "deeply concerned" about his people's plight and that he was instrumental in forming the Langeletu Committee as far back as 1981 while still in Crossroads

"Our people had their shacks demolished daily because the Government said they did not belong here," he said "We organised the people into this committee so that we could resist together"

When the people were moved to Khayelitsha "community leaders", like himself, went with them

The committee began with five members and has now grown to 15. It plans to put up its own candidates in the October elections

To the specific allegations of some residents, Mr Hosa provided the following answers:

Allegation 1: All committee members work full time for the committee

Answer "Untrue. All the members earn a living either owning a small shop or selling something like vegetables." Mr Hosa said he, personally, ran a store and a shebeen in Khayelitsha

Allegation 2: The R25 fee for the erection of a shack goes into his pocket or the pockets of other members of the committee

Answer "Not true. The money is in a bank account established by the committee."

Allegation 3: He runs an operation with connections in high places, holds frequent meetings with certain white officials

Answer "They come here to solve problems of people who quarrelled over a site. We work together. We also want land from them"

Allegation 4: He runs his own court in the Langeletu Community Centre in Site C.

Answer. "Even the police (who are often seen there) know about that. It's not a

court. We simply solve problems"

Allegation 5: People who are brought there are often assaulted

Answer "People bring their problems themselves and we make them reach an agreement themselves"

Allegation 6: Some of the money he says is in a bank account "somewhere in town" is invested in a fleet of taxis registered in the committee's name

The fleet is used to ferry Mr Hosa and members of his committee to meetings and functions in many parts of the township and the Peninsula. The taxis generate income for the Langeletu Committee when they ply their routes

Answer "The taxis do not belong to the committee. They belong to a group of businessmen who have asked for space at the committee's offices. We hire them just like anyone else when we need transport"

Mr Hosa was born in Umtata in 1939, is married and the father of seven children — six boys and a girl

He was taken out of school

before he had completed his first year of formal education "There was no-one to look after the cattle," he explains

He came to work in the Cape as a migrant in 1960 and became involved with the community about 16 years later "With Transkei accepting independence in 1976, restrictions on the people from that territory were tightened as they began streaming to the Cape in large numbers," said

Obtaining this interview with him was a tortuous process. After the first request, Weekend Argus was introduced to another man as being Mr Hosa and an appointment was arranged. When the Weekend Argus team arrived for the interview "Mr Hosa" was not there

Later, Weekend Argus made contact again and another meeting was arranged at the Langeletu Centre. This time the real Mr Hosa introduced himself

When asked why he was so evasive and why it had been necessary to arrange for a substitute at the first meeting, he said "You don't just show who you are to strangers. You can not trust everybody"



Mr Mali Hosa, "King of Khayelitsha", in a reflective mood during the interview.

Picture LEON MULLER, Weekend Argus

Bomb blasts make talks with ANC bitter issue

nr645 8/4/68

By TOS WENTZEL, Political Correspondent

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circles in the South African situation.

TALKS with the African National Congress has again become a somewhat bitter political issue after the National Democratic Movement's meeting with an ANC group at a time of bomb explosions in Pretoria and Roo-depoort.

Nationalist politicians and newspapers were quick to attack the NDM for speaking to "terrorists" under these circumstances. These politicians are poised to exploit any contact with the ANC in future.

There have been problems between the ANC and those it has talked to such as the NDM and the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa) — Dr F van Zyl Slabbert also met the organisation again recently — on the question of violence. The NDM and Idasa have

expressed their abhorrence of violence and probably hope they can influence the ANC. Above all, they realise that the ANC is a factor in possible internal settlements in South Africa which cannot be ignored.

In spite of the Nationalist attacks, the NDM is determined to go ahead with further meetings with the ANC in the near future.

As the leader of the NDM, Mr Wynand Malan, put it in an interview this week and as the movements put it after their Frankfurt meeting, they had agreed on the type of South Africa they eventually wanted but they disagreed on the strategies to achieve this.

And they disagreed about violence.

The NDM is strongly opposed to violence as a method to bring about change. It believes that violence can lead only to more violence.

The ANC's argument remained that it had been forced to take up arms in 1960 when it was banned after 50 years of peaceful struggle, that it was involved in counter-violence against the violence perpetrated by the Government while the Government in turn believed that it was reaching to ANC violence.

Mr Malan put up a spirited defence of the decision of his movement to continue talking to the ANC.

He wanted to know what morality there was in Defence Minister Magnus Malan and Foreign Minister Pik Botha talking to the Cubans and Angolans "while they are shooting our sons on the border" while it was said to be immoral to talk to the ANC against the background of trying to get a process going towards the building of a new nation.

He accused the Government of a "double morality" — it urged Unita and the Angolan government to talk to each other and it tried to impress on Renamo and the Mao puto government the absolute necessity for talks, but it did not adhere to the same prin-

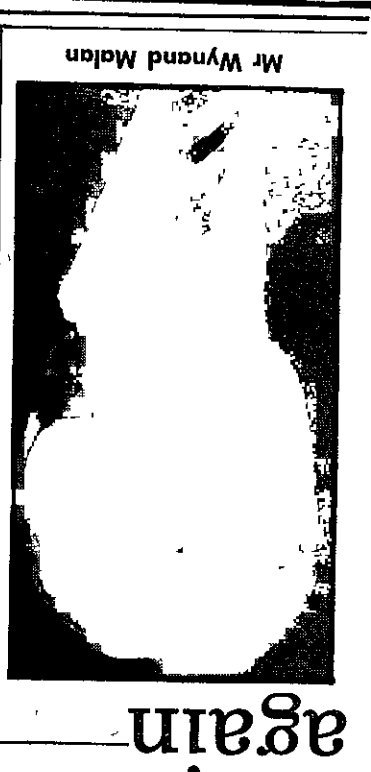
Instead, Nationalist politicians portrayed talks with the ANC as something bordering on treason. This, Mr Malan said, was not only a "sick" approach but it also amounted to dangerous politics

Talks with the ANC would specifically deal with the theme of alternative strategies to existing political strategies. There would be attempts to find strategies aimed at bringing about a nation including all groups.

Mr Malan added that it was important to keep in mind that the NDM not only spoke to the ANC but that it was also trying to make contact across the whole political spectrum to try to get going a process that would lead to such all-inclusive nationhood.



Dr F van Zyl Slabbert



Mr Wynand Malan

again

Not afraid of police

Sowetan 9/6/88

11A

By MONK NKOMO

ONE of the seven accused in the PAC/Qibla trial, Mr Yusuf Patel, had boasted that his organisation was not afraid of the South African Police because it had arms and ammunition to fight them, a state witness told a Pretoria Regional Court yesterday.

Mr X, who was examined by the prosecutor, Mr H P Pretorius, said he met Mr Patel in Johannesburg in December, 1985

They discussed the

situation in the Cape and Mr Patel wanted to know if he wanted to join any organisation.

"I told him that I did not have an organisation. He then told me that he was a leader of Qibla and that his organisation was not afraid of the South African Police because they had arms and ammunition to fight them," Mr X said.

Qibla

The accused include five alleged members of the PAC and two alleged leaders of Qibla — a Muslim organisation. They are Mr Mabatu Enoch Zulu, Mr Siyabulela Ndoda Gcanga, Mr Vincent Mathunjwa, Mr Setsiba Paul Mhohlo, the Reverend Daniel Nkopodi, Mr Achmad Cassiem and Mr Yusuf Patel

The witness, who may not be identified in terms of a court order, said he and a group of other

persons, including Mr Patel, drove to Botswana in December, 1985 where they met leaders of the Pan Africanist Congress, among them Mr J Mkhwanazi

He said Mr Mkhwanazi asked them in Zimbabwe if they wanted to undergo military training. The court heard that nobody answered the question. Mr X said he told Mr Mkhwanazi that he first wanted to go back home to see his wife although he knew that he would not be coming back.

Fugitive

He and the group came back to South Africa two years ago. He became a fugitive from the police since April this year because he did not want to testify in the trial. Mr X, who was warned to answer all questions by the magistrate, including those that incriminated him, said he was arrested last Wednesday, June 1

X

'ANC will not benefit from Mandela concert'

11A Star 9/16/88
The African National Congress would in no way benefit financially from Saturday's rock concert marking Nelson Mandela's 70th birthday, Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, president of the Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM), said yesterday

The sole purpose of the concert, to be held in Wembley Stadium, was to pay tribute to Mandela and to seek his freedom, Archbishop Huddleston said

He said half the proceeds from the concert would go to the AAM. The other half would be used by seven agencies concerned with the care, protection and welfare of Southern African children

The British Broadcasting Corporation, which has obtained the rights to broadcast the concert, yesterday said it was "mindful of all its responsibilities in covering what promises to be an outstanding international musical event"

A spokesman said broadcasting organisations in nearly 50 countries had also chosen to carry the concert

The BBC's reaction followed South African Government accusations that the network projected "a consistently inaccurate and misleading image of South Africa"

● In a statement, the South African Department of Foreign Affairs said the South African Embassy in London had made representations to the BBC about the ultimate use of the funds collected, as well as about the principle of "giving a platform to the ANC".

● The Star's London bureau reports that the BBC has been attacked for saying that "politics does not come into Saturday's rock concert"

In an editorial, the *Daily Express* dismisses the claim as "disingenuous rubbish"

The newspaper says Mandela is "the most potent symbol of revolutionary challenge to the authority of the state in the Western world"

The paper describes the AAM, which will receive half the multimillion-rand takings, as a body whose sympathies lie with the ambitions of the ANC

SA bid to stop BBC televising concert

LONDON — The Anti-Apartheid Movement is set to notch up its biggest publicity triumph on Saturday when a potential TV audience of one-billion tunes in to watch the Nelson Mandela 70th Birthday Tribute concert at Wembley.

The event is expected to raise £1.2m, half of which will go to an assortment of charities, with the rest to the AAM

It will feature hundreds of famous rock, jazz and classical musicians and a host of TV and movie stars.

The SA embassy in London and SA's Foreign Affairs Department yesterday released a statement condemning the BBC for turning down a request not to broadcast the concert.

The statement said the SA embassy had recently directed representations to the highest level at the BBC. "Questions have been raised about the ultimate use of the funds . . . as well as the principle of giving a platform to events organised on behalf of the ANC."

The BBC rejected the representations on both grounds, though it is believed

MIKE ROBERTSON

many of the political speeches at the concert will be cut out

The embassy said. "It is ironic that, while increased efforts are being made in the UK to curtail funding for organisations using violent methods, the ANC is offered this financial windfall"

The embassy said "It is difficult to escape the conclusion that many BBC programmes, whether by commission or omission, are intended to project a consistently inaccurate and misleading image of SA."

AAM president Archbishop Trevor Huddleston said the concert's sole purpose was to pay tribute to Mandela and the ANC would not benefit financially.

□ Sapa reports the SA embassy in London has also taken issue with the BBC over the screening of a programme last night in which it was alleged some children in SA had been detained and tortured by security police.

10-16/6/88 (11A) W. M. M. M. M.

Motlana attacked for Israeli visit

TWENTY-FOUR United Democratic Front affiliates this week slammed the recent visit to Israel by Dr Ntatho Motlana, life president of the restricted Soweto Civic Association.

Motlana's trip as a guest of Israel's Foreign Ministry flew in the face of many extra-parliamentary organisation groups' identification with the struggle of the Palestine Liberation Organisation, according to the affiliates

In an open letter to "the Palestinian people and and the PLO", the affiliates — who include the Soweto Students' Congress, Federation of South African Women, Transvaal Indian Congress and various student and civic bodies — state they "disassociate ourselves and the democratic movement from the visit to Israel".

The letter objects to Motlana's acceptance of an official invitation from the Israeli government because the United Democratic Front was not consulted.

"The UDF has, prior to its banning, always supported the struggles of oppressed people for national liberation throughout the world. Hence its support for the Palestinian struggle under the leadership of the PLO," the letter states.

"We are dismayed and embarrassed

By **THANDEKA GQUBULE**

at the callous statements he has uttered about the struggle of the Palestinian people."

In an interview with the *Weekly Mail*, Motlana denied reports claiming he believed black South Africans were incorrectly reading the Middle Eastern political map in emotionally identifying with the Palestinians.

"I never implied that black South Africans do not understand the issues involved in Israel," he told *WM*. "I personally felt that having been there I was able to pick up more intricate nuances of the Israeli situation that I might not have picked up a few thousand miles away."

Motlana said he had questioned his hosts closely on allegations of South African-Israeli co-operation in nuclear energy projects and the exportation of South African oranges as Israeli produce. The Israelis had denied both claims

Motlana also reportedly said there were no similarities between Jerusalem and Pretoria.

Motlana told *WM* the Israeli problem was different because unlike Israel "South Africa continues to prosper as one national state. The only

problem is how to introduce universal franchise in an unfragmented South Africa"

But he added, "I think there is no doubt that many of the military methods that have been used in Israel and South Africa are very similar. Many people will say South Africa takes its tough uncompromising methods of crowd control from the Israelis"

Commenting on Yitzhak Rabin, Israel's hardline defence minister, he said "Oh he's bad, bad, bad"

Motlana said he had observed great division within the Israeli-Jewish community on the solution to Israel's problems

In what amounts to a contradiction of Motlana's view, the publicity secretary of the Soweto Civic Association, Sekgabi Mokoena, said there were definite parallels to be drawn between the situation in Israel and that in South Africa

World Alliance of Reformed Churches leader Dr Allan Boesak said this week said there were clear comparisons to be made between the situations in South Africa and Israel. However, his main fear for the future was that "the South African conflict could glide into the type of civil war found in the Middle East".

Mr X tells of attitude to Govt

A STATE witness giving evidence in camera in the Pan Africanist Congress/Qibla terror trial yesterday told the Pretoria Regional Court that although he abhorred apartheid and the suppression of black people in South Africa, "I have no political grievances against the Government."

Mr X also told the court during cross-examination by the defence lawyer, Mr Dikgang Moseneke, that he did not know why he was warned by the court that he might incriminate himself in the trial.

He said he left the country while on holiday with a valid passport in December, 1985.

"I am not a member of the PAC or Qibla and it has never been my intention to be a member of these organisations," Mr X said.

He was testifying in the trial of five alleged members of the PAC and two of Qibla.

They have pleaded not guilty before Mr. J.H. Bekker to 24 counts of terrorism and, defeating the ends of justice.

Reverend

They are Mr Mabutu Enoch Zulu, Mr Siyabulela Ndoda Gcanga, Mr Vincent Mathunjwa, Mr Setsiba Paul Mohohlo, the Reverend Dan Nkopodi, Mr Achmand Cassiem and Mr Yusuf Patel.

Mr X said he and a group of people, including one of the accused, Mr Patel, left South Africa in December, 1985, for Botswana and ultimately Zimbabwe.

They stayed for a while in Botswana before leaving for Zimbabwe where they stayed at two houses which he described as residential areas of the PAC.

His intentions, the court heard, had never been to leave South Africa permanently or to join any organisation.

Cross-examined by Mr Moseneke, Mr X said he has never been a member or sympathiser of a political organisation.

Grievances

Asked by Mr Moseneke if he had any grievances against the South African Government, Mr X said he only had two, "suffering of blacks and apartheid."

Mr X said his passport, which was seized temporarily by Zimbabwe's intelligence police, was later given to him and he came to South Africa by air during March, 1986.

He conceded during cross-examination that he was not arrested by the police because he had gone to these countries while on holiday. He was arrested last Wednesday.

(Proceeding)

UDF man urges 'work underground'

IN A major position paper, a United Democratic Front executive member said yesterday the "mass democratic movement" should master "the techniques of secret and underground work".

Titus Mafolo also said the "democratic movement" will boycott and campaign against the October municipal elections, but has opened the way for "white democrats" to "use the elections".

Mafolo is one of the few members of the UDF national executive not in detention, on trial or restricted. He wrote this paper in his personal capacity because the UDF is currently prohibited under Emergency restrictions that prevent it or its office bearers, in their official capacities, from taking part in political activities.

Weekly Mail Reporter

Aspects of his paper may be published because he has claimed individual responsibility for it.

He said in his paper that techniques of underground work were imperative "because more often than not large scale detentions break the nucleus of our organisations.

"Activists must learn to operate underground because the State of Emergency will be with us for many years," he said.

He also called for demoralised activists to be revitalised, vigilance, discipline, education and training to guide the movement's work and ideological unity.

Mafolo rejects arguments that bodies such as the UDF should partici-

pate in the elections to render them effective, to use the structures to propagate democratic views or to get "access to the people".

However, in confirming the boycott, he added that this was a strategy rather than an inflexible principle.

"We recognise that conditions in the white areas are different. ... White democrats should use the elections to strengthen the alliances forged in the white community and to win more white to a mass democratic movement."

No UDF activist could stand as a candidate and no affiliate could participate as a UDF structure, but approaches to the elections should be worked out "in consultation with local UDF structures", he said.

●See PAGE 15

(11A) Wilmer 10-16/6/88

'SA agents killed Dulcie September'

The Star's Foreign New Service Staff
and Melanie Gosling 10/1/85

A French anti-terrorist squad claims to have proof that South African agents assassinated ANC representative Mrs Dulcie September on March 29, sources said in Paris yesterday (11A)

Belgian police have reportedly named "South African Sergeant-Major Joseph Klue", who is stationed at an army base in Oudtshoorn, as one of the alleged assassins.

When The Star spoke to Sergeant-Major Klue today he denied having anything to do with Mrs September's death and said he was in South Africa at the time

Sergeant-Major Klue was posted to South Africa House in London in the early 1980s when he was a warrant officer. It is reported from Paris that he left London hastily in 1982 when Britain was on the point of expelling him on the grounds that he was "carrying out functions which were incom-

patible with his status", it was reported from Paris.

It was alleged he specialised in infiltrating the ANC in London and other European capitals

Sergeant-Major Klue denied today having left Britain "hastily" and said he had left simply because his three-year period with South Africa House had ended.

The French theory is that the September slaying was linked with the bid to kill another ANC representative, Mr Gabriel Motsepe, in the Belgian capital this year.

Recently, Interpol issued an international arrest warrant, charging Sergeant-Major Klue only with the attempt on the life of Mr Motsepe. It is possible that France will soon take similar steps over the September crime

A source said French security officers would tell their British counterparts that Sergeant-Major Klue worked with three British agents, one of them named Ms San-

dra Miller, who has a Glasgow bank account which always has a float of R400 000 in it.

Today, Sergeant-Major Klue laughed when The Star asked him about his alleged connections with British agents and said he had never heard of Sandra Miller.

Security officers were in London and Brussels yesterday, co-ordinating their murder hunt with police there. Scotland Yard declined to comment.

French police were ordered to reopen the September case when the socialist government took office on May 12

But evidence would not be made public until the results of next Sunday's parliamentary elections were known, sources said

Meanwhile, it was leaked that the bank account financed anti-ANC operations in Europe organised by Pretoria's National Intelligence Service (NIS)

Sergeant-Major Klue denied ever having worked for NIS

Mandela concert brings SA protest

The Star Bureau

LONDON — South Africa has protested to the British government about the BBC's plan to televise Saturday's pop concert organised by the Anti-Apartheid Movement to celebrate Nelson Mandela's 70th birthday, the leader of the House of Commons, Mr. John Wakeham, said yesterday.

The Tory backbench also protested to Mr. Wakeham about the plan.

But Ali McGraw, in London to attend the concert, said she hoped it would bring greater awareness of South Africa's problems.

Star 10/6/82

Message from jailed leader to be read out

LONDON — A message from Nelson Mandela, smuggled from Pollsmoor prison near Cape Town, will be read out at tomorrow's concert in London to celebrate the 70th birthday of the leader of the African National Congress.

The message is likely to add to a growing controversy over how the BBC, which is televising the concert, should fulfil its duty to be impartial.

The South African Government yesterday made representations to British Ministers about the corporation's plans to broadcast 10 hours of the concert, organised by the Anti-Apartheid Movement, live on radio.

Twenty-four Conservative MPs, led by Mr. John Carlisle, have put down a House of Commons motion criticising the BBC for giving "publicity to a movement that encourages the African National Congress in its terrorist activities".

Television producers have been told by Mr. Michael Checkland, the BBC's director-general, to treat the concert as a major musical event, on a par with the Live Aid charity-raising appeal — The Independent News Service

Star 10/6/82

Teacher goes to jail

1179
sowetan
10/11/88

PRE-SCHOOL teacher Farieda Khan was due to begin serving a six-month sentence yesterday for being a member of the African National Congress.

In April, Khan pleaded guilty to being a member of the ANC from December 1982 to June 1987 and was sentenced to two years' imprisonment, of which 18 months were conditionally suspended for five years.

She said although she had appealed, she had decided to go to jail.

"My attorney said the appeal could take more than a year to be settled. Seeing the sentence is six months we felt that we should get it over and done with. But I will not withdraw my appeal."

for
sowetan
10/6/88
Richard

Walking to J

Billion should see Mandela concert on TV

11A
11/16/84

LONDON — Spurred by the controversy surrounding the event, an incredible one billion people are expected to see the Nelson Mandela 70th birthday tribute concert being televised at Wembley Stadium today.

According to Ken Wall, president of Radio Vision International, the US distributor which has sold the programme for international telecast, the transmission will be seen live by more than 750 million people in over 50 countries.

"Tape-delayed airings will easily push the audience over the 1 000 million mark," he said.

But, for one reason or another, yesterday was a nerve-frazzled day, with more than 2 000 riggers, set-builders and lighting and sound technicians racing to complete preparations for 10 hours of live performances in between intermittent showers of rain.

Added to that was the growing criticism about the politicisation of the event, even though the BBC insists it is screening the concert as a musical presentation only.

The left-of-centre *Independent* newspaper entered the row, saying the BBC was wrong to claim the concert was an apolitical event. Despite the fact that it aimed to cut away from any political material (which could later be reflected in a news broadcast),

GARNER THOMSON

it could not predict how political the proceedings at a live concert were going to be, the paper said.

(It has already gaffed with this policy by eschewing as too controversial "Free Nelson Mandela" as the song to accompany trailers advertising the concert in favour of the far more political Funeral — the music accompanying Steve Biko's burial in the film, *Cry Freedom*, and the African freedom anthem, *Nkosi Sikelele Afrika*.)

Meanwhile, George Michael, one of the concert's most popular headliners, revealed that it was South Africa — and not personality clashes — that was responsible for the break-up of Wham, the pop partnership launched with Andrew Ridgely.

He said he discovered that his management company, Nomis, has been bought by Kunic, the majority of whose shares were owned by Sun City.

He claimed the management had tried to keep the truth from him, and added "I couldn't tolerate the South African connection."

Michael, appearing despite medical fears about the condition of his throat, was making no secret of the political nature of his commitment to the concert.

He said "It's important for people like me to make a stand because people get tired of seeing the same names involved in anything political."

Michael added "I'd be quite happy to pull all of my records out of South Africa."

"I don't care about the money I honestly believe that total sanctions are the only way."

Co-coordinator Neil Ferris described the concert as "probably the most important musical event of the year, maybe even the decade."

"Everyone has their own political views I think we all feel very strongly about this and I think it's going to be a very big success."

Most of the 80 000 fans already gathering for the biggest internationally broadcast music event since Live Aid would — regardless of politics — probably agree.

111A

1st Programme and Message to the Weekend - Back Page 33 Top of the Times

Mandela message from Pollsmoor?

LONDON — The political row over today's huge "Free Mandela" pop concert here, which is being televised worldwide, was fuelled yesterday by a newspaper report that a message from Mr Nelson Mandela smuggled from Pollsmoor Prison would be read out there

In the House of Commons, British government ministers said Whitehall was considering representations from 'Pretoria' about BBC Television's live screening of the 10-hour concert as Conservative MPs accused the BBC of giving air time to terrorism.

Labour MP Mr David Winnick said "The BBC should treat the complaint with total contempt. We are dealing in South Africa with a bunch of racist fanatics"

An advert placed in The Times by the South African Embassy here says "Nelson Mandela could be free if he gives a commitment that he will not make himself guilty of planning, instigating or committing acts of violence for the furtherance of political objectives"

The London Independent said it was "likely to add to a growing controversy over how the BBC should fulfil its duty to be impartial"

The BBC insists that it is treating the concert as a major musical event.

The concert, at London's Wembley Arena, will feature some of the top names in pop music, including Dire Straits, George Michael, Whitney Houston, Phil Collins and the Bee Gees

All 72 000 tickets have been sold at about R100 each. The profits from the ticket sales and the international television

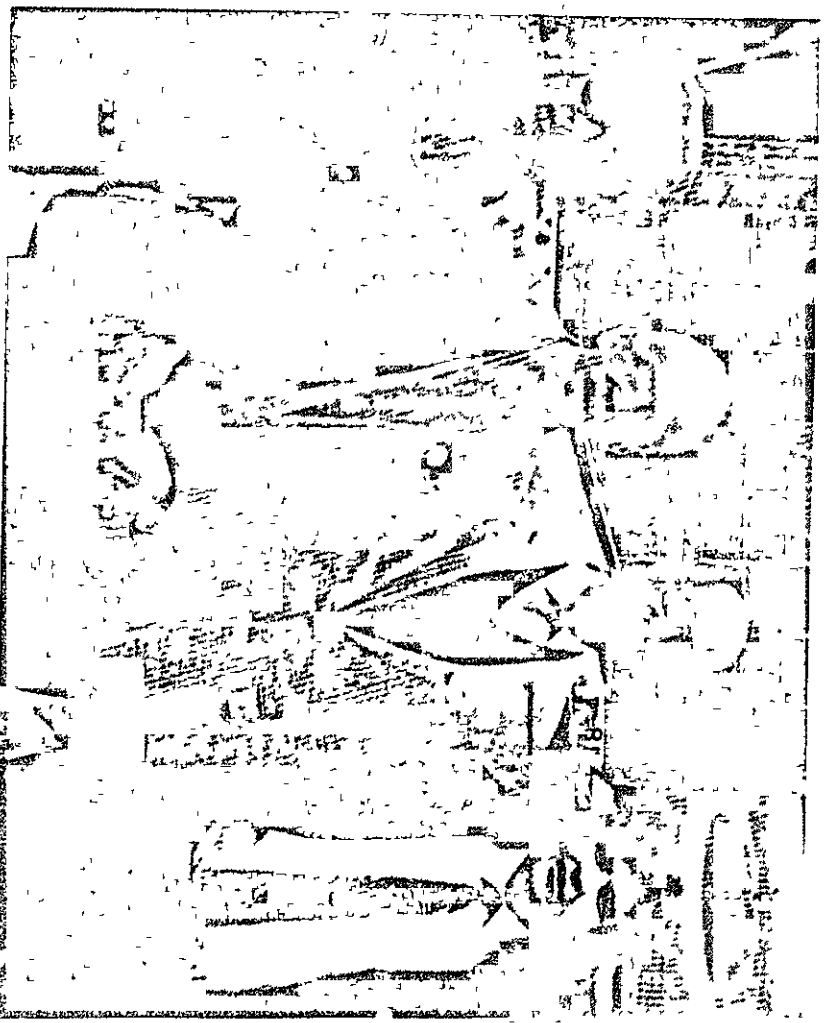
rights will be split equally between the Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM) and seven charities involved in helping children in Southern Africa

The International Freedom Foundation announced yesterday that it was placing a quarter-page advert in today's issue of Britain's biggest-selling daily newspaper, The Sun, to protest against the concert.

The organizers of the concert maintain it is simply a musical event to kick off the "Free Mandela" campaign and to celebrate next month's 70th birthday of the imprisoned ANC leader

An all-party House of Commons motion calling for the unconditional release of Mr Mandela has attracted 217 signatures

A counter-motion by right-wing Tory MP Mr John Carlisle condemning the BBC for showing the concert has been signed by 24 parliamentarians — Sapa



MANDELA CONCERT . . . Inside the Wembley Arena, venue for tonight's Mandela concert, are (from the left) pop singer Little Stevan, Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, president of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, Mr Ismael Ayob, Mandela's lawyer, and pop singer Meatloaf
Picture REUTERS

Slide into

Star 11/6/88

In which PATRICK LAURENCE concludes that major actors in the struggle for South Africa are

The "armed struggle" of the outlawed African National Congress is steadily degenerating into naked terrorism, contradicting and negating its public commitment to the 1977 Protocols of the Geneva Conventions on the conduct of war

The bomb which killed four civilians outside a bank in Roodepoort last week was a textbook terrorist attack which the ANC has neither condemned nor repudiated

The Roodepoort bomb was not an isolated blast in which civilians rather than security forces or security installations were the obvious target. Rather it seems to be part of a pattern

Late last month, on May 26, two bombs exploded in the city centre of Pretoria, injuring four lunchtime shoppers. Only four days earlier, on May 22, four people were fatally injured when handgrenades were lobbed into a meeting of the Sofasonkwe Party in Soweto

On April 15 two limpet mines exploded outside a cinema complex in Pretoria shortly before the audience left. One of the bombs detonated prematurely, blowing up the suspected bomber instead of the departing crowd. On March 17 a huge car bomb exploded outside the Magistrate's Court in Krugersdorp, killing three civilians

Attacks such as these may, of course, have been undertaken by ill-disciplined ANC insurgents, acting either in contravention of the official ANC policy of avoiding direct attacks on non-combatants or on an inadequate understanding of the policy

Brigadier Leon Mellet, of the office of the Minister of the Law and Order, gives some credence to that view. He labels the men behind the latest spate of terror bombs "mad criminals"

But by not dissociating themselves from the terror bombers, the ANC leaders indirectly but unmistakably condone their actions. It largely reduces attempts to explain the bombs away as the work of the Pan-Africanist Congress or police agent provocateurs to transparent rationalisations

But any doubt that may have remained is removed by remarks made by Mr Chris Hanu, the Chief of Staff of the ANC underground army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, and Mr Steve Tshwete, Umkhonto's political commissar, in interviews with *The Times* of London and the *New York Times*

They want to broaden the war by taking it out of the black townships into the purported white cities (whose streets are usually crowded with black people). Their motive or rationale is to remove the protective cocoon around whites and to make them suffer for apartheid

Describing the privileged and protected existence of whites, Mr Hanu says "(Apartheid) guarantees a happy life for them, a



INNOCENT VICTIM Mr Thomas Neme after the bomb blast outside Witwatersrand Command in Johannesburg last year. one of the many civilians who have been the victims of terrorist attacks which have increasingly been aimed at soft

sweet life. Part of our campaign is to prevent that sweet life"

He goes on to depict a scene in hospital where an injured or maimed white person is visited by friends and relatives, arguing that it will trigger an existential awareness that their physical and psychological pain is the "price of apartheid"

Mr Tshwete offers a similar justification. The war must be taken out of the townships into the suburbs, so that white people will say to themselves "Apartheid is no longer protecting us. Apartheid is killing us"

Mr Tshwete adds "It has been killing blacks for the last 40 years. But it is beginning to kill whites, too, now"

It is in that context that Mr Hanu spoke of the need to extend the list of "legitimate targets" for ANC bombers and assassins. MPs of the ruling National Party and the ultra-rightist Conservative Party and "hanging judges" must be declared "enemies of the peo-

ple", in addition to policemen, soldiers, informers and so on

Twenty-four years ago, in his celebrated statement from the dock, Nelson Mandela, one of the original founders of Umkhonto we Sizwe, told the judge who was later to jail him for life "Strict instructions were given to (Umkhonto) members right from the start that on no account were they to injure or kill people in planning or carrying out operations"

Since then the ANC campaign of "armed struggle" has gradually moved closer to terrorism where civilians are killed as part of a calculated policy of trying to terrorise people into submission

Landmarks in the shift towards terrorism include the June 1985 Kabwe conference, where the ANC declared that it was becoming increasingly difficult to distinguish between "hard" and

"soft" targets and that, consequently, civilian casualties, while regrettable, were inevitable

The considered statements of Mr Hanu and Mr Tshwete constitute another landmark. They give the imprimatur of two top Umkhonto leaders to some of the tougher propaganda statements broadcast by the ANC's Radio Freedom "The time has come when all of us must mourn," Radio Freedom said in October 1985

The movement from armed struggle to open terror is part of a complex process involving several interacting factors

One, obviously, is the escalating conflict in the struggle for South Africa. It is reflected in the number of attacks over the past 12 years, rising from four in 1976 to 234 last year. By the end of May the total for 1988 was 76. On a single day last week there were three

Cross-border raids by South

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African security forces in which civilians as well as ANC cadres have been killed is part of the same equation. Terror is not the monopoly of insurgents, as anyone who has visited a neighbouring state after a South African commando raid knows.

Strife in South Africa itself has contributed

Black youngsters who fled South Africa during the 1976-77 rebellion and again during the 1984-86 township revolt were embittered by the bloodshed in which black people were overwhelmingly the chief victims.

Many ended up in ANC camps. Inured to violence by their experience in the townships — 575 people were killed in 1976-77 and at least 2,326 in 1984-86 — they provided an impetus to tougher pursuit of the war. There have been reports for years of growing pressure for greater and more

systematic use of terror by young recruits to Umkhonto.

ANC theoreticians have added their own input by increasingly widening the circle of "legitimate targets" until there is a growing and significant overlap between designated enemies and ordinary people.

And so the net reaches deeper and deeper into South African society, catching members of the security forces, farmers (because they are integrated into the defence structure), "collaborators" (township councillors and members of black "homeland" legislative assemblies), perceived informers, and — judging from the still unrepudiated hand-grenade and AK-47 attack on the Sofasonkwe meeting, even supporters of township councillors.

Now the majority of MPs in the white chamber of Parliament and key bureaucrats in Government departments have been added by Mr Hanı and Mr Tshwete.

The families of the growing list of "legitimate targets" must be added as bomb attacks are often made on their homes at night and landmines planted on farmroads used by their families, friends and their servants.

The ANC is committed to disrupting the pending October municipal elections when South Africans of all races will go to the polls to elect racially separate town councils. Justifying the use of "revolutionary violence", Mr Hanı says "We will not allow puppet organisations to put up candidates to campaign in those elections."

Will revolutionary violence include bombing civilians who attend pre-election meetings, even if they are elderly people with only the rudiments of formal education, as were many of the victims at the Sofasonkwe meeting in Soweto?

The quotes by Mr Hanı were published earlier in the week in The Star. Mr Vlok responded angrily to his comments saying "Do not underestimate our fist of iron."

Another critical factor in the process leading to terrorism has been the closing down of all but approved avenues of peaceful protest, leaving the growing class of politically conscious blacks with three unpalatable options: Submission, service in state-approved political institutions, with the risk of being targeted by assassins as a collaborator, or rebellion.

It is perhaps no accident that the number of insurgent attacks rose sharply in March. On February 24 the Government suddenly shackled 17 extra-parliamentary organisations, forbidding them from undertaking any "activity or act whatsoever", and severely restricting another. Looking back, the major political actors in the struggle for South Africa appear to have combined to make the process towards terrorism almost inexorable.

Now SA has its own blueprint to counter terror

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Terrorism is the weapon of the weak, of the revolutionary with meagre resources and without mass support, states a 74 page mimeograph entitled "The Art of Counter-Revolutionary War".

The statement should not, however, be dismissed as a mere sop designed to pacify anxious citizens at a time of an increasing number of terror bombs and concomitant uncertainty.

"The Art of Counter-Revolutionary War" was distributed to MPs and state functionaries by an anonymous donor, presumably acting on orders from above. But more important it contains many of the ideas which are integral to the Government's strategy of neutralising the revolutionary threat.

It seems to serve as a handbook to counter-revolutionary South African-style a P W Botha equivalent to Mao Tse-Tsung's famous Little Red Book.

On terrorism, it says "The revolutionary cannot obtain permanent support from the population by way of deeds of terror. Terror may drive people to support the administration, provided the government may offer safety."

Thus by deduction, terrorism offers an opportunity to the Government to undermine the revolutionaries, as much as it constitutes a threat.

One technique recommended by the handbook is to establish self-defence units to enable local people to protect themselves. It notes "If the masses do not have the will or means to resist, their need for personal safety will overshadow their loyalty to the ruling authority."

Drawing from post-World War II experience in Malaya, where the British conducted a successful counter-insurgency campaign against Chinese communists, the handbook recommends the creation of a special constabulary and an auxiliary police service.

South Africa already has special constables and municipal police. The first special constables or "kitskonstables" were recruited in 1986, while the first municipal police graduated in 1985. They have helped to augment the SAP and to bolster the authority of the township councils.

A related concept to self-defence units is that of area defence. The SADF already utilises the notion of area defence by drawing local men into the commando system to defend their own immediate hearth.

Another vital step is to re-establish the shattered local authorities. "Organising an effective administration, especially in isolated areas/places is the first and most important action in counter-strategy," the handbook says.

The former Commissioner of Police, General Johan Coetzee, gave top priority to salvaging the township councillors from the political wreckage left by the first furious outburst of township rebellion in 1984-85.

He retired last year. But nothing has happened to suggest that new priorities have taken over. The October municipal elections are proof of that. Millions of rands are being spent to persuade blacks to vote and the February 24 crackdown on extra-parliamentary opposition organisations is believed by political observers to have been motivated by the desire to prevent them from wrecking the elections.

"The administration must have a clear and well defined national strategy/ policy or programme for the future," the handbook counsels. "An effective and well motivated administration will deny revolutionaries the initiative."

Whether the Government has the funds, the determination and the will power to carry its counter-revolutionary programme to a successful conclusion is a moot point. But without some sort of political settlement with credible black leaders, its chances are minimal.

Now SA has its own blueprint to counter terror

(1A) ~~SECRET~~ ~~SECRET~~ Sep 11/6/88

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Please, Mr Bawa, tells us more about the freedoms we enjoy

Dear Mr Ibrahim Bawa,

Congratulations on being elevated to the status of "a prominent Indian leader". That is not your description but one bestowed on you by his master's echo, SABC TV's Network.

I read in a Sunday newspaper that you did not respond to numerous messages its reporters left for you regarding your interview with the National Party's ace propagandist, Cliff Saunders. I too tried unsuccessfully — to contact you.

In the circumstances, please forgive us if we are wrong in believing you are not answering awkward questions. For example, in praising the perpetrators of apartheid for scrapping the influx control laws, you claimed that there is now freedom of movement, of association, and that job reservation had been scrapped.

Really? Then how come the most important job in the land, that of State President, is reserved for whites?

Please explain. Why do so many of our compatriots have freedom of movement, but are refused pas-

ports?

Do tell us about the Group Areas Act. How free are African people to move house or shop in areas designated for other population groups as defined by your newly found champions of freedom and reform?

Please, Mr Prominent Indian Leader, tell us more about freedom of association.

They have made it repeatedly clear that separate residential areas and schools are non-negotiable. Can you tell us if our children have freedom of association? Can they attend any public school of their choice? Or is their racial classification the first criterion?

Tell us how free you yourself are to sit next to one of your colleagues, Dr Ram Saloojee, at a meeting of ICSA of which, his master's echo informs us, you are ex-director?

Let me remind you that Dr Saloojee is vice-president of ICSA. In February, he was again restricted by your newly found champions of freedom. What was

his crime? Was it that he carried out his Islamic duty to fight injustice and oppression?

In terms of the restrictions, Dr Saloojee cannot participate in any activities of ICSA, which, in any case, is a small body not taken very seriously by most Muslims. Nor can he participate in activities of the United Democratic Front, of which he is Transvaal vice-president.

So great is the freedom of movement and association with which your champions of reform have endowed Dr Saloojee that he is confined to the magisterial districts of Johannesburg and Vereeniging.

He may not address meetings at which 10 or more people are present, nor may he be involved in publications, which means he can't be quoted. If he could, he might have said that you are talking nonsense.

You told Mr Saunders "blacks don't very much like Indians". Can you prove that? Do you not consider yourself black? You regard yourself as "Indian". Pray do tell us how Islam defines an "Indian". What, in South Africa, is an Indian?

As a member of ICSA, did you consider yourself as an "Indian" or a "Muslim"? If you regard yourself as a Muslim, what about Muslim people in South Africa who are classified "black" by your champions of reform? Do they dislike you because you are classified "Indian"?

Did you believe that because a person classified "black" disliked you, you had no other alternative but to join the great reformists who are champions of

their version of Christian Nationalism?

To Mr Saunders, you claimed that Islam was against communism and socialism. Pray, do explain what you mean by socialism?

You said Islam calls for the equitable distribution of wealth, and then you implied that controlled capitalism was the right vehicle for it. Pardon my ignorance about the subtleties of such things, but I always believed equitable distribution of wealth was also a socialist concept.

It is true that Islam and communism cannot be bed-fellows. But surely, if Muslims are against communism, are you saying they must support apartheid by default? Or are you implying that if a Muslim were to choose between apartheid and communism, between apartheid and socialism, he would have to choose apartheid?

You also claimed that most "Indians" would not vote for the UDF or ANC. If that is indeed so, then why do your champions of free association refuse to let those classified as "Indian", or whatever, state publicly by way of the ballot box where they stand in relation to these organisations?

Why are the champions of free association so scared to let us have genuinely free and democratic elections, irrespective of their racial classification of us, so that we can once and for all determine who enjoys our support?

You commended Chief Mangosuthu Buthelez during your interview as far as I recall, Chief Buthelezi

warned those classified as "Indian" and "coloured" against participating in the racist tricameral apartheid you are about to join.

You implied that Chief Buthelezi's "restraining power" had been responsible for preventing "blacks" from having a go at "Indians" in Natal. Surely that means he doesn't dislike "Indians".

Freedom of movement, freedom of association, reform?

Muhammad, the prophet of Islam, spoke out strongly against the notion of any one race group being superior to another. In fact, Islam calls on its followers to pick leaders from the best among us.

If Nelson Mandela, Chief Buthelezi and even P W Botha are regarded by the people as the best, why are they not allowed to vote for them?

I also want to ask you. If what you say is true that most "Indians" don't support the UDF or ANC, then whom do they support — the HD?

If so, then how come less than 20 percent of those classified "Indian" endorsed the tricameral system? And if the vast majority of "Indians" reject the HD, is that where you want to be?

And if and when you get into the HD, will you be speaking only for Indians as an "own affairs" Wall Muslims classified as "black" or "coloured" or "other coloured" or "white", or any of God's other children for that matter, he someone else's affairs?

Either you are politically confused, Mr Bawa, or I am. Please answer these questions to put my simple mind at ease. — Ameen Akhmalwaya

BASIL ELK ESTIMES
The Watchmakers
Copyright Basil Elk, 1988

Overheard at the dentist.
"Basal Elk Estaries sold it
it was absolutely painless!"

Owner opinion

Stand as a candidate for the fringes of the Left or Right, for the kindness to animals



THIS OFF TO QUALITY
Hats off to Mr Sam Mabe
For the first time since I have
been in South Africa I pay
key to every door, and Sam
Mabe has an abundance of it.
So let Bishop Tutu abide

BBC biased ^{Star 11/6/88} embassy _(11A)

LONDON — The South African Embassy has returned to the attack over the "Suffer The Children" programme on BBC television earlier this week.

In a statement the embassy said the programme, in which it was alleged that South African security police had detained and tortured children, contained factual inaccuracies and elements of propaganda.

"It played on emotions and was biased," said the embassy.

"It contained unproven allegations and revealed a gullibility in the unquestioning acceptance of such allegations.

"There was no mention of the ANC's instigation of violence by children in the 'people's courts', or the murder of black councillors, officials and others whom young chil-

dren, acting as judge, jury and executioner deemed to be 'collaborators'.

"Oliver Tambo of the ANC, on January 8 1987, described the children as the 'shock troops of the revolution'.

"There was no mention of the brutal intimidation by black school children of their black school colleagues who did not wish to fall in with their wishes.

"Visual material on these atrocities has been offered to the BBC but it has declined to use the material"

The embassy said South African law entitled all complaints regarding police behaviour to be reported and placed a responsibility on the State to investigate all such complaints.

"Minister of Law and

Order Mr Adriaan Vlok has repeatedly invited parents and associates of alleged victims of police actions to come forward with proof for thorough investigation.


"Only recently two policemen were convicted of murder and sentenced to death."

The embassy said Mr Vlok had stated that the SAP intended to investigate every allegation made in the film, no matter how long it took.

This week Mr Vlok denied there were any children of 15 years of age in detention.

"We hope that the BBC will give prominence to the results of the police investigations, since they have refused the South African Government the right of reply on this occasion," the embassy said. — Sapa.

Birthday bash in London for Mandela

12/6/88
C/Press
11A


CP Correspondent

TOP artists from all over the world are lining up to add their names to the bill for the "Nelson Mandela Freedom at 70" concert which will be held in London this Saturday

The mass music event, dubbed the biggest thing since Live Aid, marks the start of a world-wide Re-

lease Mandela Campaign, launched to mark his 70th birthday

The date was chosen because it is the anniversary of the Rivonia Trial sentencing in 1964. This year is the 25th of Mandela's incarceration

The 10-hour concert at London's Wembley Stadium will be broadcast live

across the world

Top artists already billed include Chubby Checker, Roberta Flack, Harry Belafonte, Whoopi Goldberg, Whitney Houston, UB40, Joan Armatrading, the Eurythmics and Dire Straits. Organisers say more musicians and singers are coming forward daily to commit themselves to the event

Sunday will see the start of a five-day, 1 000km freedom march through Britain by 25 people, each symbolising a year of Mandela's imprisonment

A rally to send them on their way will be addressed in Glasgow by ANC president Oliver Tambo, leader of the Anti-apartheid Movement, Father Trevor Huddleston, and the chairman of the UN Special Committee On Apartheid, Gen Joseph Garba

The march will be led by three former prisoners of apartheid: Indires Naidoo, an ANC veteran who spent 10 years on Robben Island with Mandela, Alan Brooks deputy executive secretary of Aam who more than 20 years ago was imprisoned for sabotage and a former Robben Island prisoner from Namibia whose identity is being withheld until his appearance.

The march ends on June 18, Mandela's birthday, with a massive rally in London to be addressed by Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Andimba Toiva ja Toiva, Swapo secretary general and former Robben Island prisoner, and Sir Richard Attenborough, producer of the film *Cry Freedom*.

Other rallies will be held between June 11 and June 18 in major cities including New York, Paris, Amsterdam, Rome and Helsinki.

● See Showbiz, page 9

By Sipho Jacobs

Mandela's birthday festival is Europe's show of the year



Masekela and Makeba ... playing for Mandela.

12-6-88 C/Neil
11A

TOMORROW'S music festival at London's Wembley Stadium in celebration of jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela's 70th birthday, is expected to be one of the the biggest events to hit Europe this year

As could be expected, South Africans will not get to see the BBC-televised live show that millions of viewers worldwide will be watching

SABC's Louis Pienaar has confirmed this

Predictably, Bop-TV be will not be screening the Mandela birthday bash either Spokesman David Mthibane told *City Press* his station did not have the technical capability to screen the show

And in London, the line-up for the 10-and-half-hour gig includes a galaxy of stars: Whitney Houston, Sade, George Michael, Miriam Makeba, Hugh Masekela, Abdullah Ibrahim, reggae-funk band UB40 and many others

Organised by the British Anti-Apartheid Movement and supporters of the Release Mandela Campaign in Europe, the festival has caused a "stink" in diplomatic relations between South Africa and the UK

A spokesman at the SA embassy in London, Aubrey Dwyer, expressed concern earlier this week at the coverage being given to the concert by the BBC

"We are worried that it might raise money for dissident and terrorist movements," he said

He added that if the concert had been arranged purely to help the underprivileged in South Africa, "We'll cheer things on"

Several right-wing Tory MPs, notably John Carlisle, have said they are unhappy that the BBC appears to be endorsing a tribute to Mandela

Half the proceeds from the festival will be divided between the Save The Children Fund, War and Want, Christian Aid, Cafod and other organisations involved in working with children in South Africa The other half goes to the British Anti-Apartheid Movement

According to a BBC spokesperson "It will be one of the biggest rock events of the year - perhaps the biggest."

She added the entertainment angle of the show would be highlighted, and no political speeches included

"I imagine we'll opt out of any political speeches and have interviews with some of the stars, because that's what our viewers will want"

A source within the production office, however, doubted this would be possible

ACQUITTAL REFUSED

AN APPLICATION for the acquittal of one of the seven alleged members of the banned Pan Africanist Congress and the dropping of some of the 24 charges of terrorism against others was dismissed in the Pretoria Regional Court on Friday.

Mr. Dikgang Moseke, the defence counsel, made an

application for the acquittal of Mr Vincent Mathunjwa on all counts because of lack of evidence implicating him in the case

A statement by Mr Mathunjwa which he made to the police was ruled inadmissible by the magistrate, Mr J H Bekker, earlier during the trial after it was proved that it was not

made freely and voluntarily.

Mr Bekker dismissed the application but discharged two of the accused on one charge of terrorism.

The seven accused have pleaded not guilty to 24 counts of terrorism and defeating the ends of justice

The case was postponed to July 15

Worrall: 'I would free Mandela'

Own Correspondent

LONDON — If he were in power, Dr Denis Worrall would be prepared to release Mr Nelson Mandela unconditionally.

Dr Worrall, former South African ambassador to Britain and leader of the Independent Party, yesterday stated this on a marathon televised debate in which he clashed with opponents of apartheid — including the ANC.

He was appearing on the open-ended discussion show "After Dark" which began soon after the Mandela concert at the Wembley Arena was over, and finished well into the early hours of yesterday morning.

During the live programme, which dealt with a vast range of South African issues, from sanctions and the role of the business community to the release of Mr Mandela, Dr Worrall came in for some tough questioning from his fellow guests.

Others on the programme included American singer, actor and anti-apartheid campaigner Harry Belafonte, South African poet Breyten Breytenbach, an ANC research officer, Mr Esop Pahad, Mr Mandela's lawyer for the past 16 years, Mr Ishamail Ayob, the Guardian newspaper's specialist in Third World affairs, Ms Victoria Britten, who has just completed a book, "Hidden Lives, Hidden Deaths — South Africa's Crippling of a Continent".

Rio Tino Zinc, Consolidated Gold and Barclays Bank were invited to take part to put across the business point of view, but all declined.

At one point in the debate, Dr Worrall was pressed by various panelists on whether he would release Mr Mandela unconditionally if he were in power.

He said the release of Mr Mandela must form part of a "very clear commitment that all apartheid has to end, a very clear timetable for the removal of all apartheid" and a "very clear statement that all interests and rights defined in terms of language, religion and culture should be recognized".

SA govt silent on rock concert

Political Correspondent

THERE was no immediate reaction from the government on the Nelson Mandela rock concert in London, which was proclaimed an anti-apartheid triumph by organisers of the event.

The Minister of Information, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, said he did not want to comment "at this stage" on events at the concert or possible government action resulting from them.

A number of artists paid tribute to the ANC leader and made statements critical of the South African government during the concert, which was televised live to 60 countries.

The BBC last night denied it had issued an instruction to exclude attacks on the South African government during the concert broadcasts.

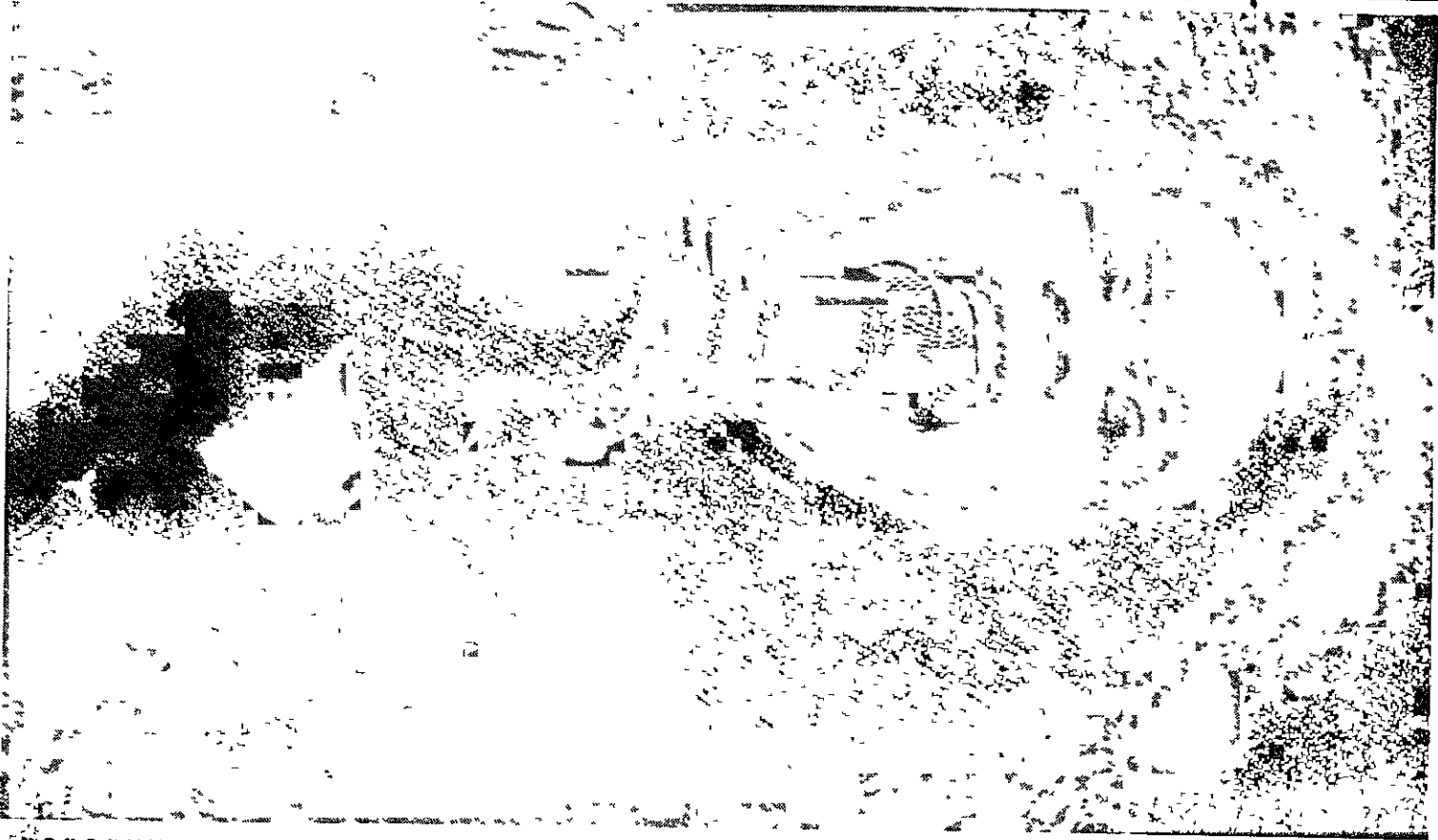
Concert youths in smear bid

Own Correspondent

LONDON — Well-dressed youths outside the Wembley Arena during the Mandela concert tried to distribute fake "souvenir booklets" aimed at smearing the jailed ANC leader.

The 24-page booklets, entitled "Nelson Mandela Speaks", were thrust at arriving fans, allegedly by a right-wing group calling themselves Conservatives Against Apartheid.

The booklets, purported to come from the ANC, were dismissed yesterday by ANC officials as fake.



WHITNEY PERFORMS ... Pop star Whitney Houston in action at Saturday's Mandela concert. She was told that among the prisoners in Pollsmoor who were her fans was Ahmed Kathrada, who is serving a life term along with Nelson Mandela. The singer said she was "delighted" to have fans in Pollsmoor.

Picture: P. ...

Prisoners at a French jail went on the rampage when the "lights out" call stopped them seeing the end of the televised Mandela concert. They pounded on their cell doors and banged their mess tins for three hours — Sapa-Reuter.

fail rampage after concert cut

Prisoners at a French jail went on the rampage when the "lights out" call stopped them seeing the end of the televised Mandela concert. They pounded on their cell doors and banged their mess tins for three hours — Sapa-Reuter.

"That in fact features in the Freedom Charter — which many whites don't know," he added.

After several of the panelists repeatedly asked for an unqualified answer, Dr Worrall eventually stated "Yes, I am Yes I am — unconditional."

"In fact, I would like to release him in a way that enables him to be completely effective in the situation."

On the question of Mr Mandela himself, Mr Ayob said "I think it would give him a great deal of hope for the future that there are so many people who cared for him today."

Discussing Mr Mandela's health and mental state, his lawyer said that physically he was in "very good condition" and exercised for about two hours every morning.

Is very astute

"He reads a large number of newspapers. He is studying for a further law degree and mentally he is sharper than anyone I have ever known. It is a pleasure to have a client like him."

"When I take his instructions he will start with the first item and go through it. And then go on to the next item."

"There may be 10 separate instructions but not once would he go back to any of the earlier ones and he doesn't use notes."

●Thousands of Inkatha Youth Brigade members resolved to call on the government to release Mr Mandela.

At a rally held at Umlazi at the weekend, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi also made a plea for Mr Mandela's release.

●About 30 000 people attended a "Free Nelson Mandela" rally in Glasgow yesterday the BBC reported.

The president of the African National Congress, Mr Oliver Tambo, and the moderator of the Ned Geref Sendingkerk, Dr Allan Boesak, were among the speakers.

The BBC said 25 anti-apartheid campaigners set off from Glasgow yesterday on a "Freedom march" across Britain which will end at a rally in London on July 17 — Own Correspondents and Sapa-Reuter.

Stars argued over 'gagging'

8 Nov 13/6/88 (11A)
LONDON — There were fierce behind-the-scenes arguments and threatened withdrawals by some of the performers over attempts to keep politics out of the Nelson Mandela concert at Wembley on Saturday, sources close to the organisers said yesterday.

Part of the pressure to stop participants making political statements came from the Coca-Cola company, which sponsored the broadcast of the concert in the US.

Technicians working for Fox Television and Westwood One Radio, which fed the concert to American networks, said Coca-Cola officials directly oversaw the transmission.

Several artists, including Whoopi Goldberg, the American actress, said they had been told not to make political speeches. Performers are understood to have been advised by the promoters, Elephant House Productions, to keep the concert "non-political".

But musicians and actors ignored the appeals. References to South Africa as a "terrorist state" and to Margaret Thatcher's poli-

cy on apartheid were broadcast live in this country on BBC 2 and Radio One.

Elephant House also decided not to read a message from Nelson Mandela to the performers which was smuggled from his prison in South Africa. Nor did it show a video message from his wife, Winnie Mandela. No-one from Elephant House Productions was available for comment yesterday.

Under pressure from the South African Government and right-wing British politicians, the BBC had maintained that the concert was a purely musical event. In the event, the corporation decided to let the show run and political references went uncensored.

● A crowd of 15 000 took part in a Free Mandela rally in Glasgow yesterday. Twenty-five marchers — one for each year of Mr Mandela's imprisonment — set out to walk 1 000 km from Glasgow to London as part of the protest — The Independent News Service

● See Page 11.

STC 13/6/88

'R8-m raised by Mandela concert'

LONDON — The "Free Nelson Mandela" concert at Wembley Stadium, watched on television by up to a billion viewers in 60 countries, raised R8 million, the BBC reported yesterday

It said the money would be divided equally between the Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM) and seven charities involved in helping children in southern Africa

The South African Government and right-wing Tories have declared that the AAM might pass its share on to the African National Congress

Artists appearing on the Wembley stage openly voiced support for the "Free Mandela" campaign and some launched attacks on the South African Government.

SA accused of ANC smear

STW 13/6/84 The Star Bureau (11A)

LONDON — South African dirty tricksters are being accused of playing propaganda games at the Nelson Mandela birthday concert at Wembley Stadium on Saturday

"Souvenir issue" booklets entitled "Nelson Mandela Speaks", and purporting to come from the African National Congress, were handed out at the concert

Thousands were thrust into the hands of concert-goers, initially unaware that the 24-page booklet was a clever smear on the ANC and Mandela

An ANC spokesman said "This is an attempt by the South African Government to discredit us"

A spokesman for the South African Embassy in London said "We know nothing about this."

Govt tightens grip on Mbeki

Restriction orders on Mr Govan Mbeki, the African National Congress leader who was sentenced to life imprisonment but released from Robben Island last year, have been re-imposed in a more severe form, his Johannesburg lawyer said today

Attorney Mrs Priscilla Jana said Mr Mbeki was now prohibited from being in the company of more than 10 people at a time.

As before, he is confined to the Port Elizabeth area and may not address meetings or give press interviews

A challenge to the restrictions imposed on Mr Mbeki late last year was recently filed in the Eastern Cape Supreme Court, but the matter had not been heard when the emergency expired

A fresh legal challenge to the tougher restriction order will be launched shortly, Mrs Jana said

She said that another of her clients, United Democratic Front co-president Mrs Albertina Sisulu, had also been served with fresh restriction orders

Restriction orders served

13/6/88 Pretoria Bureau/A

Two executive members of the Mamelodi Youth Organisation and Mamelodi Civic Association, Mr Michael Selokane and Mr Sandy Lebesse, were served with restriction orders after their release from detention on Thursday night.

They are prohibited from participating in the activities of local organisations, including the Detainees' Parents Support Committee, Detainees Support Committee and the UDF

They are also restricted to the magisterial area of Pretoria and may not address any gathering of more than 10 people.

SA accused of ANC smear

(11A)

Star 13/6/88

Fake Mandela Speaks' booklets at big concert

The Star Bureau

LONDON — South Africa has been accused of playing propaganda games during the Nelson Mandela birthday concert at Wembley stadium on Saturday.

Young whites, mingling with left-wing fringe groups around the stadium and underground stations, handed out "souvenir issue" booklets entitled "Nelson Mandela Speaks" and purporting to come from the African National Congress.

Thousands were thrust into the hands of concert-goers, who were initially unaware that the 24-page booklet, which gave the ANC's correct New York address, was a clever smear on the ANC and Mandela.

The youngsters, who said they were from a group called Conservatives Against Apartheid, were involved in a few minor scuffles as they sought contributions "for the ANC".

A spokesman for the South African Embassy in London said "We know nothing about this."

The concert, watched by an estimated 200 million viewers in 60 countries, drew varying reactions.

Conservative MP Mr John Carlisle claimed that the BBC, which screened the entire 10-hour event live, had been hijacked by left-wing extremists.

He called on the Home Secretary, Mr Douglas Hurd, to sack the BBC's governors for a broadcast that was, he claimed, totally in breach of its charter.

"They are giving air time to organisations that will main and kill innocent people in South Africa."

Labour Party leader Mr Neil Kinnock, who watched the concert from Wembley's Royal Box, condemned those who had criticised the concert and the BBC, saying the event had rightfully highlighted the injustices of apartheid.

Hundreds of calls

A BBC spokesman said that by Saturday night there had been more than 400 calls from viewers, nearly half complimentary.

Steve Wonder, billed as the special mystery guest, made the concert's most outright political speech.

He told the 72 000-strong Wembley crowd "We still live in a divided world when one person is oppressed, everyone in the world is oppressed."

Amsterdam also celebrated Nelson Mandela's birthday on Saturday when more than 50 000 protesters gathered at the city's famous museum square.

A long line of protesters first marched through the streets singing protest songs. They were led by Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, Mr Toyvo ja Toyvo of Swapo, Mr Ed van Thijn, Mayor of Amsterdam, and some Dutch government leaders.

Many Dutch government and municipal representatives remained at home, however, as sharp division exists between the present coalition partners about the South African issue.

Dr Boesak said the South African Council of Churches demanded that the Dutch government stop all flights of KLM to Johannesburg, stop import permits for South African coal to the Netherlands and force the withdrawal from South Africa of Shell oil company.

A general view of the stage at Wembley stadium during the performance of the band Eurythmics. Banners surrounding the stage carry the theme of the 10-hour long concert, "Nelson Mandela, Freedom at 70", in honour of the jailed South African black leader. Stars included Sting, Dire Straits and Whitney Houston. The concert was watched by 200 million viewers in 60 countries.



Copy Times 13/6/88 11A

Rajbansi threatens to sack his ministers

DURBAN. — House of Delegates chief minister Mr Amichand Rajbansi has threatened to fire his ministers one after the other in retaliation for opposition attempts to topple his MPs from key positions

Mr Rajbansi, still beaming over the failure of attempts to force him to resign from the Ministers' Council, warned yesterday that he would take an eye for an eye

A bid to replace Mr Manilal Naranjee, one of his National Peoples Party MPs, as leader of the house fizzled out when Mr Rajbansi threatened to fire a minister if the motion was not scrapped

The motion tabled in the House last week was withdrawn the same day. However, deputy minister Mr Somaroo Pachal denied he or his colleagues had been threatened with dismissal — Sapa

Tutu nearly misses flight to Moscow

Sowetan 13/6/88 (11A)

LONDON — Archbishop Desmond Tutu made his Moscow-bound flight with seconds to spare yesterday morning after arriving more than 90 minutes late from Johannesburg.

Tutu, who was flying to Moscow to join in ecumenical celebrations of the 1000th anniversary of Christianity in Russia, was picked up at the plane by a British Airways car which sped across the tarmac to the connecting Moscow flight.

Before Tutu left Johannesburg on Saturday, his supporters and critics scuffled during rival demonstrations at Jan Smuts airport.

At least one black man, a supporter of the Nobel Peace Prize winner, was taken into custody, and police ordered all members of the public to leave the main hall at the airport airport protest against Tutu since he returned three weeks ago from a trip to Europe and the United States during which he repeatedly called for tougher sanctions against South

Africa as a means of promoting racial reform.

• A group of white conservative church leaders met in Johannesburg last week and plotted to give him a "good riddance farewell." They said they wanted to show that he was not needed in South Africa, and should stay in Moscow.

At Jan Smuts Airport the anti-Tutu demonstrators were involved in scuffles with Archbishop Tutu's wellwishers and two SACC workers, Mr Lungile Makapela and Mrs Mary Mxadane, were arrested. Mr Makapela will appear in court tomorrow but Mrs Mxadane has been released without charge.

SOWETAN, Monday, June 13, 1988

MANDELA CONCERT SEEN BY MILLIONS

LONDON — About 1 000-million people around the world are estimated to have seen Saturday's Wembley Stadium pop concert honouring Nelson Mandela's 70th birthday. *Sowetan* 13/6/88

The BBC, which broadcast it live on radio and television, said it went out to 60 countries. The 100 artists performing before 72 000 people prefaced their acts with birthday greetings to the jailed ANC leader, and most bands dedicated songs to him.

One band, UB40, dedicated a song

Sowetan Correspondent

to "Swapo and the ANC"

All received rapturous applause. The audience joined in many of the songs, and at one stage chanted the words "Free him, free him" as directed by a speaker on the platform.

The stars stood on a 54 metre stage flanked by banners paying birthday tributes to Mf Mandela. The music, broadcast on 500 speakers systems was at times deafening.

After spending most of Saturday afternoon at the concert, Archbishop

(19)

Trevor Huddleston said he had been "overwhelmed by the electric atmosphere and the goodwill of spectators."

The president of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, which will receive half the proceeds estimated at about R6-million, added "I've never been to a concert of this kind before. One gets carried away by it."

"But I think the important thing is that the whole atmosphere will reach out across the world. It will go across all barriers of nations and race and ideology and all the rest of it as a

tremendous and infectious messenger."

Meanwhile prisoners at a French jail went on the rampage when the "lights out" call stopped them seeing the end of a televised rock concert celebrating the 70th birthday of jailed South African nationalist Nelson Mandela.

Convicts at Lyon's St Paul Prison pounded at their cell doors and banged their mess tins for three hours on Saturday night after security guards ordered them to bed at 11pm. Sapa-Reuter

—

Tambo in war of ^(NA) ^{Sowetan} words ^{13/6/85}

LONDON — ANC president Oliver Tambo became involved in a war of words with BBC television newscaster Michael Buerk on Friday when the newsman accused the ANC leader of running a terrorist organisation.

During the BBC's lunchtime news bulletin Mr Buerk grilled Mr Tambo about his organisation's policies

Mr Tambo had been invited to the BBC studios to comment on President P W Botha's decision to reimpose the state of emergency

to their schools their parents

13/16/88

Nine die violently in Pretoria area

Nine people died violently in and around Pretoria at the weekend.

A police spokesman said one man died in Mamelodi Hospital after a midnight knife fight. The body of his opponent was found near the Mamelodi post office about an hour later. One of the men was Mr Modise Mathathe.

Mr JHP Fouche (52), of Rooiels Street, Moregloed, suffocated when his bed caught fire

Three pedestrians were killed in separate incidents on the Pietersburg highway, in Mamelodi and in Quagga Road.

Mr David Makhethla was battered to death in Potgieter Street on Saturday and a man was run over by a train.

An unidentified man died in hospital after being stabbed in Mamelodi last night — Pretoria Correspondent.

13/16/88

Helen Joseph is still in critical condition

By Duncan Guy

Veteran anti-apartheid campaigner Mrs Helen Joseph is still in Johannesburg Hospital in a stable but critical condition following a severe dose of flu that led to pneumonia.

She was admitted to the hospital on Friday night.

Mrs Joseph (83) has dedicated herself to opposing injustice and discrimination in South Africa, despite bannings, house arrest and mysterious attacks on her Norwood, Johannesburg home

As one of the founders of the Federation of SA Women she helped organise a protest by 20 000 women in 1956.

Born in England in 1905, Mrs Joseph came to South Africa from India 57 years ago. Working as a social worker, she became involved in anti-apartheid campaigns at the age of 48.

'Claims do not apply to local media'

Political Staff () the statement did not apply to the local media. The Bureau for Information has backed off from claims that journalists welcomed acts of terrorism as "hard news". But, he said, there was little doubt that some representatives of the overseas media did

Mr Peter Soal MP, Chief of the bureau, Mr Progressive Federal Party, today strongly condemned the bureau's attempt at justifying the curbs on the media saying they were "crude".

Own Correspondent

LONDON — Organizers of the Nelson Mandela birthday concert, hailed as the event which "rocked the world's conscience", are still counting the millions of rands which poured into the coffers of anti-apartheid organizations

More than one billion viewers in 60 countries watched televised broadcasts of the 10-hour concert in which 100 of the world's top musicians, actors and entertainers performed before 72 000 fans at Wembley

In other events at the weekend

- The former South African ambassador in

'Millions' from Mandela concert

CAF TRIPS 13/6/88 (11A) (11A)

Britain, Dr Denis Worrall, said in a live TV debate to coincide with the concert that he would release Mr Mandela if his party (the Independent Party) were in power (Report — Page 3)

- There was a stong reaction to the "hijacking" of the event for political reasons in contravention of the BBC ban
- In Glasgow, about

30 000 people attended a "Free Nelson Mandela" rally, which was a follow-up to the concert

Saturday's concert is expected to raise £2 million (about R8 million) and this figure could increase with possible record and video sale profits later

According to the organizers, half the money will go to the British Anti-Apartheid Move-

ment, with the rest divided between various children's charity organizations in South Africa

In spite of a ban on all political statements, the strong anti-apartheid message got across. Many performers wrote original songs or dedicated their songs to Nelson Mandela

However, yesterday right-wing MPs accused the BBC of allowing the event to be "hijacked" for political reasons in contravention of the BBC ban, and Mr John Carlisle, chairman of the all-party British-South Africa parliamentary group, called on the Home Secretary, Mr Douglas Hurd, to sack the BBC governors

- Worrall: 'I would free Mandela' — Page 3

ARGUS 13/6/88 (11A)

Row breaks out over BBC's concert politics

LONDON — Calls for action against the BBC over the Nelson Mandela 70th birthday concert are likely to be cold-shouldered by the government.

Whitehall's view is that it is not for Ministers to handle complaints that in broadcasting the 10-hour event live, the BBC was showing a political event and was therefore in breach of its charter

Mrs Margaret Thatcher has always backed appeals for the release of the jailed ANC leader

But rightwing Tory MP John Carlisle was still continuing his protest yesterday, accusing the BBC of "renegeing" on promises to limit the concert's political content

The BBC, which has received 500 calls from viewers about the concert, denied it had made such promises. A spokesman said "We were at the concert because it was one of the premier musical events of the year and we leave it to the viewers and listeners to judge the merits"

The corporation refused to say whether the majority of callers were for or against televising the event

But there were fierce behind the scenes arguments and threatened withdrawals by some of the performers over attempts to keep politics out of the concert, sources close to the organisers said

Part of the pressure to stop participants making political statements came from the Coca Cola company, which sponsored the broadcast of the concert in the United States

Technicians working for Fox Television and Westwood One Radio, which fed the concert to American networks, said Coca Cola officials directly oversaw the transmission

Several performers, including Whoopi Goldberg, the American actress, said they had been told not to make political speeches

Performers are understood to have been advised by the promoters, Elephant House Productions, to keep the concert "non-political"

Ignored

But musicians and actors ignored the appeals. References to South Africa as a "terrorist state" and to Margaret Thatcher's policy on apartheid were broadcast live in this country on BBC 2 and Radio One and to a potential worldwide audience of a billion people in 60 countries

Actor Richard Gere said "Blacks in South Africa are oppressed I was just drawing attention to that and expressing my belief that the situation is wrong"

Singer George Michael added "I find apartheid sickening. To attend the concert was a statement against the regime, nothing more"

Elephant House also decided not to read a message from Mr Mandela to the performers, which was smuggled from his prison in South Africa. Nor did it show a video message from his wife, Winnie Mandela. No one from Elephant House Productions was available for comment yesterday

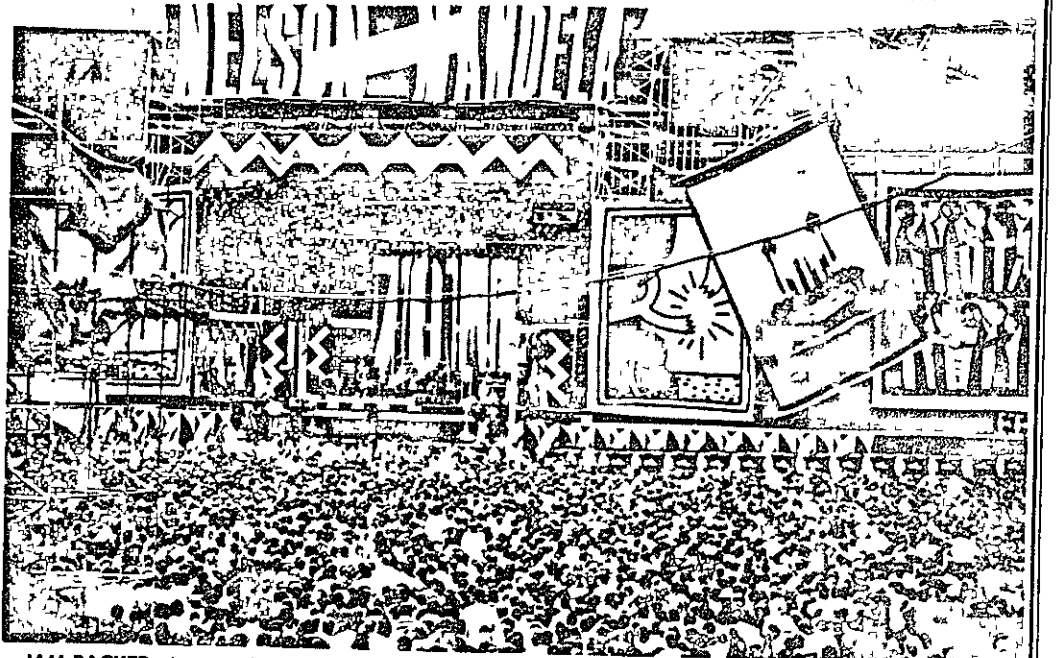
The BBC denied it had anything to do with the decision not to show the video or read out the message. It said no part of the concert



American vocalist Whitney Houston



Rock legend Stevie Wonder in action at the concert



JAM-PACKED: A general view of the stage at Wembley Stadium on Saturday during the performance of the band Eurythmics. Banners around the stage carry the theme of the 10-hour-long benefit concert, "Nelson Mandela Freedom at 70", in honour of the jailed leader



Rock star Sting entertains the 70 000-strong crowd

was withheld from television viewers for political reasons

The concert received saturation coverage in Spain where all South African sportsmen were recently banned from competitions

The concert was relayed twice by the State run national television second channel and by the Radio Cadena stereo network

During Saturday afternoon it achieved peak viewing, running either side of the Spain versus Denmark European Cup football match and then it was re-

'Dirty tricks' booklet

The Argus Foreign Service LONDON — South African "dirty tricks" are being accused of playing propaganda games at the Nelson Mandela birthday concert at Wembley Stadium

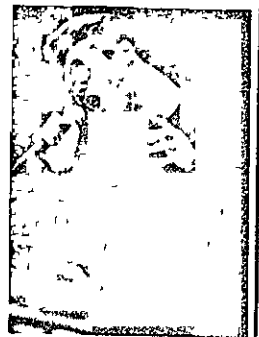
Youngsters, mingling with leftwing fringe groups around the stadium and Underground stations on Saturday, handed out "souvenir issue" booklets entitled Nelson Mandela Speaks purporting to come from the ANC

Thousands were thrust into the hands of concert-go-

ers, who were initially unaware that the 24-page booklet — which bore the ANC's correct New York address — was a clever smear on the ANC and Mr Mandela

The youngsters, who claimed they were members of a group called Conservatives Against Apartheid, were involved in a few minor scuffles as they sought contributions "for the ANC"

A spokesman for the South African Embassy in London said "We know nothing about this."



George Michael croons a tune

peated in its entirety from midnight

Spanish Sunday papers followed up with major reports

The leading national paper, El Pais, carried a front page photograph of a youngster at the Wembley concert wearing a Nelson Mandela T-shirt and inside ran a story headed "1 000-million people see homage to Mandela, the majority of the participants showed reserve in their criticism of apartheid"

In Glasgow, a crowd of 15 000 took part in a "Free Mandela" rally. Twenty-five

marchers — one for each year of Mr Mandela's imprisonment — set out to walk from Glasgow to London as part of the protest

In France, convicts at the St Paul prison in Lyons pounded on cell doors and banged mess tins for three hours after security guards ordered them to bed before the Wembley concert ended, preventing them from bearing a live radio broadcast

In Amsterdam, more than 50 000 protesters gathered at the city's famous museum square on Saturday to celebrate Mr Mandela's birthday

A long line of protesters first marched through the streets of Amsterdam singing protest songs. They were led by Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, Mr Toivo ja Toivo of Swapo, Amsterdam's mayor Mr Ed van Tijn and some Dutch Government leaders

Many Dutch Government and municipal representatives remained at home, however, as sharp division exists between the present coalition partners about the South African issue — The Argus Foreign Service, Independent News Service

Helen still serious

VETERAN anti-apartheid fighter Mrs Helen Joseph has rallied and friends describe her condition as much improved on her state before the weekend when she was said to be "critical."

Mrs Joseph (83) was admitted to the Johannesburg Hospital late last week. She had developed pneumonia and her condition was described on Friday night as "critical and sinking."

The news of Mrs Joseph's improvement comes from friends who respect Mrs Joseph's privacy and are reluctant to supply details to the Press.

She is still in hospital and it is understood that she remains seriously ill although the immediate crisis has passed.

Mrs Joseph, who was almost 50 when she entered the world of politics, has spent almost

more than 30 years under one or other form of restriction. She has been banned, put under house arrest for two five-year terms and may not be quoted.

Her second house arrest order was cut short after she had surgery for cancer. Mrs Joseph also fought back to regain her health after a heart attack. Recently she had eye surgery for the removal of a cataract.

1/6/88
119

Soweto man appears on terrorism charges

11/19 By Ayesha Ismail

A Soweto man appeared in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Courts yesterday on charges of terrorism

The state alleged that Mr Abraham Pule (46) unlawfully and intentionally tried to overthrow or endanger the state security of South Africa during April 1987 to May 2 last year.

It is also alleged that Mr Pule conspired with the African National Congress (ANC) to perform acts aimed at bringing about violence

According to the charge sheet, during April 21 to May 2 1987 Mr Pule smuggled or conveyed from Botswana into South Africa eight limpet mines, 10 F1 hand-grenades and detonators, two limpet mines, 10 limpet mine detonators, about 40 m of detonation fuse, 19 D8-type military detonators, two 400 g blocks of TNT, eight 200 g blocks of TNT, one 9 mm Makarov pistol and two magazines and 29 rounds of 9mm ammunition

Mr Pule pleaded not guilty to all the charges

The case was postponed to June 27.

Man accuses ^{ST 114/16/83} police of assault ⁽¹¹²⁾

A Soweto man charged with terrorism told a Johannesburg Regional Court yesterday he had made a statement to a Klerksdorp magistrate because he was assaulted by two white South African security policemen in Bophuthatswana.

Mr Johannes Setlhapelo (39), of Dobsonville extension, Soweto, said he was made to do about 100 push-ups and had a knife stuck under his stomach after he was arrested in Bophuthatswana. He said the policemen also punched him several times.

HANDED OVER ⁽¹¹³⁾

He told the court he was arrested on September 17 1987 by two Bophuthatswana soldiers who handed him to the SAP.

According to the charge sheet, Mr Setlhapelo visited Botswana in 1982 and became a member or supporter of the African National Congress.

In 1984 he allegedly received political training from the ANC in Botswana. In December 1986 he allegedly had bombs and grenades in his possession and in June 1987 he took the bombs and grenades from a graveyard in Doornkop to Dobsonville.

Mr Setlhapelo has pleaded not guilty. The hearing continues.

Latest media clamp 'could be ultra vires'

Political Staff

Lawyers are planning to contest the new media emergency regulations which forbid quotation of known spokesman or office-bearers of the United Democratic Front and 17 other restricted organisations

Johannesburg attorney Miss Priscilla Jana is to seek counsel's opinion on the scope of the new clampdown which was gazetted with the new emergency on Friday

She said today it seemed that section 3(1)(f) of the Media Emergency Regulations might effectively forbid publication of any political remarks by people such as Dr Allan Boesak, patron of the UDF

Though political statements by the UDF, Azapo and other organisations were prohibited under restriction orders served on them in February, officials of these bodies have continued to be quoted in their personal capacities

But section 3(1)(f) prohibits publication of statements by people "known" to be spokesmen or office-bearers of organisations such as the UDF which have been restricted under regulation 3(8)(b) or 8 of the Security Emergency Regulations

The new regulation seems to be aimed at preventing the office-bearers of these organisations from claiming that they are speaking in their personal capacities

Lawyers challenge 'gagging' rulings

Miss Jana said that the new regulation might now effectively gag these people from making any political statements because of the broad scope of section 3(1)(f)

PUBLIC SAFETY

The section prohibits any statement which either has the "effect or is calculated to have the effect of of threatening the safety of the public or the maintenance of public order, or of delaying the termination of the state of emergency"

Mr Paul Jenkins, a media lawyer, said that he thought that the regulation could easily be ultra vires. He did not think it would prevent the publica-

tion of all political statements by people such as Dr Boesak

"I don't see how a statement by him such as 'Apartheid is bad' could fall within the scope of this section

"However, where I think it could be tricky is if someone like him should call for sanctions. This could be interpreted as threatening public safety."

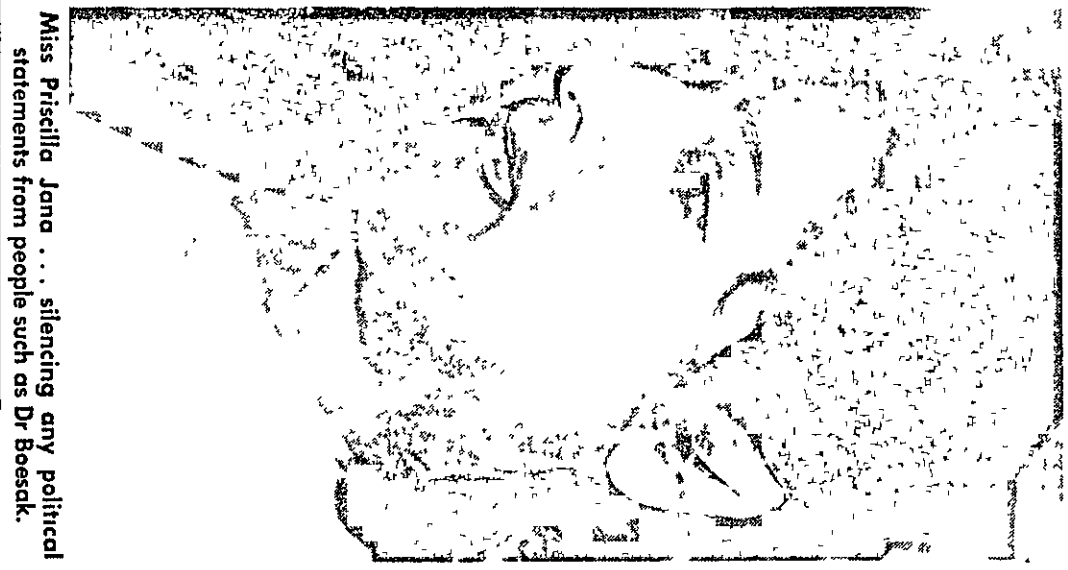
But he said he considered the section ultra vires because to prevent a person from making certain statements just because he was an office-bearer of a certain organisation went beyond the intentions of the original Act

Asked how the regulation would prevent quotation of people like Dr Boesak, an official of the Department of Home Affairs media relations office said that this would have to be judged from case to case

"Where Dr Boesak is talking as a church leader, this will not fall within the scope of the Act

"Where he makes political statements, the publication will have to decide in each case whether or not the statement threatens public order and safety or delaying the termination of the state of emergency"

Section 3(1)(f) also prohibits publication of statements by spokesmen and office-bearers of organisations banned under the Internal Security Act such as the ANC



Miss Priscilla Jana ... silencing any political statements from people such as Dr Boesak.

BBC would 'regret' curb

CHT Times
14/6/88
11A
BBC

Own Correspondent

LONDON — The BBC says it would regard any move to stop it from reporting in South Africa as "regrettable".

Asked to comment on reports from South Africa that the government was investigating the continued presence of the BBC in the country, a spokesman said "Naturally the BBC regrets any action which would further impede its coverage from South Africa"

The spokesman said he could not comment further until they knew exactly what action the government was planning

Meanwhile, right-wing MPs and newspapers continued to attack the corporation for broadcasting Saturday's concert to mark the 70th birthday of Mr Nelson Mandela

Mr John Carlisle, MP, said the BBC's governors had breached an undertaking not to transmit political speeches

"Heads must roll and the governors must now be sacked," he said.

The concert contained 700 political references, contradicting undertakings made by the director-general of the BBC, Mr Michael Checkland, according to Mr Carlisle. The group would be asking Mr Checkland to answer its allegations, Mr Carlisle said yesterday.

'Broke clause'

"This concert broke clause 13 of the BBC's constitution in which it undertakes to remain impartial," he said "The BBC broke an undertaking that they would not broadcast any obvious political comment. Speeches by Mr Oliver Tambo and Sir Richard Attenborough could hardly be described as musical entertainment."

He added that both Archbishop Trevor Huddleston and several artists had claimed on the programme that the concert was a political event, and that the BBC had made "no apparent attempt to stand by its earlier claim that the concert was simply a musical event".

The London Evening Standard in a leader-page article under

the headline "The Biased Broadcasting Corporation" said the broadcasting of the concert "contributed materially to the violence and bloodshed of South Africa, in an unthinkable attempt to be trendy"

The BBC said it had received 500 calls about the broadcasting of the concert. It would not say whether the majority were for or against.

The BBC is insisting the concert was a musical event, but concert organizers say "it was first and foremost a consciousness-raising event, not a fund-raising one. Every second of it was political"

Mr Mike Terry, organizing secretary of the Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM), said it was too early to assess exactly how much had been raised. However, it is estimated that about £4 million (£16m) was raised, and that each charity would receive about £1m (£4m) each.

Jim Kerr, lead singer of Simple Minds, the Scottish band which staged the most political set of the concert, said the books would be open for everyone to see

No cash for the ANC, ^(11/19) insists AAM

Star Reporter

14/6/88
The Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM) has again rejected allegations by the South African Government and rightwing Tories that it will pass its share of the money raised at the "Free Nelson Mandela" concert in London last weekend to the ANC.

Star
The AAM will apply its share — half of the R8 million raised — to the "Free Nelson Mandela At 70" campaign and "its other organisational activities", a London spokesman said.

"We categorically deny that the money will go to the ANC," she said.

The other R4 million will be divided between seven international charities helping children in southern Africa.

They are the Save the Children Fund, the Catholic Fund for Overseas Development, Christian Aid, Oxfam, the International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, the Bishop Ambrose Reeves Trust and War on Want.

CA spokesman

Plans for June 16 anniversary

Sowetan 14/6/88

BLACK organisations and trade unions have announced plans to mark the 12th anniversary of June 16, 1976 — the outbreak of the student protest which began in Soweto.

The Azanian -Co-ordinating Committee (Azacco) yesterday said it would co-ordinate church services to be held throughout the country on Thursday

Azacco also called on employers to pay their workers as June 16 was being recognised widely as a paid holiday

The National Soccer League (NSL) said it would resort to its traditional policy of suspending all activities on June 16

Meanwhile, a pamphlet distributed in Soweto and purportedly signed by the Divisional Commissioner of the South African Police, Brigadier JJ Viktor, has promised residents who want to go to work security forces protection

However, many workers are expected to stay at home on Thursday

as a large number of employers in recent months have reached formal agreement with trade unions recognising June 16 as a paid public holiday

• Services arranged by Azacco are scheduled for

Regina Mundi Church, Soweto at 11am, Methodist Church Zone 13, Sebokeng 1pm, St Barnabas High School, Bosmont 11am, Methodist Church, Zamdela 11am

Dreukop, Tzaneen 2pm, Workers Centre, Pietersburg 1pm, Thokoza

Roman Catholic Church 2pm, Anglican Church (Corner KwaXuma and Dube Streets) Waitville 12 noon, St Peter's Seminary, Hammanskraal 10am

YMCA, Beatrice Street, Durban 2pm, Mathale Hall, KwaNdebele 11 noon, Roman Catholic Church Phuthaditjhaba, QwaQwa 12 noon; St Phillip's Church, Grahamstown 2pm and Sisonke Hall, Zwide, Port Elizabeth 12 noon.

Other venues will be announced later, said Azacco

FARMERS' children living along South Africa's border strip with Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Botswana play games that reflect the dangers they have to face every day

They don't play hide-and-seek or cops and robbers, they play farmers and guerillas

The border farmers, not more than a few hundred families, are the new frontiersmen who toil on the lush 350 km strip of northern bushveld stretching from Pontdrif near Botswana, along the Limpopo River to the Kruger National Park in the East

The region has become a launching pad for attacks by guerillas of the outlawed African National Congress (ANC) movement who are fighting to overthrow white minority rule in South Africa

Blasts

ANC leaders at their headquarters in Lusaka, Zambia, have acknowledged attacking farms in the border zone

Eleven men, women and children have been killed in the past 16 months in 18 landmine blasts along northern border farmland Others have been crippled by explosions

During a recent Government - sponsored trip to the frontier, journalists were told by the settlers how the community was bound together by fear and a determination to keep their land free of guerillas

Many said they had taught their wives and children to use pistols and semi-automatic rifles

They insisted they were able to carry on normal lives despite driving in landmine-proof vehicles, spending

Playing farmers and guerillas on the border

most of their leisure time behind barricades of razor wire and sleeping with high-powered automatic rifles close at hand

Innocent

"We teach our children why it is happening They know that the ANC wants our land," says cotton farmer Mr Willie Esterhuyse, a tall Dutch-descended Afrikaner who always sports a holstered revolver on his hip

FOCUS

"The ANC wants us to move away from the border, so that they can come into the country to kill innocent people"

Like children on other border farms, his son and two daughters are boarders at a hostel school in Messina close to the Zimbabwean border

They are collected each Monday in an open-

topped mine-proof army truck and return home on Fridays

"My children accept the situation," said Mr Piet Esterhuyse, Willie's brother, also a cotton farmer

"We have drilled them on exactly what to do in the event of an attack and they react automatically"

Pretoria, seeking to prevent an exodus from the thinly populated border regions, offers farmers incentives to remain there

They are given an 80 percent subsidy on the R70000 price of a mine-proof vehicle and are helped with the cost of high security fences topped with coils of barbed wire

Armed and trained by the army, the farmers have formed their own civil defence commando

Contact

Each homestead is in 24-hour radio contact with other farmers and an army base

"We have run our lives into this We will never give it up," says Piet's wife Arinae

"I was nervous at first, but now I don't think I could live anywhere but here"

The hostile territory is partly protected by a 2800-volt electric fence which also serves to deter refugees from neighbouring states from fleeing into South Africa

Sweep

"Instead of frightening them off to safer interior regions, the terror attacks have united the farmers, their wives, families and black labourers and have resulted in the emergence of one of the most fortified security-conscious farming communities in the country," said local army commander Hein Visser

The farmers, their labourers and soldiers sweep rural roads for landmines every morning Nobody moves a vehicle until it has been cleared

"The ANC strategy is to plunge the region into chaos so that when the farmers leave the area, it can be turned into another military front," said Visser

So far not one farmer has quit the region in search of a safer life, he said

Sowetan 14/6/88

newed 1 for Rajbansi to quit

M66.5
14/6/88

112



Mr Rajbansi

By BRUCE CAMERON
Political Staff

INDIAN parliamentary politics were in turmoil again today with a renewed call for the resignation of Ministers' Council chairman Mr Amichand Rajbansi after damaging findings by a parliamentary select committee

Mr Rajbansi faced accusations today from his political opponents that not only had he, on behalf of his National People's Party (NPP), accepted money given with the aim of getting contracts and purchasing land but that he had also misled Parliament

President Botha, who refused to fire Mr Rajbansi recently when he lost the majority in the House of Delegates, declined to comment on the latest furore

Dr J N Reddy, leader of the majority alliance in the House of Delegates, demanded Mr Rajbansi's resignation and accused him of misleading Parliament earlier this year

Contracts

In a speech in Parliament on February 24, Mr Rajbansi denied emphatically that either he or his party had received any donations from any contractors or development company

He also denied that the House of Delegates dealt with companies called Procor or Citiplan

Evidence was given to the committee by Mr D G Pillay of Citiplan that the company had given cheques for R10 000 and R5 000 to the NPP and had received contracts

that he had been cleared of any suggestion that he had been personally enriched

He said the money had been received by the party fundraiser and not himself

Mr Rajbansi also stated that the Houses of Delegates administration had not given contracts to any company which had donated money to the NPP

In view of this he stood by what he had said in Parliament on February 24

However, he conceded that money had been donated by an associate company to that to which contracts had been granted.

One was Citiplan Realtors and the other was Citiplan.

Mr Rajbansi also denied that R600 in State funds was paid for personal housing plans for himself.

● See page 6

Mr Reddy said today that he would consider asking for a select committee to establish whether Mr Rajbansi was now in breach of privilege of Parliament.

"The committee's findings fly in the face of the assurance Mr Rajbansi gave in February.

"It is time for Mr Rajbansi to go," Mr Reddy said

Mr Rajbansi today rejected the committee's findings that he had received a cheque on behalf on the NPP, saying "it contradicts the evidence".

He would ask the Speaker, Mr Louis Le Grange, to appoint an independent tribunal to assess the contradictions and make a finding

However, he was pleased

We're not
part of (102)
ANC, says
Nactu (117)

The reimposition of the state of emergency, "with its draconian provisions", would turn South Africa into a totalitarian state, the National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu) warned yesterday.

Nactu said it rejected Government allegations that the federation was "an appendage of the ANC and the SA Communist Party", referring to a statement last week by Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok that Nactu was one among organisations being manipulated by banned organisations such as the ANC.

'FRAUDULENT'

"We challenge the Minister to prove his unfounded claims in public Nactu takes exception to this fraudulent allegation, which is fomented to justify contemplated State action against Nactu.

"The extension of press clamps is a serious erosion of the freedom of the press and the people's right to information (and) to legitimise discredited (State) organs such as the SABC as the sole source of information."

US move on June 16

Star Bureau (11A)

WASHINGTON — A group of senators is pressing for June 16 to be declared Soweto Remembrance Day in the United States.

Sixteen Republicans and Democrats have backed a Senate resolution encouraging Americans to participate in 1976 commemorations.

More are expected to support it before it goes to the full Senate for a vote.

A massacre took place in Soweto on June 16 1976, says the draft resolution, and more than 1 000 children were brutally murdered, and 5 000 wounded by police in "one of the worst displays of State-sponsored terrorism of modern times".

MGWS 14/6/88 (11A)

R10 000 for NPP given to Rajbansi — finding

Parliamentary Staff

THE chairman of the Indian Ministers' Council, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, accepted R10 000 for his National People's Party to "facilitate the obtaining of land and contracts".

This was the finding of a parliamentary select committee appointed at the request of Mr Rajbansi following an accusation by Solidarity chief whip Mr Yunus Moolla in Parliament that Mr Rajbansi accepted a cheque during a by-election.

"A DONATION"

The committee rejected Mr Rajbansi's evidence that he had not personally received a cheque.

It said his evidence "did not appear to be consistent with the facts".

However, the committee, chaired by Mr George Thaver, MP, accepted that the money was not given to Mr Rajbansi in his personal capacity but "as a donation to the NPP".

Evidence was also given that R600 in State funds was paid for plans for a proposed personal residence for Mr Rajbansi.

Two cheques, for R10 000 and R5 000, were given to the NPP by a development company called Citiplan.

Mr DG Pillay, of Citiplan, told the committee he was instrumental in securing the donations to the NPP.

According to the committee's report Mr Pillay "admitted that he regarded them as an investment to facilitate obtaining land and contracts".

After the R15 000 had been contributed Mr Pillay was the successful tenderer for the acquisition of land while Mr Rajbansi was Minister of Housing.

The treasurer of the NPP, Mr N Jumuna, said Mr Rajbansi and the chief whip of the NPP, Mr Y Baig, had instructed him not to make the relevant documents available, but he had done so after the national chairman and the national secretary said they had no objection.

Parliament

Today's Business

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY
Questions, followed by Second Reading debate on the own affairs Education Affairs Bill

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Second Reading debate on the Budget, legislation.

HOUSE OF DELEGATES
Second reading debate on the Appropriation Bill, legislation

Cape Times 14/6/88
Detainees coerced to Soal

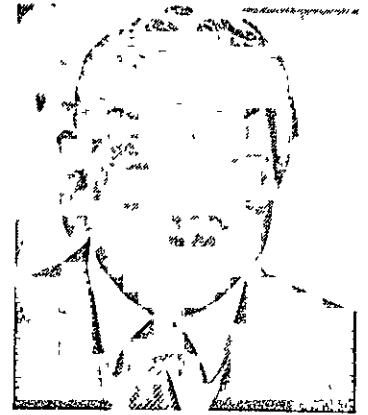
HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY
— Detainees in KwaNdebele were only being released once they signed a document in support of independence from South Africa for the self-governing territory, Mr Peter Soal (PFPP Johannesburg North) said yesterday

Speaking in a debate on the Supplementary Estimates for the 1988/89 Budget, he said the Minister of Education and Development Aid, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, should explain how his requested additional R26m for "assistance" to the self-governing states would be divided and what percentage was going to KwaNdebele.

"The group running the government there wants independence so that they too can become a casino state," he said — Sapa

Finding on donation to the NPP

Cape Times 14/6/88
11A



Mr Rajbansi

Political Staff

A PARLIAMENTARY Select Committee has found that a donation of R15 000 to Mr Amichand Rajbansi's National People's Party was followed by successful tenders for business with his administration in the House of Delegates

But Mr Rajbansi struck back soon after the committee's damning report was tabled, denying the allegations and promising to prove that the evidence did not substantiate the findings

The committee's hearings stemmed from a statement by Mr Yunus Moola, Solidarity MP for Stanger, that Mr Rajbansi had been given a cheque by a "building contractor" during the Tongaat election between August 7, 1987 and November 26

The committee found that two cheques, one for R5 000 and another for R10 000, had been made out to the National People's Party and that the instigator of the cheques, Durban businessman Mr D G Pillay, had regarded them as "an investment with a view to facilitating the obtaining of land contracts from the

Administration House of Delegates"

"Mr Pillay also admitted that after the R15 000 had been contributed, he was the successful tenderer for the acquisition of township land from the HoD during the time that the chairman of the Ministers' Council also held the portfolio of Minister of Housing," said the report.

The committee found, however, that Mr Rajbansi had not personally received any money and that the cheques had been paid in to the NPP's account

Mr Rajbansi said he had called for the Select Committee because Mr Moola's original statement in Parliament inferred that he personally had received the money

He added "No contractor or developer who has made a donation to the NPP has been awarded a contract by the HoD I can put my neck on that"

The committee found that a cheque for R10 000 from Citiplan, with which Mr Pillay was connected, had been given to Mr A G V Naidoo, the party's public relations officer, who had given it to Mr Rajbansi, who in turn, had

given it to the party's treasurer, Mr N Jamuna

While the committee found that Mr Rajbansi had not benefited personally, he had been aware of the cheque which, the committee said, had been followed by a successful tender in Maritzburg by the company in which Mr Pillay was involved

The committee found that Mr Pillay's wife, Mrs N Pillay, was "completely innocent" and that when informed of what had been going on, had said "That is bribery I do not think my husband works that way"

The committee's report also said Mr Pillay had at first denied being closely acquainted with Mr Rajbansi but then had conceded that he had got to know him while drawing plans for his personal residence

He had submitted an account for R600 which, he said, had been paid by the state

Mr Rajbansi denied this and said "No state money was paid for this. The state has got nothing to do with it, it is a private matter. I think Mr Pillay made a mistake"

Cape Times 14/6/88 (25)

Hansard

(b) Philadelphia at Denilton
 a hospital, but a community health centre does exist which provides the normal clinic facilities and where 18 beds for maternity cases are also available

(i) to (ii) (cc) Fall away

(iii) The Department of Health and Welfare, Kwandebele Government Service
 vice

(iv) May 1988

Cape Town: air pollution

1218 Mr K M ANDREW asked the Minister of National Health and Population Development
 What was the average recorded atmospheric (a) lead level, (b) sulphuric acid level and (c) level of other specified significant pollutants measured at the monitoring points in the Cape Town area in winter and summer, respectively, over the latest specified 12-month period for which figures are available?

THE MINISTER OF NATIONAL HEALTH AND POPULATION DEVELOPMENT

Monitoring of pollution levels in the Cape Town area is done by different methods and at various sites

The levels of pollution have been found to be very low, and therefore only the results of the station that recorded the highest levels of lead, ozone and nitrous oxides namely at Cape Town City Hall are hereby reported

The results are all reported in micrograms per cubic metre and the seasons are defined as follows

SUMMER October 1986 to March 1987
 WINTER April 1987 to September 1987

(a) Lead Summer 87
 86/87 0,95 Winter 1,4

City Hall

(b) sulphuric acid concentrations in the air are not monitored as such, but the following concentrations are those of sulphur dioxide a precursor to the formation of sulphuric acid

	Summer	Winter
City Hall	87	87
Foreshore	21	47
Drill Hall	7	10,5
Epping Market	9	10,3
	2,5	6,8

Pardeneiland 5,25 1,6
 Salt River 8,6 discount

(c) (i) Ozone and nitrous oxides are pollutants resulting from motor vehicle emissions, and may lead to photochemical smog formation

	Summer	Winter
City Hall	86/87	87
Nitrous oxides	154	315
Ozone	27	13

(ii) The following concentrations reflect the presence of particulate matter in the air

	Summer	Winter
Foreshore	86/88	87
Drill Hall	18,2	37,2
Epping Market	15	27
Pardeneiland	16,2	48,3
Salt River	13,2	32,6
Greenpoint	11,75	discount
Tamboerskloof	9,6	discount
	7	discount

Due to the low levels of pollution measured, economic considerations and the fact that all coal fired power stations in Cape Town were closed down, it was decided to discontinue the monitoring of sulphur dioxide and particulate matter at certain sites

Self-governing territories: overseas loans

1226 Mr C J DERBY-LEWIS asked the Minister of Education and Development Aid

(1) (a) What overseas loans were negotiated by the South African Government on behalf of each of the self-governing territories during the latest specified period of 10 years for which information is available and (b) what were the conditions of repayment in each case.

(2) whether any of these loans have been repaid, if so, (a) how many were repaid by (i) the South African Government and (ii) these states themselves and (b) in respect of what date is this information furnished?

THE MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT AID

(1) (a) None

(b) Falls away

(2) Falls away

Hansard

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

+Indicates translated version

For written reply

General Affairs

Group Areas Act: complainants regarding offences

946 Mr C J DERBY-LEWIS asked the Minister of Law and Order

(1) (a) How many complainants regarding offences in terms of the Group Areas Act, No 36 of 1966, were (i) received and (ii) investigated by the South African Police in 1982, 1984 and 1985, respectively, and (b) (i) in how many cases were the Police investigations into such complainants completed, and (ii) what action was taken in respect of uncompleted investigations into such complainants, in each of these years.

(2) how many members of the South African Police were involved in investigating complainants of this nature in each of the above-mentioned years?

THE MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER

	1982	1984	1985
(1) (a) (i)	823	662	596
(ii)	823	662	596
(b) (i)	823	662	595
(ii)	1 case has been referred to the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning		

(2) 1982 18 members
 1984 36 members
 1985 15 members

Necklacing murders

967 Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Law and Order

(1) How many persons died by way of the so-called necklacing method in (a) 1984, (b) 1985, (c) 1986 and (d) 1987.

(2) how many persons were charged with murder resulting from such deaths in each of these years?

THE MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER

(1) (a) and (b) 67 persons
 (c) 306 persons
 (d) 19 persons

(2) 1984/85 373 persons
 1986 628 persons
 1987 120 persons

NOTE Separate statistics are not available for 1984 and 1985

PWV area: offences

1024 Mr C J DERBY-LEWIS asked the Minister of Law and Order

(1) (a) How many police districts are there in the PWV area and (b) what are their names,

(2) how many cases of (a) murder, (b) culpable homicide (c) rapes, (d) assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm and (e) common assault were reported and investigated at police stations in these police districts in (i) 1982 and (ii) the latest specified calendar year for which information is available?

THE MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER

(1) (a) 17 police districts which fall under the command of five Divisional Commissioners

(b) WITWATERSRAND DIVISION

Johannesburg
 Johannesburg North
 Randburg

WEST RAND DIVISION

Krugersdorp
 Vereeniging
 Roodepoort

EAST RAND DIVISION

Springs
 Brakpan
 Benoni
 Kempton Park
 Germiston
 Heidelberg

SOWETO DIVISION

Soweto West
 Soweto East

N TRANSVAAL DIVISION

Pretoria

Dutch activism echoes pro-Boer sentiment

The Dutch people are sending out signals to their Afrikaner cousins ... the signals have changed, reports ADA STUJLIP

UTRECHT The Dutch are very disappointed with their Afrikaner cousins' system of apartheid — and have their own way of showing it.

For not since the Boer War has there been such an outpouring of spontaneous public sentiment over a South African issue in The Netherlands as the recent public support of the country's anti-apartheid demonstrations.

Outwardly, at least, there is a difference. Whereas in 1898 the Dutch were naming entire neighbourhoods after the Boer republics of Transvaal and Orange Free State and honouring Boer leaders Kruger, Steyn and Pretorius with statues, and in popular books and song, they now do the same for Nelson Mandela, Allan Boesak, Desmond Tutu, Oliver Tambo and Steve Biko.

Yet the underlying reasons for current Dutch support of South African "liberation movements" have

remained basically the same: at the turn of the century they were just as outraged when the British so violently intruded Boer independence.

Public feeling here against apartheid led some 50 000 burghers, their wives and children on to the streets of Amsterdam on a 2 km, traffic-stopping march from the Dam to Museum Square next to the Van Gogh museum.

The peaceful crowd was captivated by the kwela music of the ANC band Amandla, gave a 10-minute ovation to UDF founder-patron Dr Allan Boesak, and listened approvingly to a speech by Swapo's Mr Toivo Ja Toivo.

PERSONAL AFFRONT

The current generation's grandparents were just as interested in the pro-Boer books of Penning and the plays put on by pro-Boer activists in Holland.

Now thousands of guilders are being donated to the ANC fund-raisers all over Holland — much as the silver guilders once poured into the coffers of the Boer Republics.

during the Boer War.

Some Dutch are so angered by apartheid that they consider it a personal affront. It certainly is so for parliamentarian Mr Ed Dolman, chairman of the Lower House of the Dutch Parliament, who said in Amsterdam that the Dutch were so irate "because the very word came from our own language".

Other people express their feelings more actively, damaging properties and boycotting products of companies trading with South Africa such as Shell, Makro supermarkets and KLM.

And outraged Netherlanders such as Klaas de Jonge and Helene Passtors went even further by joining the ANC's insurgents in South Africa — much as Dutch "ambulance drivers" once risked life and limb alongside the Boers in their armed struggle against British rule at the turn of the century.

Anti-apartheid sentiment here is at a fever-pitch. Long before Saturday's celebration of Nelson Mandela's 70th birthday, leaders of Cosatu, the UDF, Swapo and the ANC were

given wide media coverage in The Netherlands.

The musical group Amandla — armed with a hard-hitting political musical message — is to visit 52 towns and cities in The Netherlands and Belgium on their fund-raising tour for an ANC hospital in Lusaka and Angolan refugees. At the turn of the century and in very similar fashion, popular fund-raising events were held in hundreds of Dutch towns for the Boer women and children who were suffering and dying in English concentration camps in South Africa.

KRUGER OAKS

The highlights of Amandla's trip are expected in Arnhem next Saturday, where the city council will take the (renamed) Nelson Mandela bridge into official use, and on June 24 in Haarlem which is renaming a large park after Mandela.

Again, this is strongly reminiscent of the Boer War years. In many Dutch parks today, one can still see now-towering Paul Kruger oak trees, planted as saplings at the turn of the century by Queen Wilhelmina, who was a strong supporter of the Boer War effort.

Her popular grand-daughter Queen Beatrix recently attended the opening of the film, *Cry Freedom*. Afterwards she was said to be "very distressed by its message".

Thus in many ways — subtle and not so subtle — the Dutch are sending a steady stream of signals to their Afrikaner cousins, in the same unequivocal way as their grandparents. — *The Star's Foreign News*

June 16: important for SA's whites as well

June 16 is not just another day, writes the Black Sash Education Committee

Black schools are closed. Private schools have their half-term break. The liberal universities hold no classes. White schools enforce extra security measures. June 16 is not just another day in the education calendar.

On June 16 1976 police shot demonstrating Soweto students. Hector Peterson, a 13-year-old primary school pupil, was the first child killed by police action.

Flashpoint for the Soweto rebellion was the State's decision to implement the 50-50 rule in the final year of primary school. What this meant in practice was that black school children would have to learn half their subjects through the medium of English and the other half through the medium of Afrikaans.

This was rejected by the black community. But it was only one aspect of the dissatisfaction with Bantu Education.

Bantu Education, imposed in 1955, aimed to perpetuate a rigid racial segregation in education and to ensure that the "native who attends school will know that to a great extent he must be the labourer in the country" (Eiselen report 1951). Dr Verwoerd in a speech delivered to the Senate on June 7 1954, said, "there is no place for the Bantu in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour".

The material provisions of black schooling have been directed towards the achievement of these aims. Where white schools have media centres, school halls, swimming pools and gymnasiums, black schools in contrast lack electricity, duplicating facilities and books. In addition there are huge disparities in staff-student ratios and in the number of qualified teachers.

Can students be blamed for rebelling against such an education system? Given the effectiveness of state repression, the continued resistance to "Bantu education" is a testimony to the strength and determination of people to resist domination.

For the majority of South Africans, June 16, Soweto Day, is a national day of remembrance. June 16 is a day on which to remember that critical questions about education need to be asked. It reminds us that black children have been perceptive enough to ask such questions.

Some white South Africans see June 16 as part of an "alternative" calendar which has nothing to do with them. It is time for them to recognise that white education is in no less need of serious challenge. It too serves the interests of the State and by fostering racism, sexism and elitism, bolsters apartheid.

June 16 is an important day for us all.

By SYLVIA VOLLENHOVEN

AT the entrance to Ginsburg township near King William's Town in the Eastern Cape is a small cemetery with few fancy gravestones. Here flowers are a luxury very few can afford.

The marble headstone of Bantu Stephen Biko's grave is almost hidden by the long grass. Biko died in detention in 1977 at the age of 31.

Mournful singing drifts across from a nearby funeral.

Two old gravediggers close the rusted, rickety gates as we leave. They offer us wild berries picked from a nearby bush.

The church where political meetings were once held, has long since been gutted by fire. The people know who to suspect.

Biko was the first president of the banned Black People's Convention (BPC) and founder of the Zimele Trust Fund which cared for former political prisoners and their families.

His widow, Nontsikelelo, or Ntsiki as everyone calls her, is a nursing sister at Grey Hospital in King William's Town.

She and her children live in a nameless street, one of many others. The township people have scored a minor victory in having another road named Biko Street.

The short pathway and small stoep at Ntsiki's house is polished bright red.

The tiny lounge has only three photographs on the wall.

In one a young Biko in his black academic gown is flanked by the rest of the members of the University of Natal student's representative council of 1966. In another picture he is smiling and animated.

On the opposite wall his face stares out of a tatty photocopy of the front cover of Frank Talk, one of the Azapo magazines. Biko was a frequent contributor.

Ntsiki is treasurer of a soccer team, Stars of Hopo. After a party attended by team members and friends the Saturday night, Ntsiki prepares breakfast and talks about the Biko children the Sunday morning.

Nkosinathi finishes high school soon and plans to become an accountant.

"Sometimes Samora says he would like to be a lawyer, sometimes he says he would like to be a doctor. It is too early to tell."

"The older one is more serious-minded. He understands about his father and is bitter. The children hold a grudge against the police."

"Sometimes they say if their father had not been detained he would be alive. But at other times Nkosinathi says they would have killed him anyway, somehow or another."

Ntsiki will not urge her children into politics, but will be satisfied with their choices.

"Only once did I get Nkosinathi's



Steve's nephew Themble "Socks" Biko alongside Biko's gravestone



Legend of a nameless street

views. He said to me that in one way or another every black person is involved in politics because of the situation."

Harassment continued after her husband's death, but she does not want to leave the area as she wants to be close to her mother-in-law. "I feel comfortable with the people here."

Biko's mother, Alice Nokuzola Biko, 68, joins the conversation and recalls her last days with her son.

"When they said at the inquest that nobody was responsible for his death, it was a bad day for me. I didn't expect it."

When I think of it I still feel very bad — I am sorry my English is not perfect.

I still wake up at night thinking of his death and I cannot sleep. It still breaks my heart to think about it.

How can they say nobody is to blame. But what can we do. I just say God was there and God knows everything."

The last day she saw Biko was with Peter Jones. They were sitting in her house and he said to her: "Ma, we'll see you again." She did not think they were going far, but it was the last time she saw her son.

Biko and Jones were arrested at a roadblock on their way to King William's Town after a secret visit to Cape Town.

Later she heard he was in prison in Port Elizabeth. She sent clothes there.

"As time went on, I sensed something was wrong. They sent his clothes back. Most had never been worn, but one shirt had what appeared to be bloodstains."

A policeman phoned and asked if he could visit me.

My heart beats like this — she says shaking her hand and slapping her fingers rapidly.

"I asked them how Steve was. They said he was alright. But still my heart was beating fast. I did not know what I was doing. I took a broom and started to sweep my house, feeling weak."

"Later they told me Steve had died in Pretoria. I said I did not know anything about my son being sick."

"I don't remember what I did, but the people just started coming. The police told a woman to take me inside. At the same time I was worried about this one," she says pointing to Peter Jones, who was in detention at the time.

Her husband died in 1950 when her children were very young. She reared and educated them from the money she earned as a hospital cook and domestic worker.

Her eldest daughter became a nurse. When Steve went to medical school she made sure he had nice clothes to wear," she says proudly.

Steve had a bursary from a private trust.

Her eldest daughter died two years before Biko was killed in detention. She also has a son, Khaya, and a daughter Nobandile — both living elsewhere.

"I had a hard fight to bring up these children, but God helped me."



Mrs Ntsiki Biko



Samora Biko, 13, outside the family home



Biko's mother Mrs Alice Nokuzola Biko, with grandson Samora

The politics of fish bowls

The National Party government refuses to have "official talks" with the ANC. It says the ANC is a "terrorist" organisation which propagates the violent overthrow of the government. And until the ANC renounces violence, it will not have discussions with them

By RYLAND FISHER

RANDBURG MP Wynand Malan feels his burden has increased since he left the National Party just over a year ago

"But it is a burden I don't mind carrying," he says

"My burden used to be the National Party. Now I have a different kind of burden, which is sometimes a joy. I am a free agent and can work towards a nonracial democratic South Africa."

Malan was considered by many to be a rising star in the National Party before he left to stand as an independent in the May 6 election last year.

As leader of the National Democratic Movement he recently returned from Frankfurt where he met with a top-level African National Congress delegation.

It was something he would not have been able to do as a Nationalist MP.

Malan describes as "traumatic" his decision to leave the party.

"I was born into the party. It was like home. Although I was disenchanted for a long time I could not leave.

"It is like living in a home where your mother and father are both alcoholics, yet you can't disown them.

"I left when the government did not want to shift from its definition of groups. They continued to use race to define groups. I also had problems with the application of security legislation.

"I could not accept it when some of my friends were detained. Like Vusi Khanyile (chairperson of the National Education Crisis Committee).

"It did not make sense. Vusi had been meeting with Sam de Beer to resolve the education crisis yet the police detained him.

"There are many others like Vusi who should never have been detained.

Asked if it was a sacrifice to leave the party, he said:

"No, it was not really a sacrifice, but traumatic. Afterwards there was a feeling of tremendous relief.

"I still feel patriotic, but now I feel patriotic towards all the people of South Africa.

"I feel I made the right decision."

He does not think it was a brave decision.

"It was becoming impossible to stay in the party. There are others going through the same suffering.

"I don't blame them for not leaving the party. I'm sure that in time they will experience what I did."

Malan said he hoped to have future discussions with the ANC.

"We achieved many things with our last meeting. We could agree on a multi-party democracy and the protection of cultural, language and religion along with other individual rights.

"This can be recorded against the idea in South Africa that the ANC stands for a one-party state.

"The joint statement we issued



Wynand Malan

gives the official position of both our organisations and we can be measured against that commitment in our future actions.

"An important achievement was that we could sit down and talk. We normalised the concept of political contact against the background of our objective that everyone should be included in the political process.

"There was a mutual commitment to meet again and to look at alternative strategies to oppose the total strategy and to break the deadlock. This will be the basis of our follow up discussions.

"This idea was stimulating to us and, it appears, to the ANC.

"We will now continue with similar discussions across the political spectrum here and probably meet them again in a few months.

"We shared all our research information on attitudes to pressure activities. It was an open and constructive meeting and they seriously took note of what we were saying.

"Our impression was that the four ANC members we spoke to were serious, relaxed and genuine.

"Obviously we can only develop a relationship of trust over time, even though we would not necessarily agree on everything but there should be trust in spite of disagreements.

"We knew where they stood and they knew where we stood. There was no cheap talk or bluffing."

Malan denied that he was trying to sell the idea of participating in parliament with the support of extra-parliamentary organisations, but the matter had been discussed with the ANC.

"That is not our idea. We believe in involving all people in decision-making so there would be organic growth towards one nation.

"However, we feel participation in electoral politics should be seriously considered as an option and not ruled out because of so-called principles."

"There should not be a purist approach but participation should be measured by its results."

He said the NDM "differed fundamentally" with the PFP on strategy.

"We advocate involvement over the total spectrum of politics. The PFP is mainly involved in parliamentary politics.

"Where they are involved in the townships it is like a Red Cross ambulance moving into troubled areas. They are only there when it is a crisis. They are not involved in strategising and can't feel part of the community.

"I use the metaphor of two fish bowls — the system and the opposition. Two groups of people are playing their politics in two different bowls. I believe you must get all the fish in one bowl to sort out the problems. There must be total involvement.

Does he believe there is a chance of uniting what seems to be a very splintered parliamentary Left?

"Our first strategic goal is to get all involved. Then there may be a realignment which may include the PFP and Dennis Worrall.

"To force things now, may be to everyone's detriment and everyone may lose.

"Look what happened with the May 6 election when the PFP's alliance with the NRP led to them losing supporters. A joint opposition is not on our agenda.

"We are not in the game to rearrange the opposition furniture. We want to add to the political furniture on the left of government."

Tambo visits Bonn, meets German leaders

The Argus Foreign Service

MUNICH. — African National Congress leader Mr Oliver Tambo had talks in Bonn with West German Foreign Minister Mr Hans-Dietrich Genscher and the honorary chairman of the opposition Social Democratic Party, former Chancellor Willy Brandt

Mr Tambo had planned to attend the final day yesterday of a two-day special congress on South Africa organised by the Social Democrats, but he arrived in Bonn too late

The Social Democrats' expert on South Africa, Mr Guenter Verheugen, said the congress had emphasised the urgent need to step up pressure on the South African Government. The Social Democrats had also decided to intensify co-operation with the ANC and Swapo, he said.

Several South African speakers at the congress backed the Social Democrats' call for greater pressure on South Africa

The general secretary of the South African Catholic Bishops Conference, Mr Jude Pietersen, proposed a package of new sanctions.

The German Social Democrats also delegated their deputy parliamentary leader, Mr Horst Ehmke, to organise an all-party appeal to the South African Government to exercise clemency for the Sharpeville Six

An angry man

Gogotya

fears for future



John Gogotya, a different view.

By Kaizer Nyatumba

Mr John Gogotya is an angry man

He is angry with Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu, angry with "radical" trade unions, angry with most black political organisations and angry with the media — except the SABC

His newly-founded political organisation, the Federal Independent Democratic Alliance (Fida), shares his anger

Mr Gogotya (50) is not your everyday anti-apartheid politician. He and his organisation hold views which are anathema to many anti-apartheid organisations, but Mr Gogotya is not bothered. These organisations, he says, only preach democracy and do not practise it.

Less than a year old, Mr Gogotya's Fida is fiercely anti-violence and anti-sanctions. So far it is the only organisation which has publicly embraced President Botha's National Statutory Council (NSC) and expressed willingness to participate in it, and supported the state of emergency.

Bombing

"When the state of emergency came, only then could we sleep peacefully at night. It brought a big sigh of relief to moderate blacks in South Africa. The emergency has brought peace to many black South Africans, and children in detention are better off in prison away from intimidation," Mr Gogotya said last year. A year later he says the state of emergency is still necessary.

"The situation in the country still warrants a state of emergency, especially if you look at what is happening in Pietermaritzburg and the recent bombing of the Sofasonke Party meeting in Soweto," Mr Gogotya said.

Mr Gogotya was born in Margate, Natal, 50 years ago. His parents moved to the Transvaal and settled in Sophiatown. They later moved to Soweto, where the young John Gogotya completed his high school studies.

He enrolled at the Assembly of God Spring Valley Bible Institute, where he graduated in 1960. In 1963 he became a missionary and was posted to Nelspruit in the eastern Transvaal, where he was until 1967.

Transferred

He was then transferred to Roodepoort where he was in charge of the Literature Dissemination Centre.

Mr Gogotya says he has travelled widely in Africa, "gaining invaluable first hand experience of the politics and problems of these countries." He later resigned from the church, he says, and dabbled in business.

In 1981 he moved to Sebokeng in the Vaal Triangle, where he started "a multi-denominational Christian cultur-

al self-help organisation" called Operation Advance and Upgrade (OAU). In 1983 Mr Gogotya decided to move into the political arena.

"I was struck by the way in which people, particularly the children, were being used and manipulated by the radical elements to further their own revolutionary objectives.

"We decided then that our voice of protest against this mindless violence and intimidation had to be heard, and so Fida was born," Mr Gogotya said.

At the height of the unrest in 1984 Mr Gogotya distributed anti-protest and anti-boycott pamphlets in Soweto and other townships.

Mr Gogotya said his organisation, which had a membership of 300 000 when it was launched in July last year, now has a membership of 700 000.

Hostility

Can he produce records of membership?

No, he says, he will not do that because he does not want to expose his members to hostility.

The organisation has adopted the following stands.

● The ANC: "They are not interested in negotiation. All they are interested in is the transfer of power into their hands."

● One man, one vote: "We have seen what this has done to the rest of Africa. It has brought oppression and deprivation to the whole continent."

● Nelson Mandela, jailed ANC leader: "He is in prison by his own choice. I am not keeping him there."

Mr Gogotya and his organisation welcomed the existence of homelands in a federal system.

"Homelands," he says, "are not a creation of the apartheid government. Zulus, Tsongas, Sothos, etc lived alone as separate nations, with very little in common. That's history, that's a fact."

Mr Gogotya has travelled to Europe and America to lobby against sanctions, and one of his main political foes is sanctions proponent Archbishop Tutu, whom he says "hates apartheid so much that he wants to sacrifice the South African people."

Rajbansi defiant on allegations

CAP 7975 15/6/88
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Political Staff

A DEFIANT Mr Amichand Rajbansi yesterday labelled as "suspect" the Select Committee report linking him and a R15 000 donation to his party to preferential treatment in awarding House of Delegates contracts

The Chairman of the Ministers' Council said in Parliament that the report, approved by the opposition majority alliance in the House, had been "very cleverly worded", that certain findings were "suspect" and that "certain conclusions were manufactured"

Later, he questioned why the evidence had not been published and why the majority alliance had not accepted his call to have the evidence independently reviewed by a judge of the Supreme Court to see if it substantiated the committee's findings

The report found that the Solidarity MP for Stanger, Mr Yunus Moolla, had not breached parliamentary privilege in alleging that Mr Rajbansi had received a cheque from a building contractor

However, Mr Rajbansi said he had called for the Select Committee because he had objected to the inference that the cheque had been for his own personal account

The committee had cleared him on this count and had shown the money

had been for the National People's Party

He denied that any company owned by the instigator of the R15 000 donation, Mr D G Pillay, had been given preferential treatment in doing business with the House administration.

One of the companies with which he was connected had been turned down in Isipingo and in Chatsworth, but had been successful with a tender in Maritzburg

Later, in an interview, Mr Rajbansi said the company had submitted a tender to buy land for about R250 000 more than the next-highest tenderer. The company had, therefore, been awarded the contract strictly on merit

He accused the committee of "splitting hairs" about the meaning of the word "received" in connection with the handing over of a cheque for R10 000, which he had "looked at" after it had been given to the NPP's fund-raiser, Mr A G V Naidoo

Mr Rajbansi said the report left the impression that he had physically "received" the cheque, but evidence before the committee was that it had been given to Mr Naidoo first

Mr J N Reddy, the leader of the Opposition, said earlier that Mr Rajbansi should do the "honourable" thing and resign after the publication of the report. Mr Mahmoud Rajab (PFP Springfield) supported this call

Mr Rajbansi, however, made it clear that he did not think there was any reason for him to resign

'Black struggle'

11A

Sowetan 15/6/86



Dr MOTLANA . . . defence witness.

THE struggle for the liberation of the oppressed was not that of the African National Congress but for all those who believed in justice, a Pretoria Supreme Court judge was told yesterday.

Saying this under cross examination by the prosecutor was Dr. Nthato Motlana, chairman of the Soweto Civic Association. He was testifying for the defence in the Vaal Triangle treason trial.

Nineteen officials of the United Democratic

Front, Azapo, The Vaal Civic Association and Azanyu are appearing on a charge of treason and alternative charges of terrorism, subversion and murder.

They have all pleaded not guilty

Dr Motlana also rejected the State's suggestion that chants about the ANC leader, Mr Oliver Tambo, at meetings were an indication that people were identifying with the ANC's struggle. He also denied that political activists used a clenched fist sign because it was adopted by the ANC Youth League.

Dr Motlana also told the court that protest campaigns were there long before the UDF was formed. Those protests organised by the UDF were merely a continuation of earlier ones.

(Proceeding)

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S 20745

Not enough

LONDON — Dutch anti-apartheid organisation Komitee Zuidelijk Afrika has criticised Dutch Foreign Minister Mr Hans van den Broek for not doing enough to help eradicate apartheid.

Sowetan 15/6/86

AFTER more than two years of gestation and discussion, the African National Congress has drawn up a set of constitutional guidelines for a post-apartheid South Africa

The guidelines, to be published this year, respond to criticisms from the international community and from within the ANC that the organisation which commands much support is dangerously vague about the country's future

Hitherto the ANC and its allies have played safe by sticking to the hazy and somewhat Utopian ideals of the Freedom Charter of 1955, while foreign academics and South African State planners outflanked them with an avalanche of complicated federal constitutions

It was time to move a little bit further from the Freedom Charter and to say how it could be put into practice according to the ANC's Department of Legal and Constitutional Affairs

Remarkable

In the African context the proposals drafted by the constitutional committee would be remarkable if enacted and entrenched. They envisage a non-racial multi-party democracy in a unitary state, a Bill of rights to protect individual freedoms and a mixed economy with independent trade unions

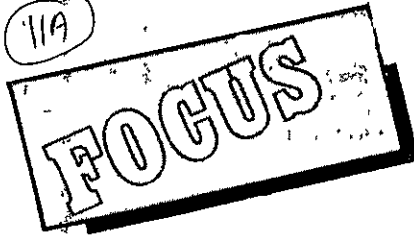
ANC leaders are acutely aware that they are not the only South African anti-apartheid group even if they represent the main opposition tendency. They shelved an earlier idea to produce a complete and detailed draft constitution. Such a document they now argue may have to wait until change of government

Months of debate about the guidelines suggest that the ANC, founded in 1912, has learned something from the mistakes of African countries to the north

Time to move a little bit further from Freedom Charter

ANC plans for new SA

Secretan



By VICTOR MALLET

which won independence from their white colonial masters in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s

ANC officials know about human rights abuses in black Africa. They also know it will be difficult to fulfil the Freedom Charter's brave promises of free health care, free education and jobs for all

They are particularly cautious about rapid nationalisation when black South Africans may not have acquired the managerial skills to run mines and banks, although the Freedom Charter says bluntly that the mineral wealth beneath the soil, the banks and monopoly industry shall be

transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole

No mention of the word socialism is made in the present drafts of the constitutional guidelines, the ANC says, and it could be argued that the proposals represent only the internationally acceptable views of the black nationalists in the ANC

SACP

Members of the South African Communist Party (its membership overlaps with that of the ANC) believe that the overthrow of white rule and the rise of a multi-party democracy are simply the first stages of a revolution leading to a one-party state

Among proposals suggested by the ANC guidelines are

- Multi-party democracy in a unitary state. The nature of the executive has yet to be decided. Local government is to play an important role. The State, while striving to create a national identity, would recognise linguistic and cultural differences.
- A Bill of Rights to protect individuals. Press freedom and freedom of religion would be guaranteed. But advocating racism or tribalism would be prohibited.
- Affirmative action or



WHILE striving to create a national identity, linguistic and cultural differences would be recognised

positive discrimination would be needed to make up for the disadvantages currently suffered by South African blacks,

- A mixed economy. Some nationalisation of industry is regarded as inevitable by the ANC, but caution is recommended. The right to private property would be guaranteed. Trade unions should be independent of the Government and workers would have the right to strike, and

- Land reform certain to be one of the most sensitive issues in a future South Africa, involving the transfer of white-owned land to blacks. Hundreds of thousands of South Africans have been forcibly removed from their land under apartheid

Unprepared

ANC members believe that the Zimbabwean guerilla movements were caught unprepared by the constitutional negotiations at Lancaster House which led to Zimbabwe's independence in 1980, arguing that neither Zanu nor Zapu, the two main parties had given sufficient thought to economic alternatives

The ANC guidelines, they hope, will allow them to take a firm stand in any similar talks about South Africa

The idea is to initiate a debate, says the ANC, on the form, the content and the direction of post-apartheid South Africa

Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Joe Thloloe. Sub-editing, headlines and posters by Sydney Mathaku. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.

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Six ^{Southern} 15/6/88

want leave to appeal

LAWYERS for the "Sharpeville Six" will petition for leave to appeal against the Pretoria Supreme Court judgment rejecting an application for a re-trial.

A spokesman for the lawyers confirmed yesterday that they would petition the Chief Justice for a retrial and the State President, Mr P W Botha, for clemency.

Mr Acting Justice Human of the Pretoria Supreme Court rejected the application for a re-opening of the trial as "frivolous" and "absurd" on Monday.

He also refused leave to appeal against his decision.

A mass demonstration outside the South African Embassy in London joined by Archbishop Trevor Huddleston and a number of MPs yesterday afternoon called for clemency for the "Six".

Britain's opposition Labour Party foreign affairs spokesman, Mr George Robertson, called on Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher and the Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, "to put the screws on the South African Government."

Campaign

Silence from Britain will be judged to be complicity," he added.

The outlawed Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) called on all governments, international organisations and support groups the world over to intensify the campaign once more to save the "Six".

The ANC has also expressed concern.

The general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, Rev Frank Chikane, has called on the State President to reprieve the "Six".

The European Community has expressed deep distress and concern over the fate of the "Six".

The Save the Sharpeville Six Campaign also expressed its concern over the fate of the "Six".

The "Six" are Mojalefa Sefatsa, Reid Mokoena, Oupa Dimiso, Duma Khumalo, Francis Mokhesi and Theresa Ramashamola, the only woman on death row.

They were convicted of complicity in the 1984 mob killing of a black town councillor during riots provoked by a rent increase.

They were granted a stay of execution on March 17, one day before they were to hang.

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Sowetan 15/6/88

Many to pay homage

● From Page 1

as a paid public holiday. The National African Federated Chamber of Commerce has also called on its members in the township to mark the day by closing their businesses between 11am and 3pm.

The National Professional Soccer League said in a statement that it would suspend all its matches scheduled for June 15, 18 and 19. General manager Mike Matloane said "This being a week of mourning, the NPSL's management committee has decided to postpone all its matches to a later date which would be announced."

NSL

The National Soccer League's public relations officer, Abdul Bhamjee, said the NSL would suspend all its activities tomorrow and that a five-minute silence would be observed before each game at the weekend.

Meanwhile, many workers are expected to stay at home as a large number of employers in recent months have reached formal agreement with trade unions recognising June 16 as a paid holiday.

The Congress of South African Trade Unions said although it had been banned from organising commemoration services after it was restricted on February 24, many of its affiliates would observe tomorrow.

Cosatu's information officer, Mr Frank Meintjes, said this would happen because many of its affiliates had won the recognition of June 16 as a holiday following successful negotiations with employers.

Holidays

The South African Employers' Consultative Committee on Labour Affairs (Saccola) is seeking to reduce the number of statutory holidays from 11 to four with a minimum of three additional paid holidays to be negotiated between employers and employees.

According to a correspondent, public holidays are estimated to have cost about R2400 million so far this year, running at R400 million a holiday boosted by losses stemming from stay-aways and unofficial long weekend absences.

Saccola's holiday proposals have been submitted to the Minister of Constitutional Planning and Development.

The Steel Engineering Industries Federation said it was not making any recommendations to its members other than to apply the no-work-no-pay policy.

SA Embassy pleased

LONDON — The South African Embassy said yesterday it had received a "very good" response to adverts it placed in British newspapers over the weekend to counter the current "free Nelson Mandela" campaign by the Anti-Apartheid Movement.

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An Embassy spokesman said "We had several hundred phone calls on the first day and just under a thousand replies in the first mail, which is an indication of a good strong response"

The Embassy said in the adverts that the South African Government had on numerous occasions offered to release Mandela provided he renounced violence

SOVIETS PRAISED

MOSCOW — Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town, Desmond Tutu, said yesterday the people of South Africa were grateful to the Soviet people for backing their fight against apartheid, the official news agency *Tass* reported.

(11A) Sowetan 15/6/88
Tass said Tutu, an outspoken opponent of apartheid, was speaking during a meeting with Soviet first vice-president, Pyotr Demichev.

“Desmond Tutu expressed gratitude to the Soviet people for the support of the South African people in their struggle for justice and freedom,” *Tass* said.

Test of Unity

South 15-22/68
 (11A)
 (11A)

The Cape Teachers' Professional Organisation is set to adopt the Freedom Charter and discuss a possible merger with other progressive teacher organisations at its 21st annual conference later this month. This will be the start of "critical times" for the CTPA, according to vice-president Randall van den Heever

By RYLANG FISHER

UNITY within the Cape Teachers Professional Association will be severely tested at its 21st annual conference at the University of the Western Cape next week, according to CTPA deputy president Randall van den Heever.

The conference is expected to adopt the Freedom Charter and discuss a possible merger with other teachers organisations which support 'people's education'.

There are prices to pay. We have led a very charmed life and we have been lucky to keep our unity intact, said Van den Heever.

He believes the five day conference (from June 20 to 24) will be the start of crucial times.

We will try to maintain our unity and our representative character, without reneging on our course.

It will be a tremendous test of unity but we will come out on the other side. We will depend heavily on our broad community support.

The community support will be evident throughout the conference.

The opening night will be chaired by Father Smangaliso Mkhatswa, outgoing general secretary of the SA Catholics Bishops Conference and the speakers will include Abdullah Omar of the United Democratic Front, South African Rugby Union president Ebrahim Patel, and Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches.

The Western Cape Teachers Union (Wectu), the Democratic Teachers Union (Detu) and the African Teachers Association of SA (Atasa) have been invited to share the opening night platform.

Franklin Sonn will deliver his 12th presidential address, which is expected to indicate the direction the CTPA intends to follow.

Our official opening is an auspicious occasion and is always done by a person we hold in high esteem. Our invitation to Father Mkhatswa, considered by many to be the architect of people's education, shows the high regard we have for him and the democratic movement, said Van den Heever.

The CTPA's official 21st birthday event will be a special session led by Professor Fatemah Meer on the role of women in the struggle for a democratic South Africa.

Other watershed sessions will be the discussion on the adoption of the Freedom Charter, the formation of the national teachers union and official support for non-racial sport under the banner of the SA Council on Sport (Sacos).

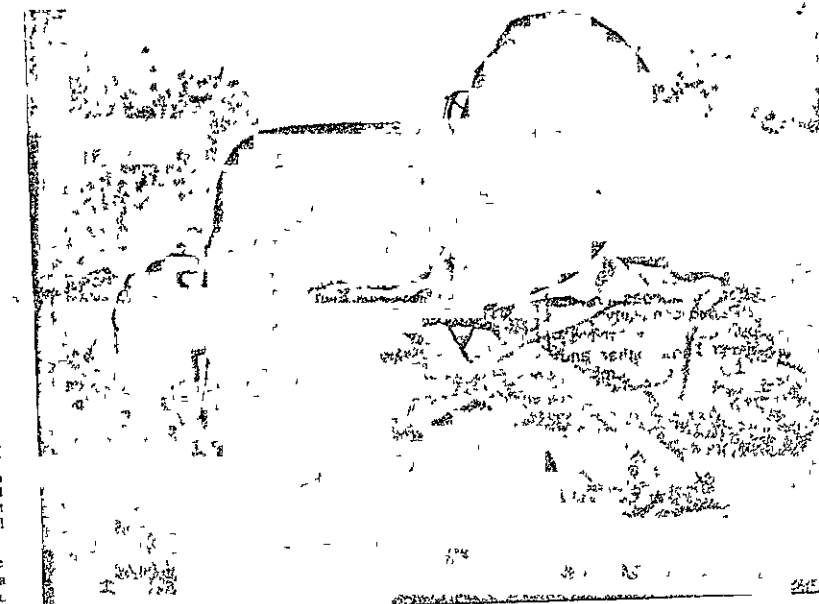
Van den Heever will lead the discussion on teacher unity after a speech by Congress of SA Trade Unions (Cosatu) general secretary Jay Naidoo.

"Cosatu, and in particular Jay Naidoo, have been actively involved in the moves to unite teachers organisations," said Van den Heever.

"We will ask the conference to discuss the proposals of a meeting held in Harare in April which was attended by a wide range of teachers organisations."

"The main proposal was that the various organisations should work towards a united teachers organisation which would operate within the democratic movement."

We will also have practical sessions on people's education. We are moving past the stage of



Randall van den Heever

philosophising. We have to talk to teachers about alternative curriculum material at schools.

The CTPA will discuss the Freedom Charter with relation to economics, education, politics and religion.

The discussion on sport will centre on a motion tabled by the Port Elizabeth branch on the CTPA's official identification with the non-racial sports movement, as characterised by Sacos.

Van den Heever said the CTPA would be 'coming of age' at their conference.

The backlash from the authorities is a reality with which we will have to cope.

After our last congress the Labour Party threatened us with the withdrawal of stop order facilities. They had to back down because we stood our ground. We are prepared to stand our ground again.

The Labour Party will have to think about their position in the community before they can decide on any action against us.

As for the security police and the government, it is something we are all up against.

'We do not want to become reckless with the organisation but we are prepared for the consequences because of our commitment.'

There is no middle ground left in South Africa. Things have polarised to such an extent that one has to try whether you are on the side of the reform movement or the democratic movement.

All the past teachers organisations faced a time when they had to address the crisis of the day. Perhaps that time has now come for the CTPA. We can't dodge reality. We have a price to pay.

Rajbansi refuses to resign — rejects report

THE chairman of the Ministers' Council, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, has rejected opposition calls to resign in the light of evidence to a parliamentary select committee on a R15 000 donation.

Instead he has urged, unsuccessfully, that the House recommend to President Botha that a Supreme Court judge be appointed to determine whether the select committee's report was supported by the evidence.

He said in debate on the report that it cleared him and proved he had not misled the House.

He wanted to place on record that everything in his administration was done on the basis of clean administration and merit. Contracts were not awarded on the basis of donations.

GIVEN TO PARTY

The report showed that cheques amounting to R15 000 from Durban businessman Mr D G Pillay had gone not into his personal account but into NPP party coffers as donations.

As far as a sum of R600 allegedly paid to Mr Pillay from State funds for plans for a private home was concerned, a thorough search by the chief director of budgetary services and the director-general of housing had failed to uncover such a cheque.

Earlier the Leader of the Opposition, Dr J N Reddy, read extracts from Hansard of a debate in February in which Mr Rajbansi said the NPP did not receive contributions from any contractor or development company.

The committee's findings completely disproved Mr Rajbansi's words. It contained the submission that Mr Pillay canvassed donations and passed them on to the NPP as an inducement to be dealt with sympathetically when tenders for the acquisition of township land from the administration were considered.

● The Advocate-General, Mr Justice P J van Walt, today confirmed he was investigating a number of "specific and general" complaints concerning the House of Delegates — Sapa and The Argus Political Staff.

Tambo interviewed on ANC's use of violence

Star 15/6/88 (11A)

LONDON — ANC president Oliver Tambo has been interviewed by the *Times* in London on issues including the use of violence to end apartheid and whether violence should cease during negotiations

Mr Tambo also put his views on indiscriminate violence and on the purpose of using violence as a strategy. He also expressed his opinions on international trade sanctions against South Africa.

Rajibanshi

ONE THIRTS 16/6/88

11A

By ANTHONY JOHNSON

CONTROVERSIAL Mr Amichand Rajbansi is out of the cabinet

President P W Botha last night appointed a judicial commission of inquiry into repeated allegations of "irregularities" in the House of Delegates

Announcing the dramatic developments, Mr Botha said he could "no longer refrain from acting without compromising the credibility of government regarding clean administration"

The inquiry — the second judicial probe appointed by Mr Botha within 24 hours into alleged irregularities by senior members of the government — will be expected to produce findings before September 30

The embattled Mr Rajbansi has been "re-lieved of his membership of the cabinet" for

the duration of the investigation, but will retain his position as chairman of the Ministers' Council and as Minister of Housing in the House of Delegates

The move, which will result in the first all-white cabinet since 1984, followed a proposal by PFP leader Mr Colin Eglin in the House of Assembly earlier yesterday that Mr Rajbansi's salary be cut to R2,48 — the price of "the proverbial bunch of carrots" the NPP leader had been dangling to fellow members of the House

Mr Eglin said it was "an absolute disgrace" that Mr Rajbansi had retained his post in the light of calls by the majority of his House to resign questionable circumstances

And in the House of Delegates, Mr Moh-moud Rajab (PFP Springfield) gave notice that he would move on Monday that the State President relieve Mr Rajbansi from his position as chairman of the Minister's Council

after he "deliberately misled" the House by stating that no member of his NPP had received money from a developer in connection with the recent Tongaat by-election.

Reacting to developments in the House of Delegates, Mr Botha said in a statement last night: "When I became Prime Minister 10 years ago, it was my stated intention to strive for clean administration"

"It has since been my unabated viewpoint that dishonesty and malpractices in government administration cannot be tolerated"

"For a considerable time now there have been allegations and counter-allegations in the House of Delegates amongst its members I entertained the hope that this matter would be solved by means of debate"

"In view of recent developments, however, I can no longer refrain from acting without compromising the credibility of the government regarding clean administration"

Mr Botha said he had therefore decided to appoint a commission of inquiry — whose exact terms of reference would be announced in due course — with the former judge President of Natal, Mr Justice Neville James, as the chairman and sole member

The leader of Solidarity Party, Mr J N Reddy, said he welcomed the appointment of the commission and said this presented the opportunity for all those making the allegations to come forward and give evidence

Mr Eglin added "The appointment of two judicial commissions of inquiry in successive days to inquire into alleged irregularities by persons in the government must surely establish an all-time record"

On Tuesday, the Director of the Department of Education and Training, Dr Braam Roux, quit his post as Mr Botha announced a judicial commission of inquiry into a multi-million-rand computer deal involving his son



Mr Amichand Rajbansi

Out

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Govt urged to arrest Tutu

The United Christian Action group has urged the Government to consider arresting Archbishop Desmond Tutu for treason.

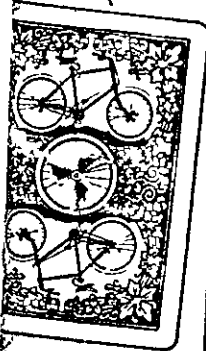
The church group, little known until recently but claiming four million members, yesterday attacked statements attributed to Archbishop Tutu thanking the Soviet people for backing the South African people in their freedom struggle.

The statements were quoted by Tass reporting on Tutu's visit to the USSR for celebrations on the 1 000th anniversary of Russian Christianity.

"Should the statement attributed to Archbishop Tutu be correct, United Christian Action urges your Government to consider arresting him upon his arrival back from the Soviet Union on account of treason," the group said in a statement sent to President Botha.

The statement said the only Soviet support for South Africans was for groups like the ANC. — Sapa-Reuter.

● See Page 15.



ARGUS 16/5/88 (11A) ~~SP~~

'ANC cell': Father's plea on son

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The father of the fifth alleged member of the all-white Broederstroom ANC cell — now believed to be imprisoned in an ANC punishment camp in Angola — is to appeal directly to the Red Cross and the ANC for his son's release

Paul Colin Annegarn, 23, of Benoni, a suspected deserter from the SADF who fled to London, is apparently being held with other dissidents under "extremely bad" conditions

at the ANC's Quatra punishment camp in eastern Angola.

Paul Annegarn, who spent time in SADF detention barracks and a military psychiatric ward, is the son of wealthy Benoni businessman Mr Joe Annegarn, a past-president of the Transvaal Chamber of Industries and the Federated Chamber of Industries.

Mr Annegarn confirmed he had been told his son was being held against his will in an ANC punishment camp. He said he was shocked when he heard his

son had links with the ANC.

He had not seen or heard from his son for two years but was concerned about his welfare and planned to contact the security police

Mr Annegarn, who is divorced, said: "I will approach the Red Cross and the ANC directly to get Paul released."

Paul allegedly joined the ANC in London in 1982 after completing only nine months of his military service in Potchefstroom.

He is understood to have entered South Africa with the four other alleged members of the Broederstroom cell last June, using a passport in the name of Gerald Green.

In November he apparently became disillusioned with the ANC because he thought the organisation was "on the wrong track". He was said to be particularly upset with the ANC's armed struggle.

He abandoned his mission and left South Africa, via Botswana, for Lusaka. There, said sources, he put his viewpoint to the ANC hierarchy but was arrested and sent to the Quatra camp.

A reliable source, who refused to be named, said Paul, described as soft and sensitive, was badly affected by his parents' divorce when he was seven and did not complete matric at a Johannesburg school.

He went absent without leave from his army camp at Potchefstroom and spent time in detention barracks, the source said.

"In his last days in the army he was in the psychiatric ward, where Permanent Force members kicked a cat to death in front of him, telling Paul he must kill, kill, kill

"Paul would say 'I don't want to kill; I just want justice'"

It emerged at the weekend that the Broederstroom cell was almost certainly betrayed by one of its four members.

Tutu thanks Soviets and raises storm

11A Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu's reported thanks to the Soviet Union for supporting the "liberation struggle" in South Africa has been criticised by politicians of all parties

The archbishop, in Moscow for celebrations of the 1000th anniversary of Christianity in the Soviet Union, was reported to have thanked First Vice-President Pyotr Demichev for his country's "support for the people of South Africa in their struggle for justice and freedom"

The statement was reported by Tass, the official Soviet news agency

Archbishop Tutu also accused the South African Government of attempting to turn part of the clergy into a "docile puppet"

SHACKLES AND CHAINS

Yesterday Progressive Federal Party information spokesman Mr Peter Soal said he could understand that blacks pursuing freedom would seek help from whatever quarter

"I don't think Bishop Tutu is committed to communism. But it will not do the cause of liberty any good to seek help from the Soviet Union"

"Do they want to exchange the shackles of apartheid for the chains of communism?"

Mr Con Botha, MP for Umlazi and National Party information officer, said it was strange for a church leader to thank and look for support from a country which is officially atheist

Mr Clive Derby-Lewis of the Conservative Party said "How do you react to somebody like that? What is he up to, and more importantly, what is the Government up to by letting him traipse round the world making statements like that?"

Soweto Day gets off to a quiet start

Alben
16/6/88

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Staff Reporters

SOWETO Day started quietly with less traffic and fewer on trains and buses.

Thousands of workers had the day off by agreement with employers and the universities of Cape Town and the Western Cape were closed.

Buses and trains ran normally, according to spokesmen for Sats and City Tramways.

Sats noticed "a drop during peak hours", said spokesman Mr Luther Diedericks. Most employees were working.

Tramways spokesman Mr Bob Krause said few passengers used buses in some areas.

A spokesman for the Western Cape Traders' Association said the organisation resolved several years ago to observe June 16 as a holiday.

Milk deliveries to coloured and black townships were disrupted.

Workers at one city bakery, Attwells, were on holiday today but spokesmen for Duens and Enterprise bakeries said bread was delivered to shops

ATTENDANCES

A spokesman for Enterprise said. "We did not deliver bread to shops in Khayelitsha."

Bread was delivered to nearly all traders on the Cape Flats, said a Duens spokesman

A spokesman for the garment industry, the Western Cape's largest employer, said a limited sample showed that attendances ranged from more than 80 percent to 20 percent.

The House of Representatives will not sit.

The Congress of South African Trade Unions and the National Council of Trade Unions are among organisations which support the call for a national holiday today to commemorate unrest which started in Soweto in 1976.

ANC committed to continue violence

LUSAKA — The ANC yesterday vowed it would never tone down on violence against Pretoria in spite of threats its policy might lose it international support.

This emerged after talks between senior ANC officials and visiting New Zealand Foreign Minister Russel Marshall.

The ANC said New Zealand had agreed to help fight Pretoria and to grant scholarships to ANC cadres. A Nelson Mandela scholarship would be launched next year. — ANO, Sapa-Reuter (11A/B/day)

16/6/88

ANC's Annegarn: no contact with parents

By Craig Kotze, Crime Reporter

Mr Paul Annegarn, alleged fifth member of an all-white Broederstroom ANC cell, has still not contacted his mother in London, his father, Mr Joe Annegarn, said yesterday.

The contact, and a Press conference promised by the ANC with Mr Annegarn more than a week ago, had not materialised.

"I spoke to his mother on Tuesday night in London but she said she had

not yet heard from him," said Mr Annegarn, a Reef businessman.

"Everything's gone dead and nobody knows a damn thing," he said.

Police say Mr Annegarn (23) is being held in the Quatra ANC punishment camp in Angola where conditions are as harsh as a Soviet labour camp.

The ANC has denied he is being held in a punishment camp, but said he "is in a place where he could not easily be contacted".

Clegg joins big names at UK Mandela Concert

The Argus Foreign Service

MONTREUX. — South African musician Johnny Clegg will join artistes booked for the Mandela Concert at London's Wembley Stadium on June 11, expected to be the world's biggest international television event

It is reported that Clegg will join South African exiles Miriam Makeba and Hugh Masekela at the 10-hour concert, which will be televised live to almost every country in the world with TV, except South Africa and Bophuthatswana, which have shown no interest in buying rights.

Another South African likely to appear on the bill is Jonathan Butler, fast-rising star in the world of rock, who is currently appearing on the supporting bill on superstar Whitney Houston's European tour.

Miss Houston, probably now the world's No 1 female singer, is on the bill for the Mandela Concert, which marks the jailed ANC leader's 70th birthday. Also appearing are Dire Straits and other big rock music names.

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The organiser, the London-based company Martial Arts, expects the show to be a sell-out with about 80 000 people paying R100 each to attend and an audience of a billion watching it live on television

Clegg, along with Makeba and Masekela, have been invited to take part by a French television company which has bought rights to screen the show and which will sponsor the three South Africans.

Butler will be in London with Miss Houston unless there is a change of plans before the Mandela Concert

People like Tutu don't deserve passports, says CP

STV 17/6/88

11A
South Africa did not owe passports or travel documents to people who went abroad to undermine the country, the Leader of the Opposition, Dr Andries Treurnicht, said in the House of Assembly yesterday.

Referring specifically to Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu, he said such travel documents were not due to people who went abroad to agitate for sanctions or praise organisations such as the ANC and the SACP

for their intervention in the country's affairs.

"I want to allege that South Africa and its government does not owe any such person a passport," he said.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu had no right to speak in Moscow on behalf of South Africans, Mr David Swanepoel (NP, Gazina) said.

Speaking in the third reading debate on the Budget, he said Archbishop Tutu, who thanked the Russians for their support for non-whites in their battle to get rid of apartheid, was a man who did not like the truth. He said he only had the support of some whites and a very small percentage of blacks. — Sapa.

9 ANC suspects shot dead

SA acts to crush threat of insurgency

By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

Cape Town

The South African Government was making urgent representations today to Mozambique to stop further armed ANC groups from crossing the border.

Prompt action to activate the Joint Security Committee under the Nkomati Accord is being taken following incidents in the past week near the Swazi border in which nine suspected ANC insurgents — three of them women — were killed in shoot-outs at police roadblocks.

The first meeting of the JSC is expected before the end of the month.

Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok has made it clear that another group of "trained terrorists" is in Mozambique waiting for a chance to get into South Africa.

"The terrorists that were killed this week formed part of a planned influx of ANC terrorists from Mozambique through Swaziland. They had received specific instructions to execute large-scale acts of indiscriminate terror, irrespective of race, age or creed," Mr Vlok said.

Director-General of Foreign Affairs Mr Nell van Heerden said in an interview today South Africa was "pursuing the matter with vigour". South Africa was already in contact with Mozambique.

"This is a major item for the Joint Security Committee (as provided for by the Nkomati Accord) and it underlines the need to re-activate the committee," Mr van Heerden said.

Mr van Heerden said the JSC was scheduled to have its first formal meeting since both countries decided to reactivate it in the last week of June.

Other incidents were announced yesterday.

In Cape Town, a man was blown up in Wynberg. A limpet mine was found next to his body. The mine was timed to go off at lunch-time.

Another limpet mine exploded on a suburban railway line near Cape Town, but nobody was injured.

Three days ago a man died in Natal when he is said to have tried to sabotage a railway line near Underberg. Mr Vlok said the explosives blew up in his face.

It is understood that the women insurgents were the first to be killed by police on South African soil.

The nine heavily-armed alleged insurgents killed were members of two separate groups ambushed at police roadblocks about 7 km

Outside Piet Retief

It seems that police, acting on information, were waiting for them. One group was in a stolen minibus.

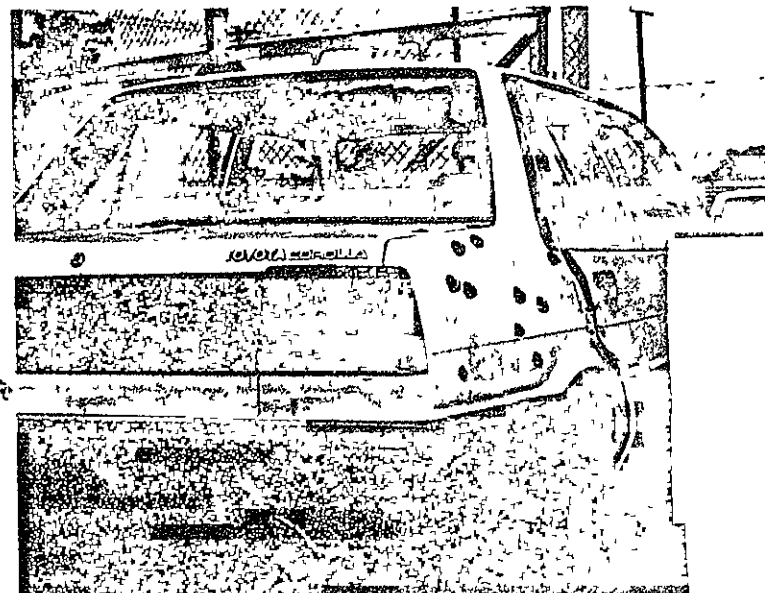
Mr Vlok said that when it stopped at a roadblock, a man jumped out and opened fire at police with an AK-47 rifle. Police returned the fire.

The second group, in a stolen Toyota Corolla, was stopped later at another roadblock.

One of the occupants shot at police with a pistol. When the police fired back, three women and an Indian man, all said to be "highly trained terrorists", were killed. No police casualties were reported.

Documents and a quantity of Russian-made arms and ammunition were seized.

● The reactivation of the JSC was first suggested by President Joaquim Chissano of Mozambique and since then both sides have met in Maputo. It is understood that the JSC will meet in about 10 days.



The two bullet-riddled vehicles police said were used by the nine suspected ANC insurgents, shot and killed at police roadblocks near the Swaziland border. Both vehicles were stolen in South Africa. The three women and the Indian man killed were in the Toyota Corolla sedan.

'Textbook case of tyranny' in SA

Staff Reporter

THE South African Government was a textbook case of tyranny, said theologian Professor Charles Villa-Vicencio to more than 250 people at a June 16 prayer service.

Clergy from various faiths and denominations and representatives of youth organisations spoke at the 2½-hour service in the Metropolitan Methodist Church on Greenmarket Square yesterday

Professor Villa-Vicencio said the dictionary defined tyranny as the despotic or cruel exercise of power in an arbitrary and cruel manner

"The South African Government is a textbook case," he said

Christians, Muslims and all who believed in justice and freedom had to commit themselves to fighting for these ideals

Church leaders at a convocation in Johannesburg last month had acknowledged that the Church had failed to provide "effective opposition to an unjust, tyrannical system".

But all Christians were obliged to regard the "suffering, victimisation and oppression of the people of God as a violation of the body of Christ," Professor Villa-Vicencio said

The Rev Russell Botma of the Western Province Council of Churches said the service was a celebration of the courage of youth who had accepted the sacrifice for saying no to apartheid.

Moulana Faried Esack of the Call of Islam said even while the country was going through its darkest days the State was able to "conjure up measures even darker than before" and it



Picture: MIKE HUTCHINGS

REMEMBRANCE: Mrs Dorothy Pieteron, mother of 12-year-old Zolile Hector Pieteron, who was shot by police in Soweto on June 16 1976, weeps as she tells how her son died.

was a price people would have to pay for freedom

Remembering those who had died in the confrontations of 1976 and since, Mr Esack said the strength of the State and the enormous power it wielded

could not be underestimated, but there were "limits to the depravity as they dehumanise us and themselves"


"We are determined to ensure that we are the last generation to suffer under apartheid

We will see freedom in our lifetime.

"We have a moral responsibility to oppose injustices. Our humanity depends on it"

Mrs Dorothy Pieteron, the mother of Zolile Hector Pieteron who was 12 when he was shot by police in Soweto in 1976, wept as she told the congregation of the day her son had died

After the service police vans drew up in Greenmarket Square and broadcast a warning for people to disperse



Mr Harry Schwarz

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Praise for Botha as Rajbansi withdraws

By ANTHONY JOHNSON

PRESIDENT P W Botha came in for rare praise from the Conservative Party yesterday when he was congratulated on once again having an all-white cabinet.

The Chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Delegates, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, this week asked to be relieved of his membership of the cabinet for the duration of a commission of inquiry, appointed by Mr Botha, into alleged irregularities in the House

However, President Botha was criticized by the Leader of the Opposition in the House of Delegates, Dr J N Reddy, and PFP MP Mr Pat Poovalingam, for failing to suspend Mr Rajbansi as chairman of the Ministers' Council.

Mr Rajbansi said yesterday: "I welcome and have fully supported the appointment of a judicial commission of inquiry by Mr P W Botha to investigate allegations and counter-allegations on matters relating to the administration (in the) House of Delegates from time to time."

Mr Rajbansi emphasized: "Since I am the political head of the administration, I felt that it was fit and proper that I recuse myself from the cabinet during the period of the investigation."

The terms of reference of the commission have not yet been announced, but Mr Rajbansi stated that it had not been appointed to investigate any individual in particular, but all the allegations made in the House of Delegates.

Hendrickse gives backing to Bill on National Council

Kaul
17/6/88
(110)

Political Correspondent

THE leader of the Labour Party, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, confirmed today that his party would support a Bill providing for a consultative National Council after winning what it regarded as important concessions from the Government

A standing committee on constitutional affairs of the three Houses of Parliament yesterday put the final touches to the Bill

It will come before Parliament from next week and is now expected to be supported by all parties except the Conservative Party and the Progressive Federal Party

Announcing his support for the Bill today, Mr Hendrickse

said the concessions the Government had accepted were

● Amendment of a clause disqualifying former prison inmates from serving on the council for five years after their release. Such people may now serve on the council five years after sentence is passed.

Mr Hendrickse said this concession allowed people like Mr Govan Mbeki and others who had served long-term sentences to take part in the council

● The President would no longer be the chairman of the council. Instead he would appoint co-chairmen who would share the position

They would represent the Houses of Parliament, the

Chief Ministers of the self-governing territories, the nine members representing urban blacks and the administrators of the four provinces

This meant blacks could chair the council from time to time

● The Government had also agreed that urban black representatives on the council should be elected by colleges of councillors

● The number of Cabinet Ministers in the council would be limited to five, whereas previously the entire Cabinet could have been appointed

Nine regions for the black urban representatives are to be delimited

A call for black unity

JUNE 16 should be recognised as a day of black unity, a meeting held in the Vaal Triangle to commemorate the 12th anniversary of the Soweto uprising was told yesterday.

A member of the Biko Foundation, Mr Zithulele Cindi, was addressing about 200 people at the Methodist Church in Sebokeng amid shouts of "AWB" from a group of white hecklers in the church hall.

Mr Cindi said June 16 should be looked at with pride and as a day to focus on prosecuting the struggle further. It had united the youth, students and workers alike, he said.

A speaker from the Azanian Co-ordinating Committee (Azacco), Mr Phineas Malabela, said "Our struggle will not be stopped by the banning of organisations and the silencing of the Press. People cannot be oppressed forever."

● Children who died during the student uprising of 1976 were like Jesus Christ, they also died for justice and the truth, a June 16 commemoration service was told in Pietersburg yesterday.

The service, held at the Workers Centre in Pietersburg, was addressed by speakers from the Azanian Co-ordinating Committee, the Media Workers Association of South Africa and the Azanian Students Movement.

The service, held at the local Anglican Church, was called by the Azanian Students Movement.

The main speaker was Mr Naeem Jeenah of the Muslim Youth Movement.

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Another birthday at the Mandela birthday

BY MOIRA LEVY

THE birthday of another key anti-apartheid figure was celebrated at the Nelson Mandela 70th birthday music festival in London.

Trevor Huddleston, the head of the Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM) - which staged the concert - and a long-time friend of Mandela, this week turned 75.

The frail, white-haired priest took a VIP seat among the dignitaries at Wembley Stadium. The 80 000-strong crowd loved him.

This week, the birthday celebrations continued. Hundreds packed a central London hall to hear tributes from ANC president Oliver Tambo; the secretary-general of Swapo, Andimba Toivo ja Toivo; British MPs Robert Hughes, David Steel and Neil Kinnock; and Commonwealth secretary-general Sonny Rampahal, who de-

scribed Huddleston as "the parish priest of our global village"

A videoed birthday message was relayed from Winnie Mandela. As one of his birthday presents, Huddleston was presented with five thick volumes containing messages of support and congratulation from across the world.

Huddleston, who arrived in South Africa in 1943 to serve as an Anglican monk in the Community of the Resurrection, was in the forefront of campaigns against Bantu Education and the removals from Sophiatown.

His 40-year association with Oliver Tambo began when he taught Tambo at the Community of the Resurrection School in Johannesburg. He was in South Africa during the

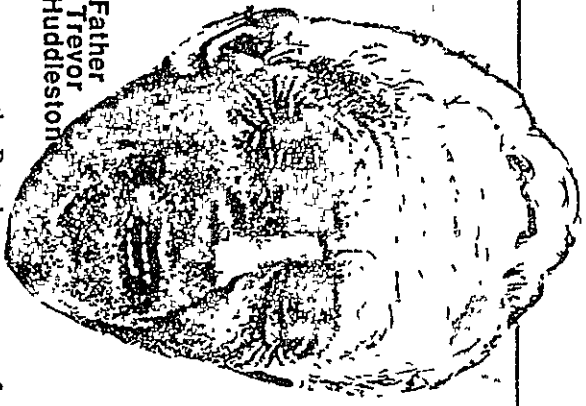
turbulent years of the Defiance Campaign and was honoured by the ANC at the 1955 Congress of the People

His book, "Naught For Your Comfort", prompted an angry response from the South African government. In 1955, he was recalled to England, in what was widely seen as a response to pressure from Pretoria.

He served in Tanzania and Mauritius before returning to Britain in the early 1980s. On the death of Bishop Ambrose Reeves, he was asked to lead the AAM.

Huddleston is a fierce critic of the Thatcher government's policy on South Africa.

One of his birthday celebration speakers recalled a meeting between the UK Foreign Office and an AAM delegation, led by Huddleston, at which a Minister asked him if he was



Father Trevor Huddleston

accusing the British government of hypocrisy. No, he said, adding that there was no way one could accuse a government without integrity, justice or honour of hypocrisy.

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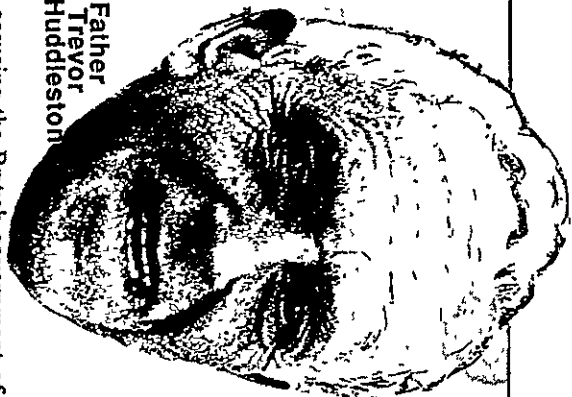
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SOWETO, TWELVE YEARS

June 16, 1988, and yet another

LISTENING to three young township activists discuss the launch of a regional students' congress in Johannesburg this week was a disconcerting experience

It was as if something very familiar had reappeared after an inexplicable absence, and looked and sounded just as before. Only time had passed

The pupil leaders were announcing the programme of the Southern Transvaal Students' Congress (Strasco), a structure formed a week earlier to co-ordinate the activities of seven "sub-regional" pupil organisations in the province

The congress had resolved to establish "campaign committees" to oppose "government repression", promote "people's culture", and counter "state propaganda". Proclaiming loyalty to a vision of a non-racial, democratic South Africa, the group's theme was, "Advance to National Unity"

It was no accident that Strasco was launched on the eve of June 16 1988, the twelfth anniversary of Soweto Day. According to its publicity secretary, Mbango Xaba, the new organi-

sation was "dedicated to the students of 1976, to the nobility and sacrifices of students over the past 12 years to free themselves, their people and their country"

The birth of Strasco could be taken to "prove" two conflicting assessments of the state of political organisation among South Africa's black schoolchildren

One is that the phenomenal growth of organisation in the schools which took place four years ago has been entirely reversed. Strasco is starting from square one

In this interpretation, the similarity of Strasco's hopes and plans to those of pupil leaders in 1984 and earlier reflects only pathos. A widespread belief in "imminent liberation" has been proved terribly wrong. The new crop of young activists are doomed to fail, as their predecessors failed

The other view is that the launch demonstrates the extraordinary resilience and continuity of school-based resistance politics. The fact that new leaders are prepared to start again from scratch, despite the state clamp-down, indicates the permanence of the pupils as a powerful factor in extra-parliamentary activism

Not surprisingly, the second view is the one favoured by Strasco itself. "We realise students are again unorganised," said Xaba, "but they remain part of the broader mass of oppressed people and need clear-cut programmes"

Strasco says its primary task is to contribute to the provision of this programme and to reinvigorate the school based movement. "Are we going to salute the heroic deeds of the past years, and leave it at that? No, more words are not needed. What is

It's no accident that the Soweto students who launched a new student organisation this week chose the eve of June 16 as the date. But will history be as unkind to them as it has been to their many predecessors? SHAUN JOHNSON and THAMI MKHWANAZI report

called for is action involving us, parents, workers and all others"

At the level of rhetoric, we've heard it all before — and it is tempting to accept the pessimistic scenario. But this might be unwise

Even under the Emergency, developments in and around the schools

suggest that the rise of students to political prominence which began on June 16 1976 has by no means run its full course

The children's revolt will not be achieved in the near future. It will also not be put down. It is growing, if unevenly

Strasco's launch is one of many indicators of the persistence of political militancy among school-youngsters

The visible manifestations of activism today are not completely different from those in 1985. But manifestations there are

For example, although the school boycott has been dropped by school-based organisations, students stayed away from lessons in various ways over the past year

Pupils of Soweto's Motlana

The streets of Soweto, June 16, 1976: The scenes that came before and



THERE are two small brass coloured marks on Sam Nzima's old Asahi Pentax SL, to the right of the lens, where countless pressings from his index and middle fingers have worn away the surface of the camera body

It is a camera Nzima has had for 20 years now. It is the camera with which he took a picture of Hector Petersen, a 13-year-old Std 4 boy who lived at 1460 White City Jabavu, as he was carried away from the first gunfire of that June day in Soweto, 12 years ago

That picture — of Petersen, his anguished sister and Mbuyisa Makhubu, the strongly-built student carrying the lifeless boy in his arms — has stirred memories of that day, in South Africa and around the world, every

By Sam Nzima, the man who took the picture

June 16 for the past 12 years. For Nzima, June 16, 1976 had begun the night before, when Percy Qoboza, editor of *The World*, briefed him and reporter Sophie Tema to cover a planned demonstration by students against the imposition of Afrikaans as a means of instruction

"We arrived at Naledi High School very early, at six in the morning, to wait for the gathering of students," he recalls. "We waited there a long time. We did not know exactly when they would march." When the students began moving, at about 7am to Sekano Nioane and on Jo Ngungunya, Morris Isaacson and Orlando West, Nzima followed and photographed

"I was concentrating on the placards. 'We are being fed the crumbs of ignorance with the poisonous spoon of Afrikaans' was one." When police opened fire on students gathered at the gate of Orlando West, Nzima was standing between the two, "trying to get both sides"

"I ran into a house, I just opened the door — there were even students under the beds — and I took a picture of the policemen as they fired"

"The students who had fled up 'Beverley Hill' nearby returned and showered the police with stones. 'All the police drove away but one, he tried to run and hit a pole. They slaughtered him like a goat and set him alight. I couldn't take pictures then," Nzima said

It was some time later when Nzima saw Petersen, his sister and Makhubu coming towards him. "It was 10.15. I will always remember that time very well. I was standing next to our press car. They were looking for the nearest vehicle"

Nzima clicked the shutter six times,

His June 16 picture of a dying Hector Peterson is world renowned, but photographer Sam Nzima himself never enjoyed much fame. Today he runs a bottle store in a small Eastern Transvaal town. JOHN PERLMAN reports

then opened the car door. He, Tema and their driver, Thomas Khoza, squeezed into the front, the others laid Petersen out in the back and got in beside him. The boy was dead on arrival at a nearby clinic

Khoza raced back to *The World* offices with the film. Nzima stayed in the township for another six hours

While he was there the third of his six pictures hit the streets on the front page of *The World*. It appeared in *The Star* and began circulating round the world

"The following day the manager said 'Congratulations, Mr Nzima, your picture was flashed around the world'. I did not know the picture was going to make that impact"

Nzima had not really expected to become a newspaper photographer at all. Born 54 years ago in Mhala, Gazankulu, he came to Johannesburg when he was 20. "I got a job in Hurlingham as a garden boy," he says

While at school, he took pictures of his friends with a Brownie box camera he'd bought by working part-time at the Kruger National Park

As he moved on to other jobs — six years as a scullery worker and waiter at the Savoy Hotel, eight as a

day after day I took more than I can remember

"A camera became a thing to have. Police were at the schools using press to find people. 'Do you know this they'd say. 'Take us to his home'. 'The police also wanted to us. Once when we were driving Morafe station, a shot was through the driver's side. Press was becoming unmanageable."

Towards the end of 1977, I returned to Mhala and opened a store — not with money from that went round the world. I gave me a bonus of R100," calls. He also got R400 for the Shell Press Picture of the Year. "I felt very bad. Some people could have been a millionaire. It been paid royalties for that."

"Although I don't get money happy that the community are with the picture. But they at least have shown the respect of tng a byline on the picture"

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Yesterday they would have Nzima's bottle store — only one in Gazankulu where get a bottle of Chivas Regal or KVV 20-year-old brandy — Chicago Bar and Lounge

"I never miss that day — it's of my prayer," Nzima says. "I the day quietly at home. I'm contradicting myself, being behind that picture, if I would opposite to what the saying."

"When we got back to the office, Percy said 'Go back, Soweto is on fire'. After that, it just seemed like

R... of a major union... Town... by progressive trade unions... uld have a strong commitment to the... ce... TIVE... Service in Cape Town... ary... sks of our small but busy research unit... and ability... about experience and... ce, 25,

SOWETO, TWELVE YEARS

and yet another youth group rises

...identities in
Soweto students who
...new student
...this week
...of Jun 19 85
But with history be
...to them as it ha
...their man,
...cessors?
**AUN JOHNSON and
HAMI MKHWANAZI**
report

...for is action involving us,
workers and all others
...the level of rhetoric, we've heard
...before — and it is tempting to
...the pessimistic scenario. But
...might be unwise
...under the Emergency, devel-
...in and around the schools

suggest that the rise of schoolchildren to political prominence which began on June 16 1976 has by no means run its full course

The children's revolt will certainly not be achieved in the near future, but it will also not be put down. It is still growing, if unevenly

Strasco's launch is one of many indicators of the persistence of the black education crisis and widespread political militancy among school-age youngsters

The visible manifestations of school activism today are not comparable with those in 1985. But manifestations there are

For example, although the blanket boycott has been dropped by school-based organisations, students have stayed away from lessons in specific cases over the past year

Pupils of Soweto's Mollana school

area (Moletsane, Tladi and Naledi) have been boycotting for about two months in protest against alleged widespread detentions of students

The Mollana boycotts came in the wake of similar action, and for similar reasons, at all six high schools in the Soweto township of Diepkloof

Only this week, the Soweto Students' Congress (Sosco) claimed 91 pupils in the township were detained when the State of Emergency was declared

In response Sosco has resolved to defy the Department of Education and Training's school re-opening date. Pupils will apparently go back on July 13, nine days later than usual

There have been boycotts in other parts of South Africa recently. Krugersdorp pupils came out in protest against teacher shortages and the DET's refusal to recognise student

representative councils

Elsewhere there were protests against local issues such as the closure of a tuck shop and poor examination results. Campaigns for the election of SRCs are widespread

In addition to action on educational issues, pupils responded strongly to last week's days of protest called by trade unions

It is clear that a residue of organisation remains to match the schoolchildren's anti-apartheid commitment

The fact that boycotts are sporadic and specific is the result of the maturing of school organisation since 1986. After an extended period of virtually no schooling, the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC) succeeded in cementing an alliance between children, parents, teachers and the communities. Militant youths were persuaded to return to school

and continue their organisational work

The NECC has now been decimated by state action — it seems at least 90 percent of the organisation's leadership is in detention — but the tactical view and the commitment to broader alliances remains alive

Pupils' organisations have changed in name and form over the years, but their central demands and beliefs are unchanged. The banning of the Congress of South African Students (Cosas) in 1985 gave rise to the development of a host of local "congresses"

Although many were rendered moribund by the strictures of the Emergency, a great number survive. Even where a particular organisation has been destroyed the experience of its former membership remains, and can be utilised when conditions change

This reality — which underlies the Strasco launch — is of great long-term significance. It also forces the observer to hesitate before ridiculing the defiant statements of young leaders like Xaba. He is saying "Wait and see what we can do"

...scenes that came before and after that famous Hector Peterson picture ...



...took the picture



Sam Nzima

...water, receptionist and switchboard operator at the Chelsea — he com-
...his schooling through night
...and bought another camera.

"On 'Sheila's day', Thursdays, when domestic workers had the day off, I used to stand at the Twist Street bus station and take their pictures for them for two shillings"

But Nzima also began shooting what interested him. Encouraged by journalist Patrick Laurence, who lived in the hotel, he sent photos to *The World*. In 1965 three, of black children basking in town, were published. In 1968 he was offered a job

His work sometimes exposed him to violence and risk. But nothing could have prepared him for June 16 and the months that followed.

"When we got back to the office, Percy said 'Go back, Soweto is on fire'. After that, it just seemed like

day after day I took more pictures than I can remember

"A camera became a dangerous thing to have. Police were going to the schools using press clippings to find people. 'Do you know this one?' they'd say. 'Take us to his house'."

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"I felt very bad. Some people said I could have been a millionaire if I had been paid royalties for that picture"

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Which is not strictly true. Nzima helped set up the Phalalanu committee to assist Mozambican refugees, who arrive at his shop in a steady stream.

Yesterday they would have found Nzima's bottle store — surely the only one in Gazankulu where you can get a bottle of Chivas Regal or some KVV 20-year-old brandy — and the Chicago Bar and Lounge closed.

"I never miss that day — it's a day of my prayer," Nzima says. "I spend the day quietly at home. I would be contradicting myself, being the man behind that picture, if I would then go opposite to what the people are saying."

The death of Hector Peterson. Left, Nzima's first two pictures of Peterson, as his sister and Mbuyisa Makhubu come looking for help; centre, the picture that went around the world; right, Nzima's fourth picture, Makhubu places the boy in the journalists' car

Pictures SAM NZIMA

POSTS IN EDUCATION

Applications for the following posts within the Faculty of Education at the University of the Western Cape are invited from persons who are prepared to make a dynamic contribution to the University's commitment to the establishment of a non-racial, democratic society

All appointees are expected to assume duties on 1 January, 1989 or as soon as possible thereafter

The following qualifications apply throughout: Senior Lecturer — Master's degree; Lecturer — Master's or Honours degree

Dept. of Comparative Education: Lecturer
Expertise in the Sociology of Education will be a recommendation

Dept. of Educational Psychology: Lecturer
Training in and experience of school counselling or Special Education will be a recommendation

Dept. of Philosophy of Education: Snr. Lecturer/Lecturer
To teach History of Education at all levels.

To all appointees, the University offers negotiable salaries, within the restraints of scales pertaining to all South African universities, together with the following benefits:

- where applicable generous housing subsidy; assistance with relocation costs and with the university education of immediate dependents
- annual bonus (13th cheque)
- medical aid
- pension scheme
- life assurance cover
- sports and recreational facilities.

Applicants are actively encouraged to contact the appropriate Heads of Departments about exact requirements for the advertised posts. Phone (021) 959 2911 during normal office hours.

For an application form please telephone our Personnel Officer, Manpower Mrs V Kooopman, on (021) 959 2144 or send a detailed CV (including a daytime contact phone number)

in assured confidence to her at the Personnel Department, University of the Western Cape, Private Bag X17, Bellville, 7530

Closing date for applications 30 June 1988



UNIVERSITY OF THE WESTERN CAPE

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LEFT: Mrs Dorothy Pieterse, mother of Hector Pieterse, who was the first casualty of the Soweto unrest, at the Metropolitan Methodist Church Soweto Day service yesterday. RIGHT: Miss Margot Pieterse, sister of Hector Pieterse, lays a wreath at her brother's grave in Soweto. With her is Hector Tabane, who is named after Hector Pieterse.

Workers stay at home on Soweto Day

JUNE 16 was commemorated nationwide yesterday as large numbers of workers stayed at home

The figures varied nationally, with marked absenteeism occurring in Johannesburg and on the Reef. Cape Chamber of Industry spokesman Mr Colin Boyes yesterday said absenteeism was "patchy", and varied between "normal" to between 5% and 80% in the industrial sector.

Recognition agreements between certain employers in the food and electrical industries and trade unions allowed for a paid holiday yesterday, but most employers adopted a policy of "no work, no pay", he said.

Seardel group industrial relations executive Mr Johann Baard described the 60% absenteeism in the clothing industry as the "worst in the past five years".

Cape Chamber of Commerce manpower director Mr Tommy Brand said employers in the commercial and financial sectors — specifically the large retail and chainstore groups — were mostly buttressed against the 30% absenteeism by recognition agreements which granted workers June 16 as a holiday.

Duens Bakery factory manager Mr G J Heydenrych said bread was "delivered as usual" yesterday — as would be the case today — despite 20% attendance figures. A spokesman for Dairy Belle dairies

said only home deliveries were affected yesterday as 60% of the workforce stayed away.

City Tramways spokesman Mr Bob Krause said "significantly fewer" passengers used the bus service which ran to schedule yesterday.

Some towns in the Eastern and Northern Transvaal also noted a marked drop in work attendances.

The Sowetan, which has the largest black readership of any daily paper, did not publish yesterday, and in the mining sector two gold mines — Gencor's Kinross and Marievale, the Matthey Rustenburg platinum refinery, one chrome mine and several collieries were affected. According to the Chamber of Mines 95% of black employees on affiliated mines reported for work, while 24 500 did not.

In Pretoria, black-owned stores were shut and buses and cabs ran empty amid widespread absenteeism in Mamelodi and Atteridgeville.

In Nelspruit, firms reported that between 50% and 90% of their workers had remained at home, while in Barberton it was work as usual.

In the Northern Transvaal absenteeism ranged from 25 to 100%.

In Durban attendances at factories ranged from zero to 100%, while in Port Elizabeth, according to director of the Chamber of Commerce Mr Tony Gielson, the observance of the holiday was "widespread and much the same as last year" — Own Correspondent, Staff Reporter and Sapa.

Staff Reporter
CHRISTIANS not only had a political responsibility but an evangelical and pastoral responsibility to work for the liberation of the oppressed, Professor Charles Vila-Vicencio told a Soweto Day service in the Metropolitan Methodist Church yesterday.

About 500 people attended the service to commemorate June 16, 1976 when 23 people died in rioting in Soweto.

A police helicopter circled overhead and plainclothes and uniformed policemen monitored the service.

Mrs Dorothy Pieterse, mother of Hector Pieterse, 13, the first casualty in the riots, spoke of her son's death. She was followed by Mrs Rebecca Truter, mother of Christopher Truter, a 15-year-old Bonteheuwel High School pupil shot in August 1976 soon after the violence spread to the Western Cape.

Youths draped small ANC flags from two lecterns and speakers included representatives from the Cape Youth Congress and Western Cape Students' Congress.

The Metropolitan church minister, the Rev Alan Brews, said the Metropolitan cathedral had long been a symbol of colonialization which made it a "privilege for it to be used for the first time for a service such as this".

Fresh Air Fund

Target for year ending March 31 1989 — R50 000

Previously acknowledged	5 720.61
In memory of Dan and Mum	50.00
Estate F G Pey	1 279.17
In memory of my sister Louie From Edith	30.00
Grant peace, welfare blessing grace loving kindness and mercy unto all Thy people From the Meir Chesler Charity Trust	5.00
In memory of our dear friend Nancy Jameson From Elsie and Joyce	10.00
Donation from T S Berwitz Will Trust	338.60
Estate late Margaret Pain Dauchar	1 357.89
Total	R8 791.27

Donations may be sent to the Fund at P.O. Box 56 Cape Town 8000 or handed in at the Cashier's Desk, Newspaper House 122 St George's Street, Cape Town.

THOUSANDS OBSERVE WEDDAY

Sowetan 1/16/88



AND explosions and a stayaway involving thousands of workers throughout the country yesterday marked the 12th anniversary of the start of the 1976 Soweto revolt.

A man was killed in an explosion in the Koo Road, Wynberg in the Cape early yesterday morning and soon after

noon, commuters narrowly missed death when an explosion rocked a railway line 180 metres from Langla railway station in Cape Town. No details on injuries were reported but the line was extensively damaged.

Police believe the man who died in the Wynberg explosion was carrying the explosive, possibly a handgrenade. An unexploded impact mine was also found on the pavement near the book

acceptance at various levels.

Early in the day reporters in Soweto said it was as if the huge township refused to stir. Bus and taxi ranks remained deserted and railway stations empty.

Police helicopters observed in Soweto itself, on the Reef and in Pretoria, in Maritzburg and Port Elizabeth.

And there were indications that the observance of June 16 as a holiday is gaining wider

A skeleton law service operated internally and only nurses and other hospital staff were visible on taxi routes where they were picked up by Transvaal Provincial Administration vehicles.

Police in Pretoria said that by mid-morning fewer than 10 minor incidents linked to the stayaway had been reported nationally.

In the second largest reef township Tembisa the majority of residents observed the holiday

Some of the people who attended the June 16 service in Watville, Benoni, yesterday.

SOWETAN Reporters



SOME of the people who attended the June 16 service in Watville, Benoni, yesterday.

Teachers in bold bid to adopt Freedom Charter

Education Reporter

THE 22 000-strong Cape Teachers' Professional Association is to take a bold step to enhance its image as a community organisation when delegates at its annual conference next week are asked to adopt the Freedom Charter.

The conference will be held at the University of the Western Cape.

In an interview, the president, Mr Franklin Sonn, said the adoption of the Freedom Charter was a necessary step.

"We are a community organisation because we are from the community. Naturally, the forces operating in the community will be present in our organisation," he said.

"We have taken cognisance of what the community wants. I believe we cannot claim to be a community organisation or part of the mass democratic movement if we do not accept the Freedom Charter."

NOT A BANDWAGON

He believed that the document was a "populist document which belongs to the people and not the African National Congress".

Many organisations had adopted it to indicate that they were "part of the charterist movement working for a non-racial, democratic South Africa".

Accepting the document, which was drawn up in 1955 at the Congress of People at Kliptown, was not an opportunistic move or jumping on a convenient bandwagon, he said.

"Some CTPA members were ready to accept the Freedom Charter three years ago. We are a democratic organisation and it was necessary that all members were familiar with the Freedom Charter before a vote on accepting it could be taken."

Familiarising members with the document required 40 regional conferences and seminars and discussions with "experts", he said.

He said it was erroneous to say the association was forcing teachers to the left. "We represent the community's aspirations."

ACTION

Part of crowd is dispersed

ACTION was taken by police to disperse some of the more than 3000 people who attended yesterday's 12th anniversary commemoration service of the June 16 riots at Regina Mundi church in Soweto.

The incident took place after a few stones were hurled at police vehicles outside the church as the singing and chanting crowd left for home. The service was called by the Azanian Co-ordinating Committee, (Azacco).

There were no reported injuries after the service which heard speaker after speaker calling for unity among the oppressed in South Africa.

The general secretary of the National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu), Mr Phandelani Nefholohodwe, told the cheering audience that the only stumbling block between Nactu and Cosatu unity was the idea of who will own the enemy.

"We are pre-occupied with the idea as to who will own the capitalists. The enemy is the enemy of the oppressed and not of Nactu or Cosatu," Mr Nefholohodwe said.

Unity

Talking of the type of unity that prevailed during the '76 riots Mr Nefholohodwe said "We would like to go back to the unity that existed in 1976."

Another speaker Mr Tsepo Sibisi of the Azanian Students Movement (Azasm) called for unity between Nactu and Cosatu.

"It is only after the two giant federations have united in principle that we as students can stop our loyalties to one of them and unite in the struggle. As students we are playing a supportive role and for us to have unity the working class need to be united first," he said.

The service was characterised by shouts of

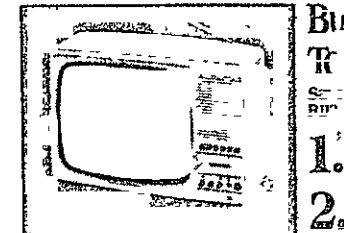
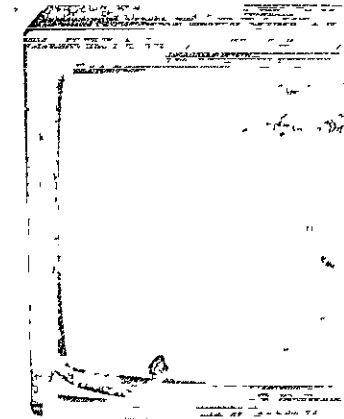
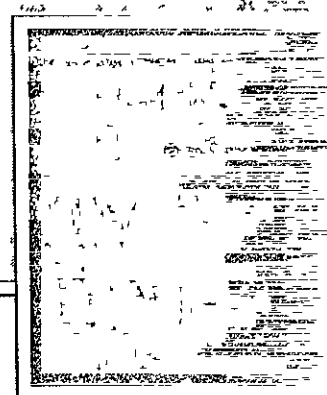
• To page 2



MEMBERS of the Azanian Co-ordinating Committee, Azanian National Youth Unity and ministers of religion held a commemoration service at the Avalon Cemetery yesterday at the grave of Hector Pieterse, the first victim of the June 16 riots 12 years ago. Seated on the left is Miss Popi Buthelezi, who was shot on the day when she was 17.

REPORTS, pictures and comment in this edition may be censored in terms of the Government's state of emergency.

Save the Six pleas mount - P3



BENONI • BLOEMFONTEIN • DURBAN • EAST JOHANNESBURG • KEMPTON PARK • NELSON SPRUIT • NEWCASTLE • PIETERMARITZBURG • QUEENSTOWN • RUSTENBURG • S...

Part. O.

11A

Weekend FOCUS

Weekend Argus Foreign Service

LONDON — The controversy over the BBC's part in the Nelson Mandela pop concert rages on here, with Britons seemingly evenly divided

Millions of words have been published in news reports, feature articles, editorials and letters about the marathon 10-hour birthday tribute at Wembley Stadium, which was attended by 72 000 people and watched live on television by hundreds of millions more in about 60 countries

While most editorials and columnists criticised the BBC for televising the concert live and apparently allowing political statements to be made by platform speakers and the entertainers, letters have been more evenly divided

Of six published by The Times on Thursday, for instance, which might be taken as summing up the reaction of ordinary Britons, three were for and three were against

One which accused the BBC of "defying a terrorist organisation" was balanced by another which doubted that there would have been any protest had the concert been organised in support of political prisoners in the Soviet Union

The concert was described as "the biggest event of its kind since Live Aid", and it had many parallels with the earlier marathon event, not least being the fact that both were made possible by the support of international pop groups and television networks

THAT CONCERT

(You know, the Wembley one for Mandela's birthday)



Annie Lennox of the Eurythmics before 72 000 people at Wembley Stadium for the Mandela concert.

Continued

But in reality, they were completely different, Live Aid being primarily a fund-raising venture. The Mandela concert did have its fund-raising aspect — half the estimated R6-million raised will go to the Anti-Apartheid Movement and the rest to black children's charities in Southern Africa.

But its main function was to launch the Nelson Mandela Freedom at 70 campaign and to focus world attention on the man and apartheid in general. It undoubtedly succeeded in this.

Live Aid was not controversial, but the Mandela concert, with its political emphasis, certainly was. Few of the 100 artists involved seemed to pay much attention to a reported BBC request not to "say anything political". On the other hand, few addressed the issue of apartheid in any depth or detail.

But the political statements did come thick and fast. Whoopi Goldberg, for instance, said "Isn't it true — no matter what Mrs Thatcher says — the fact is, apartheid is wrong."

Stevan van Zandt went even further. "We've been quiet too long," he said. "We've been patient too long. We the people will no

'Isn't it true — no matter what Mrs Thatcher says — the fact is, apartheid is wrong.'

longer tolerate the terrorism of the government of South Africa. We no longer vote for politicians who refuse to enforce the economic boycott of the terrorist government of South Africa. Here's one for Shell Oil. Here's one more for Goodyear."

All the major acts had, at the least, a dedication, a "happy birthday", or both, for Mandela. Many performers pointedly adapted material for the occasion, or sang songs which directly confronted the subject, such as Simple Minds' *Mandela Day*, Miriam Makeba's *Soweto Blues*, and Little Steven's *I Ain't Gonna Play Sun City*.

Some, like Annie Lennox of Eurythmics, took the head-on approach by yelling "Hey Mandela, we want freedom in South Africa." All this was in addition to largely political

statements made by Harry Belafonte and Sir Richard Attenborough from the platform.

The birthday party worked better when the politics was clothed in humour. Stephen Fry and Hugh Laurie reminded everyone of another birthday party later in the year "It's for P W Botha, and it's being held in a telephone kiosk in Finchley Road."

As an entertainment spectacular, the concert was undoubtedly a success, although it had its peaks and troughs and periods of utterable boredom.

One minor mystery has since been solved — the disappearance of Stevie Wonder's hi-tech backing equipment which threatened at one stage to prevent his appearance. It seems it was stolen at Wembley, but UB40's eagle-eyed production manager, Michael "Curly" Jobson, tackled the thief and got it all back in time for the American superstar to do his stuff. Movement. The absence of Geldof and Flack has been unexplained.

Since the concert, several of the stars have reacted angrily to the attacks on them by some Conservative MPs. Attorneys for Jim Kerr, of Simple Minds, and Annie Lennox, of Eurythmics, are reported to be examining statements made by one MP who allegedly referred to the entertainers as "left-wing scum" who were "just out to line their pockets".

Kerr's manager said "We are shocked and horrified at this smear. It cost us £20 000 (R80 000) to take part in the concert, but the money is not important. We were simply trying to do our bit to help end apartheid in South Africa."

A spokesman for Annie Lennox's recording company said "The Eurythmics performed

out of a deep-rooted desire to see an end to the evil administration in South Africa. They gave their services freely and were proud to play a small part in creating awareness of a regime that is both abhorrent and immoral."

One aspect of the concert has so far largely escaped attention — the fact that few blacks were among the paying customers.

Melody Maker the industry weekly newspaper, noting prominent absentees, including Bob Geldof and Roberta Flack, said there were "remarkably few black faces" in the 72 000-strong crowd.

'It will so heighten world opinion and awareness that heads of government will have to take notice'

The subject was also taken up by London Evening Standard columnist Richard Littlejohn, writing under the headline "A whiter shade of freedom".

He said the "two-tone" mix on stage was impeccable. Black American entertainers performed alongside white rock stars, and African dancers from Soweto shared a platform with the most British of cinematic knights, Sir Richard Attenborough (there were also Australian Aboriginals).

"However, the most intriguing aspect was that the ethnic balance was not reflected in the audience. If more than four or five per cent of the crowd was black, I'll donate a week's wages to Swapo."

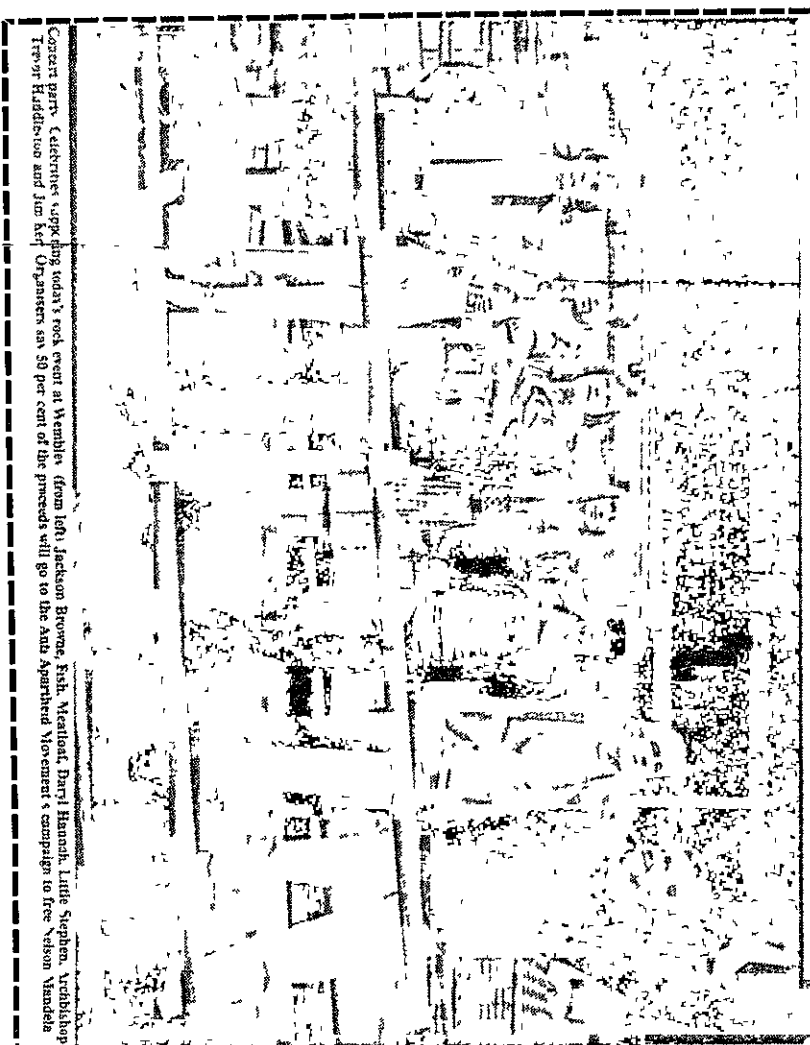
He pointed out that the concert was conceived by a white man — Jerry Dammers,

'Pop world warms to Mandela celebration'

formerly of The Specials, [transmitted] live by the white establishment BBC, and predominantly financed through ticket sales to white youngsters.

Littlejohn did not attempt to draw any conclusions from the black stayaway, but added "Despite incontrovertible evidence to the contrary, politicians in London are still allowed to get away with peddling the notion that all white men and women are inherently racist."

Among other prominent absentees were Johnny Clegg and Savuka, but, despite rumours, they had not been included in the line-up, according to the Anti-Apartheid



Concert stars. Celebrates' supplying today's rock event at Wembley. (from left) Jackson Browne, Fish, Meatloaf, Daryl Hannah, Little Stephen, U2, Sir Richard Attenborough and Jim Kerr. Organisers say 50 per cent of the proceeds will go to the Anti-Apartheid Movement's campaign to free Nelson Mandela.

How the Independent saw the concert ... this was a Page 3 feature in the edition that came out on the day of the concert. The quote in the strap headline is from a statement by Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, second from right. With him are, from left: Jackson Browne, Fish, Meatloaf, Daryl Hannah, Little Stephen, and Jim Kerr.

Each wired

Black MPs find it tough going.

LONDON. — On the benches of the House of Commons, four faces stand out among the 650 British Members of Parliament because of their colour

Breaking down barriers in an assembly almost exclusively white for centuries, sit three black MPs and one Asian — the first group intake of non-white Members to Parliament

Diane Abbott, the first black woman MP, finds it depressing "Exactly like a gentleman's club" Only 41 of the 650 members are women

Ms Abbott, 34, a former journalist with braided black hair, is the Cambridge-educated daughter of Jamaican immigrants

She won the London seat of Hackney North with a majority of nearly 8 000 in a turnout of 40 000 voters

"I want to be a good constituency MP I want to make it possible for other black people and women to come into Parliament But I don't think I'd still want to be here 30 years from now," she said recently

Keith Vaz, the first Asian MP for 60 years, called it cliquish

Mr Vaz, the only one of the group with a seat outside London, captured a marginal constituency in the central town of Leicester with a majority of less than 2 000

A workaholic who set up the first full-time constituency office in his seat, Mr Vaz said political life was hard work and often depressing "I have found Parliament to be extremely cliquish I think my most effective work is done in Leicester"

Paul Boateng said he had found no racism "I'm not here just to represent the black community," he said "It is important that the whole community — and in my constituency there are whites, African, Asians, Caribbeans,

Irish and others — feel that I am looking after their needs"

Mr Boateng, 37, a lawyer, speaks in all housing debates, has made himself an expert on environmental concerns, and closely follows health, welfare and social security issues

Apart from the heavy demands of constituency work, Mr Boateng said his year at Westminster had expanded his international perspective and enabled him to draw attention to such issues as the struggle against apartheid, world hunger and the gap between the rich and poor countries

Bernie Grant has charged there is open racism in Parliament and threatened to withdraw from day-to-day business

Mr Grant, 44, a bearded firebrand from London's Tottenham district, said he was compiling a dossier on racism against black MPs which he intended to present to parliamentary officials

"I don't think it is very productive fighting to ask a question which is not going to be answered, wasting time sitting on the backbenches for six hours during a debate without being called," he added

Mr Boateng was asked how much his election reflected the breakdown of ethnic barriers in a society where black excellence has largely been confined to sport

"The black community is growing in confidence, in achievement We are upping the profile across the board, but there is a long way to go," he said

"The reality is that you are constantly living with a situation in which you are seen as a silhouette

"Racism is a fact of life in terms of the black British experience We can't afford to be complacent It would be wrong to give ourselves a pat on the back, we haven't earned it" — Sapa-Reuter

June 16, 1976, is a dim but bloody memory

WHILE THE passion and anger that characterised Soweto 12 years ago has dimmed with time, the events of June 16 1976 still hold a special significance — even for the average man-in-the-street.

The uprising of Soweto schoolchildren against Afrikaans as a medium of instruction, and the subsequent spillover protests are etched into South African history and internationally June 16 is annually remembered as "South Africa Day".

Hundreds of people lost their lives — 13-year-old Hector Peterson was the first victim — and thousands of youths fled into exile to escape arrest or join the ranks of the African National Congress or Pan Africanist Congress (PAC).

EYES FILL WITH TEARS

A street poll conducted this June 16 found the events of 1976 remain vivid in many minds.

Mr Michael Mathabela (29) of Kaitleng said, "The now-within-sight success of our long and difficult struggle to free ourselves has edged closer again."

"The mass observance of June 16 again proves to the regime and employer organisations that intimidation does not emanate from us."

Ms Pauline Mdlatlose (33) of Sebokeng "June 16 is not just another holiday for me, and it is not for many of us. My eyes still fill with tears when I think of that violent day."

"I was still young then, but I can still recall vividly people crying all around us, and the mass

KAIZER NYATSUMBA and MARK GLEESON

mourning of our people that resulted."

Mr Carlton Ziqubu (25), of Kanyamazane, said "June 16 is a day of national mourning in this country. It is probably the most revered day in South Africa's black calendar. I was only 15 years old then, and I was not in Soweto where it happened. Yet I still remember seeing pictures of dead children."

"Those images are imprinted in my mind. Every June 16 morning I pray alone in my room or go to church — and I will continue doing so for as long as I live."

A Soweto resident who did not want to be named said June 16 was "a serious indictment of this morally bankrupt Government's racist policies."

Mr Gibson Sejake (37) of Soweto, said "For me June 16 is a day of anger. On that day the people's

anger reached a boiling point, and no action, no matter how drastic and vicious, could contain it. The lesson of that day was quite clear: black people can take only so much. It seems to me this Government has not learned that lesson yet."

"I will never forget that day, because I saw it all when it happened. That day marked the turning point in our struggle."

Mr Sidihami Moroke (46), also of Soweto, said: "It was bad that day — very bad. There was, quite literally, blood on every major Soweto street. Coming back into the township from work that day was not easy. Police were everywhere and, instead of being air-polluted, Soweto was teargas-polluted."

MUST KEEP WORKING

Ms Phindile Thulare (24) of Moletsane, Soweto, said "To me that day means some commemoration of some sort. It also means that black students could not swallow the Afrikaans that the Government wanted to force down their throats."

Several interviewed offered little comment, saying they were not "political" or "just want to get on with work," while one man, who did not give his name, admitted he felt "guilty" about working in the city on a day when the CBD was almost deserted.

"But I cannot afford to miss a day's work because I need to support my family. I cannot afford to participate in recalling the day, but in my heart I have said a prayer for everybody involved."

w/c mca
18/6/88
117

**Dear
Sir**

**No reason for you
to call for my head
— Rajbansi**

I REFER to your newspaper's editorial comment (June 16) under the heading *Delegates uproar*. It states that allegations directed at Mr Rajbansi are varied and serious.

Could your newspaper quote the allegations apart from those made in 1985 by Mr Pat Poovalingam who failed dismally when subpoenaed in a court of law to produce the evidence as a result of initiative?

Is the National People's Party of South Africa the only political party in the country which receives donations from institutions and well-wishers?

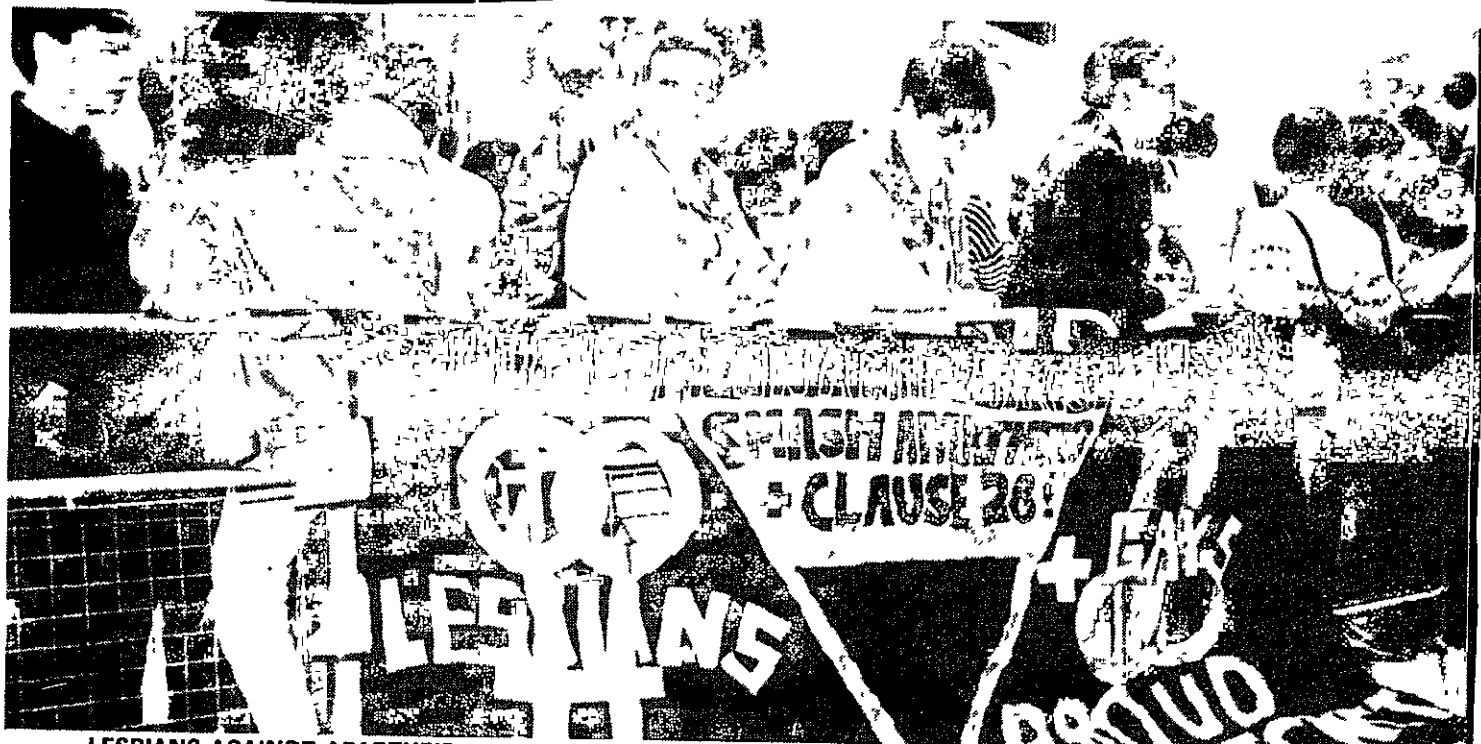
The committee found that the cheques were not for my personal account. It also found that the cheques were received by a party fund-raiser and I had only had a look at it before it was handed to the treasurer to be deposited into the party's bank account.

Allegations have been made in respect of land matters when Mr B Dookie was Minister of Housing and these allegations, made under the protection of Parliament, continued when I became Minister of Housing.

During the housing debate members praised me for the efforts we are making to ease the housing crisis and not a single negative criticism was made.

I see no reason for your newspaper to call for my head as the chairman of the Ministers' Council. Allegations have been made generally against most members and the moment of truth has now arrived for certain accusers. Your editorial request for my head is therefore unjustified.

With kind regards,
A RAJBANSI, MP



LESBIANS AGAINST APARTHEID ... a "gay" mob demonstrating outside South Africa House in London this week

By JEREMY BROOKS: London

THE FIRST week of the Free Mandela Campaign began in Britain with a noisy massed rally in Trafalgar Square and a march along the length of England and part of Scotland.

At the same time a row erupted over last week's hugely successful Mandela tribute concert — not with conservative pressure groups, but in the anti-apartheid lobby itself

And in a whirl of comedy, Glenys, the wife of Labour leader Neil Kinnock, was seen doing a tango with Mrs Oliver Tambo at a party to celebrate Archbishop Trevor Huddlestons 75th birthday on Monday. The Archbishop is president of the Anti-Apartheid Movement.

In the wake of the concert, the Satour office in London received "one or two" threatening and obscene phone calls on Sunday — but declared itself unconcerned.

Six people were arrested outside the South African embassy when a crowd of hundreds, chanting and singing, blockaded the front entrance on Thursday evening

The demonstration — the biggest for several years — carried banners and placards ranging from those of the Lesbian and Gay Movement to others demanding an end to the deportation of illegal immigrants from Britain

Scuffles across the barricade broke out occasionally, as police tried to prevent demonstrators from climbing over the fence

A pot of red paint was thrown over the heads of the people in front towards the entrance. Most of it missed the door, landing on a policeman and a Press photographer instead

Ribbons

The protest was led by veteran campaigner Norma Kitson, wife of former political prisoner David, who had entwined in her hair knee-length ribbons in the ANC colours

In Glasgow 25 marchers — one for each year the ANC leader has spent in prison — began their walk through towns and cities with placenames dedicated to Mandela

They will reach London on the eve of his 70th birthday on July 18. The Anti-Apartheid Movement has spent an estimated R400 000 on a huge rally in Hyde Park, expected to attract "about 100 000" people, to commemorate the event

As the campaign got underway, paid for by at least part of the R6-million the Anti-Apartheid Movement



GLENYS KINNOCK
In-swing of things

has received from the Mandela Concert, there were rumblings of discontent.

The company formed by Anti-Apartheid to run the show, Elephant House Productions, was accused of imposing its own censorship on the evening so as not to offend overseas TV networks and their viewers

There was disbelief backstage when producer Neville Bolt decided not to read a message from Winnie Mandela, nor a statement of thanks claimed to have been smuggled out of Pollsmoor Prison from fellow-prisoners of Mandela

The official reason given by Bolt was that neither message could be broadcast due to lack of time.

The BBC, initially accused of imposing their own censorship, disclaimed all responsibility

Leading film producers claimed they had been "massaged" out of the concert when their videos failed to appear between acts

One, by director Derek Jarman, disappeared for "technical reasons"

It showed two young men, one white and one black, kissing against the word "love" in several languages

WORLD WATCH

THE TANGO

A demonstration and a dance fuel the London Mandela row

11A
9/6/88

11A
The Sunday Times

19/6/88
C/Press

Tambo meets W. German Minister

(11A)

OLIVER Tambo, president of the banned ANC, met West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher this week

Genscher called apartheid "one of the worst human rights atrocities" and urged dialogue between all South African racial groups, the lifting of bans on black political organisations and the release of political prisoners, the German Foreign Ministry said.

Tambo was on a three-day visit to Bonn at the invitation of the Protestant Church.

Earlier, Genscher and other European Community foreign ministers agreed at a meeting in Luxembourg that West Germany, which currently chairs EC meetings, should ask its Ambassador in Pretoria to make representations to the South African government on behalf of the "Sharpeville Six" - Sapa

Looking back 36 years ¹⁹¹⁶⁸⁸ at the defiance campaign ^{111R}

First united national anti-apartheid action

WITH the imposition of a virtual ban on the UDF by the new state of emergency and restrictions on several of its leaders, united action in protest against apartheid appears to have been ruled out.

Many believe the UDF and the Freedom Charter cannot be seen in isolation from the defiance campaign.

They reckon the movement has to be seen in terms of a process that began with mass participation by the people during the defiance campaign.

The defiance campaign began on June 26, 1952 and was the first time blacks and Indians joined hands in the struggle against apartheid.

Following Pretoria's refusal to yield to the demands of the ANC and SAIC, two dates were set for alternative types of action April 6, 1952 - the 300th anniversary of Jan Van Riebeeck's landing in South Africa - was chosen as a "test day" for the government to change its mind.

The real day of reckoning, the launching of the defiance campaign, was to be June 26, 1952.

There was no Van Riebeeck celebration for blacks. On this day thousands of blacks all over

the country held demonstrations, joined by some whites.

Before the start of the defiance campaign, Pretoria banned about 500 people. Defiant, they nevertheless addressed mass rallies throughout the country in keeping with a resolution by 10 000 voluntary campaigners to break apartheid laws on certain days.

The campaign was launched in the Johannesburg-Pretoria area and in Port Elizabeth. Other cities throughout the country followed suit. About 8 500 volunteers participated.

The biting nature of the campaign lay in several factors as yet unmatched in the '70s and '80s. For instance, when a volunteer was convicted after arrest, he opted for imprisonment rather than paying a fine.

The campaigners also used the courts for advancing their views on the liberation struggle. When not arrested, they offered themselves continuously until the arrest was effected.

Recalling the defiance campaign, Dr Essop Jassat, leader of the Transvaal Indian Congress,



The Freedom Charter... owes its existence to the defiance campaign.

whose mother body was the SAIC, said in an interview: "It was the first time the liberation movement decided to oppose the State in a concrete fashion. Until then, there had only been petitions, affidavits and deputations to the State. Although the number

of campaigners had increased considerably at the beginning of the campaign, there was an abrupt fall after four to five months. The campaign, that had progressed peacefully and with severe discipline, was disrupted through ri-

The first incident took place in Port Elizabeth when police and Railways police shot at a group of protestors. Seven people were shot dead and 27 injured - none of them policemen. Nobel laureate Chief Albert Luthuli described

a "typical" SAP "counter-not" action before any riots occurred - a police offensive at a prayer meeting.

"They charged and began shooting. They continued to shoot from their vehicles as they drove about the location in large numbers," Luthuli said.

He added: "The defiance campaign was far too orderly and successful for the government's liking, and it was growing. The challenge of non-violence was more than they could meet."

The ANC came out in strong condemnation of the violence that erupted in several areas around the country and which left many dead and scores maimed.

It called for a commission of inquiry, but the authorities appeared to believe this would only lend a forum to the ANC.

Following the defiance campaign, Pretoria introduced the Public Safety Act and the Criminal Law Amendment Act in 1953.

The first enabled it to call a state of emergency whenever it saw fit and the second increased penalties for acts of defiance. Yet some leaders like

Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu continued to defy their banning orders in order to continue their organisational work. Commenting on the defiance campaign of 1952, the information officer of Cosatu, Frank Mentjies, said it laid important foundations upon which the present liberation struggle was based.

Many have seen the defiance campaign as the commencement of the participation by the people themselves in the liberation struggle in South Africa.

They have observed that there could never have been the historic congress of the people in 1955 to launch the Freedom Charter had there not been a defiance campaign.

Thirty-six years later, however, the black people of South Africa are still not liberated and many apartheid laws exclude them from being recognised as citizens who are entitled to the same privileges as whites living in the country - in contrast to their counterparts in other parts of Africa and the neighbouring states who won their freedom in the 1960s and thereafter.

19/6/85 ST Times

Sacked mayor busses jobless to Tutu demo

By BILL KRIGE

ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu's chief tormentor is an out-of-work world traveller who is being sued for a massive hotel debt incurred before he fled to Transkei during the 1985 unrest.

Mr Tamsanqa Linda, co-president of the United Christian Conciliation Party, was on hand when the archbishop arrived in Port Elizabeth to a rowdy demonstration last week.

And when the controversial advocate of sanctions went to Johannesburg before flying to the Soviet Union, Mr Linda was again on hand to orchestrate opposition to him before the TV cameras.

Yesterday the one-time mayor of Ibhayi said he had bussed about 200 people to H F Verwoerd Airport from unemployment queues.

Suffering

While admitting he had hired two buses, he denied allegations that he had rented the crowd — which was allowed to demonstrate despite the state of emergency.

"We deliberately recruited unemployed people to show their displeasure at the archbishop's attitude towards sanctions," he said.

"Some of them have lost their jobs because of sanctions."

"They are the ones who suffer — not the likes of Tutu, whose children are at school in America."

Mr Linda fled Veeplaas in 1985 when his home was destroyed by arsonists.



TAMSANQA LINDA
Owes hotel about R12 000

"I lost everything during the unrest — my shop as well as my house."

He then moved to the Holiday Inn in Summerstrand, Port Elizabeth, before going to Transkei.

Last month the hotel applied to the Supreme Court for a default judgment of R11 286 plus interest against him for unpaid accommodation, food and entertainment bills.

Despite losing everything, Mr Linda has been overseas several times since 1985.

"I am going again later this month under the auspices of the UCCP," he said.

He lost his position as mayor for failing to attend four consecutive meetings.

But last December he was appointed "adviser" to Ibhayi's Administrator Barry Erasmus and given an allowance of R600.

Tutu to see lawyers

Sowetan 20/6/85
11A

ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu returned home from the Soviet Union in a fury yesterday, saying he would see his lawyers today about his wife's arrest and alleged manacling on the eve of their departure for Moscow.

The Archbishop of Cape Town and his wife, Mrs Leah Tutu, were returning from the Soviet Union where they attended celebrations to mark a millenium of Christianity in Russia.

Archbishop Tutu lambasted those who castigated his statements during the trip, and deplored what he called the "rent-a-crowd" tactics, including the "shameful use of little children," which his opponents had recently started using against him.

A potentially nasty scene was narrowly averted at the airport when Archbishop Tutu's supporters came face to face with demonstrators sporting T-shirts of the Inkatha-backed United Workers' Union of South Africa (Uwusa).

The shirts were handed out by a burly man wearing a crash helmet. Mingling with the demonstrators were white members of the right-wing National Students' Federation (NSF) distributing pamphlets attacking Archbishop Tutu.

When the Tutus landed, the restrictive provisions of the state of emergency, which ban outdoor gatherings and placard demonstrations, were flouted seemingly at will by the Uwusa supporters. They sang and danced before the couple emerged from the customs area.

Police did not break up the demonstration. Archbishop Tutu's supporters formed a guard of honour at the exit in readiness and spoke quietly.

The 100 or so Uwusa supporters, who included children brandishing placards asking for jobs, and the NSF members, had milled outside the international arrivals hall for more than an hour before the couple's arrival.

They waved placards, some of which were defamatory.

After the prelate departed for Soweto, at least two members of the Uwusa group hurled insults at Archbishop Tutu's followers. A young man wearing an Uwusa shirt kicked one of the Archbishop's supporters as a young woman in a similar shirt threatened another person with violence.

A South African Council of Churches official quickly stepped in and moved members of the group away.

Answering newsmen's questions later, the demonstrators said they "expected to be paid" for their efforts, and added that they had come from places such as Ermelo and Warmbaths. They said they arrived at Jan Smuts in a bus belonging to an Ermelo company.

At a press conference held in the garden of his Orlando West, Soweto, home afterwards, the defiant cleric said he was "totally unrepentant" of what he had said and done in the Soviet Union, adding that those attempting to discredit him "can do their worst."

He said he had thanked the Russians for providing refugee children with succour and scholarships.

5 few 20/6/88

Pupils form a new political body

By Zenaide Vendeiro,
Education Reporter

(11A) A new organisation was launched earlier this month to organise and "provide a political home" for black pupils in the southern Transvaal region, three members of its executive said at a recent press conference in Johannesburg.

Named the Southern Transvaal Students' Congress (Strasco), it consists of student congresses of the western Transvaal (Wesco),

Lenasia (Lesco), Soweto (Sosco), Pretoria (Presco), the East Rand (Erasco) and the eastern Transvaal (Etrasco).

Strasco's publicity secretary, Mr Mbango Xaba, who addressed the press conference with the political education officer and an executive member without portfolio, said a northern Transvaal students' congress was organising in the northern half of the province.

Strasco, he said, identified it-

self with the "broad non-racial, democratic movement" and was an affiliate of the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the National Student Co-ordinating Committee (Nascoc), which also had affiliates in the Cape and Natal.

Mr Xaba said Strasco had adopted the theme, "Advance to a national unity", at its launch held in Johannesburg early in June. About 70 delegates had attended.

Anti-Tutu demonstrators ^{UFA} don't stand up to scrutiny ^{Star 20.6.88}

Staff Reporters

Cape Town's Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu is about to touch down at Jan Smuts airport after his visit to Moscow to participate in celebrations marking the millenium of Christianity in Russia.

Outside the airport arrivals hall are two crowds waiting to meet him.

At one entrance are his supporters, colleagues and friends. At another, his particularly vociferous opponents armed with placards.

Who are these anti-Tutu demonstrators who are so well informed about the Archbishop's flight schedules that they are beginning to appear every time he sets foot on or off a plane?

Their placards would have it that they are workers who have lost their jobs because of sanctions and who have decided to take the Archbishop on because of this

MANY PROTESTERS ARE CHILDREN

But close scrutiny of the crowd and some questioning of participants, reveals otherwise.

The most obvious feature is that about one-third of the demonstrators — many of them wearing T-shirts of the Inkatha-linked United Workers' Union of South Africa (Uwusa) — are children

A teenager of about 14, holding a placard saying "Tutu you are depriving us of the ability to acquire labour skills" was Zulu-speaking and unable to converse in English

A 13-year-old girl said she was at the airport because a Mr Bonginkosi Nkosi called at her aunt's home in Soweto and asked her to come to

the airport to do a job for which she would get paid

She did not know what the "job" was until she arrived at the airport and was given an Uwusa T-shirt

Mr Nkosi, it emerged, is an 18-year-old Bethal schoolboy. He said he had recruited demonstrators on the Reef by phone. Like many of the other anti-Tutu picketers, Mr Nkosi said he was a member of the Inkatha movement headed by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi

Heading the Uwusa group was a stocky man in a hard hat who handed out Uwusa T-shirts. He said this was the only "payment" the demonstrators would get

CHILDREN WERE 'SUPPORTERS'

He conceded that the children were not union members, but that they were "supporters" because their parents were unemployed.

He also claimed that they came mostly from Soweto. But the bulk of the group left on a bus from Tilly's Bus Service of Ermelo

A second element in the anti-Tutu faction was a group waving placards featuring little hammers and sickles. They said they were from the "SAIWU".

A woman in the group did not know what the acronym stood for. She said she had been given transport from Warmbaths and had come to demonstrate

The leader said SAIWU stood for the South African Integrated Workers' Union which operated independently of all labour federations.

A group of Uwusa members grabbed a reporter of The Star, Mr Kaizer Nyatumba, and threatened him with violence, saying he had been following and asking them "nasty questions". Their leader ordered them to leave him alone

Clegg the star of second 'Mandela' concert 11A

By James Tomlins, The Star's Foreign News Service

PARIS — Johnny Clegg was the unrivalled hero of the Saturday night-long anti-apartheid concert at Vincennes

He told the wildly applauding crowd, estimated at 350 000: "My songs are dedicated to the memory of Nelson Mandela and all victims of apartheid".

Clegg and his group Savuka were the main stars of the many pop groups at the anti-racist gathering organised by the Paris-based organisation SOS-Racism and held simultaneously in Paris, New York and Dakar.

Tens of thousands of mainly young people streamed to the huge space outside Vincennes Chateau from dawn on Saturday onwards. The music began at 7 pm and lasted for 10 hours.

President Francois Mitterrand's message was read out to the crowd at midnight, stressing that "on the eve of the third millenia we must resist the temptation of discrimination and intolerance anywhere in the world"

The message did not mention South Africa by name, but the crowd had no difficulty in realising what country he was aiming at. His wife, Mrs Danielle Mitterrand, was a guest of honour alongside Mr Laurent Fabius, who as Prime Minister in 1986 tightened sanctions against South Africa

Clegg told journalists he had been unable to attend the huge

Star 20/6/88
Mandela concert at Wembley last week because Equity, the show business trade union, banned him from appearing. "Yet my group of black musicians has an anti-racist image in South Africa."

Mr Harlem Desire, the founder of SOS-Racisme who organised the tri-continental concert, presided over it from the Diop Stadium in Dakar before an audience of 40 000.

He was wildly cheered as he said: "Let us finish with Sowetos, ghettos, and legal segregation in South Africa — and fight for the release of Nelson Mandela"

The Dakar event almost ended in a riot when two Cabinet Ministers tried to speak and were violently booed and jeered.

The New York link was a total flop. Only 400 attended the Apollo Theatre there to hear minor pop groups, but the French concert was broadcast throughout the French-speaking world to an estimated audience of about 30 million

There was no entrance fee in Paris and Dakar, only in New York, so there was no question of huge funds flowing to the ANC as was the case with the Wembley concert.

The proceedings were relayed by the private French TV-1 network, but were almost wholly ignored by radio stations.

The overall impact was not in any way comparable with Wembley, but observers here saw it as successfully mobilising youthful opinion against apartheid. Artists included superstar Bruce Springsteen, Mory Kante, Zigg Marley and Chebb Kader

Azanyu meetings disrupted

*South African
20/6/84*

AT LEAST two meetings organised by the Azanian National Youth Unity to commemorate the 1976 Soweto upheavals were disrupted last Thursday, a spokesman for the organisation said yesterday.

The spokesman said thousands of people

attended five commemoration services Azanyu had organised country-wide. He said two meetings, in Mdantsane and in Kimberley, were disrupted.

(11)

He said an Azanyu flag was confiscated at a

commemoration service held at the Roman Catholic Church in Kagiso. Two members belonging to the organisation were allegedly detained after the Kagiso service. They were released a few minutes later, the spokesman said.

Let's talk, PW urges ANC

Star 2/16/83 Political Correspondent (11A)

PARLIAMENT — President Botha has renewed his offer to the ANC and to security prisoners to take part in talks, provided they renounce violence.

Mr Botha, at a special joint sitting of the three Houses of Parliament yesterday, said he wished to repeat his offer to security prisoners and those who had left the country for whatever reason.

“Reject and abandon violence. Turn your backs on Godless Marxism and destructive radicalism.

“If you prove your sincerity in this regard you will find the Government's approach to be reasonable”

ANC must lay down arms

Govt offers amnesty to political exiles

SKR
21/6/88.
IIA

By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

Cape Town

The Government is offering an amnesty to anyone in political exile — including members of the ANC — in a dramatic new move to draw dissidents into formal negotiations.

President Botha said in Parliament yesterday he wished to repeat his offer to security prisoners and those who had left the country for whatever reason.

“Reject and abandon violence. Turn your backs on Godless Marxism and destructive radicalism. If you prove your sincerity in this regard, you will find the Government’s approach to be reasonable,” Mr Botha said.

He also invited the ANC to return to South Africa to participate in peaceful solutions, to build the economy and improve social conditions — provided the organisation laid down its arms, ceased its acts of terrorism, refrained from detonating bombs, stopped the murder of people in black townships and cut its ties with international communism.

Information Minister Dr Stoffel van der Merwe said in an interview today that the Government was offering an informal amnesty.

He said “Each individual will have to approach the Government and there will obviously have to be negotiations surrounding that person.”

“Any indemnity would probably have to be considered along these lines.”

Progressive Federal Party spokesman on civil rights Mrs Helen Suzman said today the Government’s amnesty offer was an advance on its former position.

“But the Government had to realise that until it lifted the state of emergency and released all detainees, the offer would not be taken seriously.”

“What is needed is for both sides to agree to a truce as far as violence is concerned. The Government must also give an undertaking that it will exercise control over the actions of the security police.”

PFP leader Mr Colin Eglu said he hoped the ANC would not just brush the offer aside. However, the offer was so subtle that if it was intended as an amnesty deal it should be spelt out in more specific terms.

23 ANC suspects detained

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Police have swooped on 23 suspected ANC operatives in connection with 15 acts of terror and sabotage in recent months.

President Botha announced the police swoops at a joint sitting of the three Houses of Parliament yesterday.

Mr Botha said that some of those detained had disclosed valuable information about other ANC operatives.

According to the Ministry of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, among the arms seized by the security forces were a large quantity of SPM limpet mines, AK47 rifles, ammunition and hand grenades.

Police sources said last night the arrests meant the security forces had solved, or were aware of, who was responsible for almost every major act of terrorism.

The list of incidents for which the suspects were being held, included.

- The murder of three SAP detectives in Ateridgeville, Pretoria, on March 18

- The limpet mine explosion in Church Street, Pretoria, on April 15

- A limpet mine explosion under a vehicle in Proes Street, Pretoria, on May 25

- A limpet mine explosion on the corner of Andries and Vermeulen streets, Pretoria, on May 25.

- The recent limpet mine explosion at the Standard Bank, Roodepoort

MR LYBON Mabasa

Sowetan 21/6/88

'Azapo and UDF differ'

THE Pretoria Supreme Court heard yesterday that the Azanian People's Organisation and the United Democratic Front were "not agreed on principles"

This was said by Mr Lybon Mabasa, Azapo's vice president, in his evidence in chief before Judge van Dykhost and an assessor. He was testifying for the defence in the trial of 19 high-ranking officials of the UDF, Azapo, VCA and Azanyu.

Asked by the judge why Azapo did not affiliate to the UDF, he replied: "From the beginning, we have been critical of the UDF. This was based on the inclusion of other people in the UDF whom we felt were operative in government structures such as the PFP, Black Sash and Nusas.

"Nusas was at some stage defined as representing the children of the ruling class and the Black Sash the whites of the ruling class."

Proceeding

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21/6/88

11/11/88

CTPA committed to open education

By RONNIE MORRIS

THERE was never any doubt as to the Cape Teachers' Professional Association's "open abhorrence" of apartheid and its clear preference for a democratic, non-racial South Africa and an open educational system

This was said last night by Mr Franklin Sonn during his 12th presidential address at the 21st annual conference of the CTPA held at the University of the Western Cape

It was not the first time that educators had been made to ask themselves whether through education they were promoting the aims of an alien and oppressive state or whether they were advancing the best interest of their own people

"As president of the CTPA, I make bold to state that the mass democratic movement is a movement which has enthused the

people with a renewed belief in themselves and that we want to be part of it

"It is going to be our duty to destroy the spurious and scurrilous lies proclaimed about the peoples' movement by SATV, and to let our children and our people know that the goals of freedom are always noble — and that when the demands for freedom and dignity are authentic, forceful and united, they always meet with cruel and harsh repression

"To be authentic, teachers must be found where their students are, move in the same geographic and emotional zones as they do, and tell them when they go wrong

"When they are given to excessive behaviour, like boycotting classes for any reason and for protracted periods of time, we must with a firm but sympathetic hand apply the brake"

After the South African War, the Afrikaner himself was oppressed, alienated, despised and deprived, and looked upon the teacher and the preacher to "deliver him from the pain of enslavement"

He said Afrikaners looked upon educational transformation rather than educational denial as the answer, and even General Louis Botha in 1904 had openly urged Afrikaners to continue with the education of the people

"Like Louis Botha, we will also use this conference to tell our teachers to carry on with Peoples' Education despite the government. We must do so not because we want to be defiant, but because of the simple truth that education is only worthwhile and credible if it is relevant and if it meets the needs of the soul of a people."

PARENTS, so you think your rebellious teenagers are the only ones who know all the answers? I know my parents did

But then they hadn't met American lawyer, Dr Ophelia Jatta, who has been in South Africa for about 18 months trying to learn more about this country. And she's already 35

No place to live? No job? Forget about Group Areas, forget about job reservation. No problem for Dr Jatta

No problem is too big for this dynamic lady. The answer is always simple. Whatever situation you find yourself in it is because you let yourself get into it.

In other words, her unstated philosophy is: Every man (or woman) for himself and God for us all. Of course she is willing to help but only if you are serious about changing your life.

But please, no excuses. Don't blame whites, the Government or even apartheid for your lack of motivation.

Sounds too good to be true, but that is the gist of what Dr Jatta said during an interview just before she left for the United States last week on a month-long lecture tour to encourage the folks back home to forget about hurting the South African Government and start helping blacks.

But why is she so concerned about South Africa when a report at the end of last year said 31.1 percent of all American blacks lived in poverty?

"Well, I have lived and travelled through about 25 African countries. I have always had a love for Africa and I just kept feeling it could be developed.

"There are failed

LADY WITH ALL THE ANSWERS

Sowetan
21/6/88
11A



Dr OPHELIA Jatta
New Africa Movement

FOCUS

economics throughout Africa

"And then I came to South Africa and I said 'This is it'."

"This is the key to developing the rest of Africa — especially the southern region."

Is she also going to use her ideas to help improve conditions for the 31.1 percent of black Americans living in poverty?

"I'm going to That's why I've started the New Africa Movement. I'm going to unleash it on all people — not only in America, black Africa, Caribbean, London."

"I'm going to say to them 'If blacks in South Africa can go into

business with R125 as a hawker what is your excuse in America?'"

What is her message to black South Africans?

I don't want them to fall into the same trap that black Americans fell into. That trap was believing that because some legislation says that you are free then you are in fact free.

"And I don't want them to think — like many black Americans — that as soon as the stroke of the pen changed the law that suddenly there would be a change in the individual."

"Each individual must create his own future."

Then there was her highly controversial statement that she had not seen any ghettos in South Africa which were as bad as the ones in the United States.

"Poor US blacks lived in cardboard boxes, here at least blacks had shacks," she reportedly said at a seminar in Durban.

"That was totally taken out of context. The point I was making is that there is no utopia in any country."

"I prefaced that statement by saying that I had travelled all over the world and in every country there had always been poverty."

(But poverty caused by a deliberate Government policy of apartheid?)

THE life story of black American lawyer, Dr Ophelia Jatta, reads like a fairytale. One of eight children who grew up in a shack in the backyard of a four-roomed house in Oklahoma, she was married and pregnant at 14 and divorced at 17. Yet she still managed to finish high school and received an MA degree in international business and a doctorate in law.

Now, through her New Africa Movement, she wants to focus on black development and changing American foreign policy towards Africa. And although she is doing for free what the Government spends millions of rands doing, she insists she is not funded by the Government. IVAN FYNN spoke to the woman behind the fairytale.

move him out?

"If the person is complaining and saying 'I want something better' then I challenge him."

"In any case," she says, "the Group Areas Act is the easiest thing to get around. I did."

"I don't let external forces bother me because then they would have control over me."

"Whatever you give your attention to you have given your power to. Most people have empowered P W Botha forever because they are always thinking. What is the President going to do?" So you give him your energy and power.

"I'm a lawyer. As a lawyer I know that there are never any laws written that cannot be gotten around because this is how we (lawyers) make our money."

She would not even buy my offering that even if one disregarded the Group Areas Act and lived in Hillbrow, for example, one was invariably overcharged because one's skin colour made one desperate.

No good, she says. It's your own fault for allowing yourself to be overcharged.

"I would challenge any black reading the Sowetan to come to me with something that is happening in their lives because of apartheid laws and I will tell them how to get around it. That is a guarantee. I'll put money on it."

● To be continued tomorrow



Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Joe Thloloe. Sub-editing, headlines and posters by Sydney Mathaku. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.

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Section 21/6/88

23 ^{11A} ARRESTED

ALTOGETHER 23 suspected ANC insurgents had been arrested in the past three months, the Department of Law and Order revealed yesterday.

In expanding on the announcement of arrests by the State President in Parliament yesterday, the statement tied the arrests to 16 incidents of terror in which nine people, including an eight-year-old child died.

Indications were that some of those captured had received training overseas.

Further details of the incidents linked to the arrests was given.

Among these were listed:

- A bomb attack on the railway line at Factoria, Krugersdorp, on March 18;
- The murder of the three black detectives at

Atteridgeville on the same day;

- Limpet mine attack on the municipal offices at Atteridgeville on April 8;
- Limpet mine attack at Witpoortjie station on April 11, and;
- Limpet mine attack on the Johannesburg City Hall on April 14.

"Furthermore some of those detained have

• **To Page 2**

Page 2

Alleged ^{11A}
ANC 23 ^{11A}
held ^{Soweto} 21/6/88

• **From Page 1**

already disclosed valuable information," Mr Botha said

"Several caches of weapons have been pointed out to the security forces and in the process large quantities of weapons, ammunition, limpet mines and hand-grenades have been found"

Valuable documents and other revealing information of considerable value to the continued struggle against terrorism had been found

Survey tells what SA blacks want

By Neil Lurssen,
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — When debate on a new round of anti-South African sanctions resumes in Congress today, both opponents and supporters are likely to cite black South African opinion in their arguments.

For two years now, apart from high profile visitors like Archbishop Desmond Tutu, South African blacks have been absent participants in the dispute about their attitudes, with opponents of sanctions claiming that they reject US sanctions, and with supporters insisting that blacks are willing to suffer short-term economic pain for war political control.

For the first time, there is now a reliable guide as to what South African blacks actually want — a survey conducted by analyst Miss Meg Voorhes of Washington's Investor Responsibility Research Centre.

The Voorhes study is a survey of surveys, an analysis of previous polls

that have examined South African blacks' attitudes toward sanctions.

Miss Voorhes concluded: "As far as can be determined by public opinion polls, the majority of Africans in South Africa do not advocate that United States and other foreign companies withdraw from South Africa and do not favour other economic sanctions... as a tactic to help end apartheid if those measures will also increase black unemployment."

She noted that three polls sponsored by separate organisations between June 1984 and May 1986 had shown evidence that a substantial minority of urban blacks — some 25 percent — advocated disinvestment by foreign companies.

The two most recent polls found a "hard-core minority" — ranging between 14 and 26 percent — that favoured sanctions even if they caused many blacks to lose jobs.

"What almost all of these polls also show is that many more blacks might

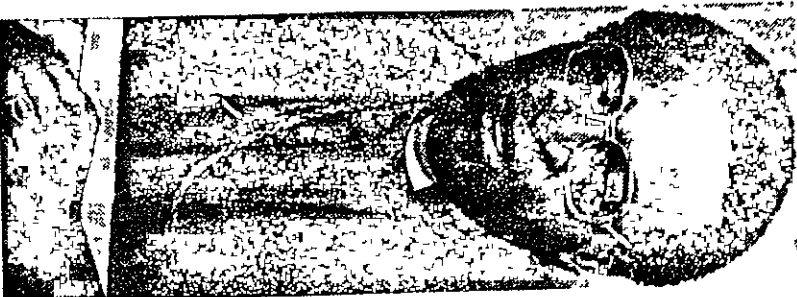
conceivably support sanctions and disinvestment if they were convinced that such actions would not increase black unemployment.

"Some of the polls also show that many blacks are not convinced that disinvestment and sanctions will help end apartheid," she found.

Miss Voorhes said the ambivalence expressed in black opinion surveys was reflected by the leaders of organisations that had large black constituencies.

"The policies of major union, political and church organisations range from unconditional support for comprehensive economic sanctions, to support only for sanctions that will not increase black hardship, to adamant opposition to any form of sanctions or disinvestment."

It will be difficult for liberals who support tough new sanctions to dismiss the impartial findings of a respected Washington organisation like the IRRC.



Archbishop Tutu... one of the few voices to be heard in the US.

Angola warns SA on future military clashes

By Alan Dunn,
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The Angolan government has warned amid a build-up of troops on its border with Namibia that future military clashes will cost South Africa dearly.

It has also made it clear on the eve of the second round of peace talks in Cairo that it believes the South African Government is trying to cut the United States out of the four-way negotiations. Angolan leaders cautioned here yesterday that South African raids into their country would not take place as they had in the past: "South Africa cannot force its will on us," said Mr Fernando Jose Franca van-Dunem, Angola's Minister of Justice.

Referring to recent South African losses in southern Angola, he said the parents of those white soldiers were well aware of this.

"What has happened in the past because we were not strong will not happen any more," he said.

On the political front, Mr van-Dunem said his impression at recent meetings with South African officials in London and Brazzaville was that they wanted America out of the process.

He and Mr Pedro de Castro van-Dunem, Angola's Economics Minister, expressed outright distrust of South Africa in the peace talks. They wanted the United States involved as a mediator, they said.

They alleged South African breaches of the Nkomati Accord with Mozambique, and efforts to sabotage Angola's oilfields days after a top-level South African assurance that Pretoria wanted peace, made them want a witness to the negotiations.

Angola's priority was to get South Africa out of Angola before all else, the two leaders noted.

Mr Pedro van-Dunem doused any hopes of direct settlement talks between his government and Unita. Once foreign forces were off their soil, he said, Angolans could sit down as individuals to talk of the country's future. He seemed to rule out such talks with Unita.

US welcomes Govt national forum plan

By Neil Lurssen,
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The South African Government's plan for a new multiracial national forum, announced by President Botha this week, has been conditionally welcomed in the United States.

"We welcome any development whose goal is further democratisation of South Africa," a spokesman for the US State Department said yesterday.

US officials have been super cautious in their comments on constitutional proposals and initiatives in the Republic

ever since they ran into a firestorm of criticism when they welcomed South Africa's current tricameral parliamentary system as a "step in the right direction".

Angry denunciations of the US by black SA leaders who rejected the tricameral plan stung Reagan administration officials who felt their attitude toward reform in South Africa had been misunderstood.

As a result, the Americans have been careful to note that their ultimate aim is to see an end to apartheid and the full participation of all South Africans in a new system of government.

No Olympic boycott by black Africa

LAUSANNE — The International Olympic Committee's first special meeting on apartheid was "a show of unity with black African nations" which earlier had threatened to boycott the Seoul Games.

Black African sports officials said after the meeting yesterday at IOC headquarters here that they currently see no reason for staying away.

The IOC reaffirmed its opposition to apartheid as a "scourge in sport" and urged further action to freeze South Africa out of international competition — AP

CTPA adopt Freedom Charter

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By RONNIE MORRIS

THE Cape Teachers' Professional Association (CTPA) yesterday accepted the Freedom Charter at their annual conference in Cape Town

After the decision, the delegates linked arms and sang a hymn

In a motion, tabled by Mr Franklin Sonn, president of the 22 000-strong CTPA, and seconded by his deputy, Mr Randall van den Heever, the charter was adopted as a key document.

The CTPA saw the charter as A Bill of Rights, the basis for the redistribution of wealth without curbing free enterprise, supporting the national liberation of all South Africans, confirming freedom of religion and championing reconciliation and justice

Speaking before the adoption of the Charter, Mr Sonn said he admitted the government was powerful, that Caspers were "strong" and that jails could be locked, but the idea of freedom could not be killed, locked up or smashed by rifle butts

Mr Christo Nel, who was introduced as a "Dakarite", said the charter offered an opportunity and a point of departure which could not be missed

The Rev T Frederick, of the Monta-

gue Ned Geref Sendingkerk, said the charter should be accepted as the new constitution of South Africa

"One cannot make the Freedom Charter black. We must make it a document for everyone who lives in South Africa. We cannot wish each other away. At the end of the day we share one fatherland"

Delegate Mr S E Opperman, of Pa-caltsdorp, said it was important that teachers started listening to people because "the one problem is we talk too much"

Mr David Piedt, an Oudtshoorn teacher, said the charter was a political national liberation document

Mr Archie Vergotine, principal of Ravensmead Senior Secondary School, said the charter was not a socialist or a communist document but an anti-capitalist one and urged its adoption

The Rev Arthur Gordon, one of three Western Cape delegates who attended the Kliptown meeting in 1955 at which the charter was adopted, said no act of Parliament would silence the voice of freedom-loving people in South Africa

"South Africa will be ruled by South Africans rather than whites . sooner than you think."

Staff Reporter

THE CTPA yesterday noted its deep dismay at the reimposition of the state of emergency and called for the lifting of restrictions on community organizations

The extraordinary conference resolution — moved by CTPA president Mr Franklin Sonn, seconded by his deputy, Mr Randal van der Heever, and signed by the CTPA's seven vice-presidents — read:

"Conference is outraged by the unparalleled powers this measure grants the state and the South African Police to detain people and restrict leaders, institutions and organizations without affording them recourse to due process

"Conference records its profound sense of shame that those parties from this community represented in the tricameral Parliament have through their silence and therefore acquiescence declared themselves accomplices to the oppression of their people and the liberatory struggle"

The conference demanded that the emergency be lifted and political detainees be freed

Call for emergency to be lifted

Teachers call for investigation into education

By RONNIE MORRIS

THE Cape Teachers' Professional Association (CTPA) yesterday called for a judicial inquiry into widespread allegations of party-political interference in education

A successful motion by Mr Archie Vergotine, CTPA publications vice-president, said an inquiry would be in the public interest because of Labour Party interference in sensitive and confidential staff matters

Since the introduction of the tricameral system of Parliament, the CTPA had fought "a lonely and bitter" battle against government transgressions

"How the Labour Party can claim that it is an opposition party when, as part of the apartheid government, it disgraces education like this is incomprehensible

"The assumption that the government can at the same time be opposition is a miscalculation and transparent publicity ploy which does not wash," Mr Vergotine said

Problems experienced were that MPs had confidential information about teachers, that teachers are promised posts in exchange for their favours and that MPs openly promote candidates and prejudice others

He said threats have been made that the CTPA's official recognition would be withdrawn if it continued to expose maladministration

Contacted for comment on the allegations, Mr Peter Hendrickse, national PRO for the Labour Party, said last night "The CTPA continually alleges party political interference and threats but to date have not come up with documentary proof

"I find it strange that the CTPA is unwilling to speak to Mr Allan Hendrickse, Minister of Education, but are quite happy to a speak to Mr F W de Klerk, senior National Party member and Transvaal leader of the NP and therefore responsible for the imposition of the state of emergency and detention of people"

He said Mr Hendrickse, the LP leader, would react to the allegations "at a later stage if necessary"

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Stop interfering, teachers tell LP

Education Reporter

A judicial commission of inquiry to investigate widespread allegations of Labour Party interference in education has been demanded by the Cape Teachers' Professional Association.

The 22-000 strong organisation resolved to ask parents to support teachers in calling for the findings of the commission to be made public.

Establishing a commission of inquiry would improve the tarnished image of the teaching profession, improve standards and restore teachers' confidence in the education authorities, the vice-president of publications for the CTPA, Mr Archie Vergotine, told delegates at the organisation's 21st annual conference yesterday.

He delivered a paper on political interference in education.

Threats or repression would not silence the CTPA or cause it to waver because it had "accepted the responsibility to defend the rights of teachers at all costs", he said.

Labour Party MPs had sensitive and confidential information about teachers. The CTPA had been told that this information was being leaked to relatives of MPs, who bartered with it, he said.

It had been alleged that MPs promised teachers posts in return for support.

Mr Vergotine said confidential personnel matters were discussed at caucus level and MPs openly promoted some candidates and prejudiced others.

"The Minister of Education and Culture refuses to delegate his powers to capable officials. The only conclusion we can draw is that he is wants to use these powers in the interest of his party and to make the

teaching profession more accommodating towards it," he said.

Because of this suitable candidates were not applying for posts, teaching standards were being lowered and the image of the profession was tainted.

Respected CTPA leaders who criticised this state of affairs were often attacked by politicians. Threats, such as the withdrawal of official recognition, were levelled at the organisation and teachers were encouraged to form other organisations.

CTPA president Mr Franklin Sonn said politicians were tampering with education.

"We are watching the situation the allegations amount to corruption and repression. This is what we are up against. We are being repressed by the so-called opposition in Parliament. It is part of the struggle," he added.

Teachers call for state of emergency to be lifted

Education Reporter

CALLS for the lifting of the state of emergency, the unconditional release of political prisoners and the abolition of clamps on certain organisations "in the liberatory struggle" have been made by the Cape Teachers Professional Association (CTPA).

Condemning the state of emergency, the teachers' association said it was "outraged at the unparalleled powers this measure grants the State and police to detain people and restrict leaders, institutions and organisations without affording them recourse to due process".

The 21st annual conference of the organisation recorded its "profound shame that those parties from this community represented in the tricameral Parliament have through their silence and therefore acquiescence declared themselves accomplices to the oppression of their people and the liberatory struggle".

The motion expressing the CTPA's outrage was proposed by the president, Mr Franklin Sonn, seconded by his deputy, Mr Randall van den Heever, and supported by their executive

Yesterday the CTPA resolved that

- Married women teachers be allowed to take fully paid accouchement leave for their first three children and accouchement leave at half their monthly salary for the next two births,

- Teachers employed by the House of Representatives be given the right to retire at the age of 55, like their colleagues in the white education department, instead of working until they reach the mandatory retirement age of 65, and

- Salary gaps between teachers in categories A, B, C and D be narrowed to one notch, discrimination in salaries paid to male and female teachers be eradicated, and that long-serving teachers below category A be promoted to category A.

EXILES REJECT OFFER

Swetani 22/6/85
EXILED political organisations yesterday rejected the State President, Mr P W Botha's offer of amnesty which he made to "those who left the country for whatever reason".

The organisations are the African National Congress (ANC), the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA)

They were reacting to Mr Botha's offer made in Parliament on Monday.

The ANC said in a statement that in order for Mr Botha's offer to be taken seriously the Government would have to commit itself to democratic fundamental change

Brutal

"It must be once again stressed that violent resistance started specifically as a response to the brutal methods of a regime that came to power in 1948," the ANC said

The PAC said from Harare that it rejected the offer which it regarded as "an insult" to the liberation movement

"The reasons that made us leave the country in the 1960s still persist," the PAC said

The BCMA said in Harare that it would return to South Africa "if the Government renounced violence itself"

A spokesman said the majority of blacks were still subjected to violence which came in many forms including starva-

By **THEMBA MOLEFE**

tion, poverty and apartheid policies

Mr Botha said that the Government was prepared to offer amnesty to anyone in political exile. He said he wished to repeat his offer to security prisoners and those who left the country for whatever reason.

Basing his gesture on the principle that the Government was prepared to negotiate with anyone who renounced violence, Mr Botha said the African National Congress (ANC) could return to South Africa and participate in peaceful solutions provided it laid down its arms

DR Jatta believes that politics is just an illusion for the masses.

Here are some of Dr Jatta's other views.

On sanctions and disinvestment. "I would say if they favour disinvestment the way they would favour it is by not buying those American products. Don't ask a third party to intervene on your behalf. Don't ask some white folks in America to pass laws on what you want."

On her needing a bullet-proof vest during her current speaking tour of America "In America as soon as they hear you say 'no sanctions, no disinvestment' the ANC automatically sends people out to start attacking you

"People don't speak up because their speeches on South Africa are disrupted, they are accused of being sellouts and Government puppets

"I wouldn't mind if people were given balanced information, but they are not"

Her own political ambitions: "Who knows, I may just run for President one day. We need a woman! Women always look after the future."

Views

Her views on blacks "We as blacks are like crabs in a barrel. When one tries to crawl out, we say 'no, come on get back here.' Because it means if you get out people are going to be pushing me to get out and achieve too."

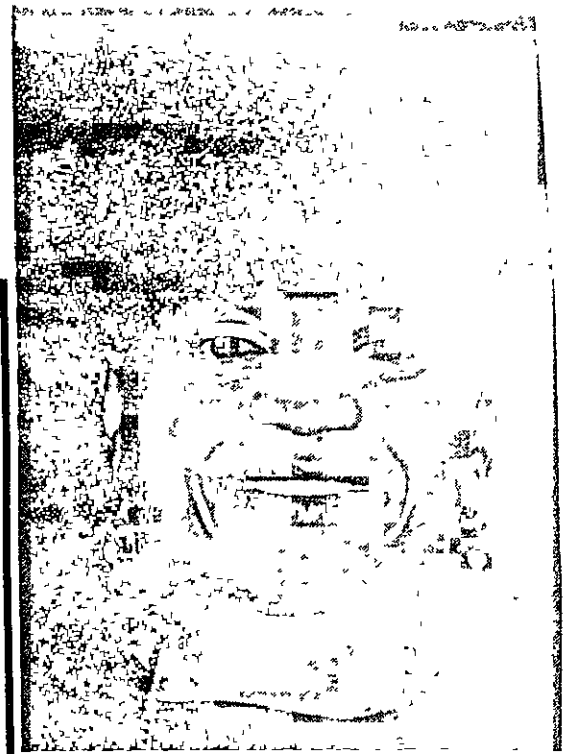
On being a controversial figure "I write controversial stuff and say controversial things to challenge people to stand up and prove me wrong

At the end of the day the black man's going to have to say "I'm ready for a job in a white corporate environment."

"It's tough being a successful black anywhere in the world. That's why I want to change the philosophy for blacks"

THE life story of black American lawyer, Dr Ophelia Jatta, reads like a fairytale. One of eight children who grew up in a shack in the backyard of a four-roomed house in Oklahoma, she was married and pregnant at 14 and divorced at 17. Yet she still managed to finish high school and received an MA degree in international business and a doctorate in law.

Now, through her New Africa Movement, she wants to focus on black development and changing American foreign policy towards Africa. And although she is doing for free what the Government spends millions of rands doing, she insists she is not funded by the Government. IVAN FYNN spoke to the woman behind the fairytale.



Dr OPHELIA Jatta... New Africa Movement.

POLITICS AND THE MASSES

11A
Soweto
22/1/88

Just an illusion for them says Dr Jatta



About the 31 organisations "working day and night to destroy South Africa". "They are not working against apartheid but against South Africa.

"They don't make any distinctions between black and white. They want total isolation

"They could be working in a positive manner to bring about change but they are not

"For example they could be coming up with strategies that would

help the South African Government change the rules quicker."

On destabilisation of the Frontline States. "Who's destabilising Ghana, Senegal, Gambia, Uganda. There ain't no white Frontline States

"That's all jive. Politics is an illusion for the masses"

On the recent three-

day stayaway. "I won't give my impression but I'll give the impression of the taxi-cab driver who picked me up and took me to Parktown. He said 'You see, three days and somebody showed up on Thursday and didn't have a job'

"The thing is at the end of the day who was hurt? You see, I am very conscious of trying to hurt in order to get an advantage. Because that

still sets everybody back. Black folks lost wages"

(But remember if that little old American woman Mrs. Rosa Parks didn't stand up and say she had had enough of bus apartheid in America things would have stayed that way for much longer. They also suffered in Montgomery, Alabama, for many months while they boycotted buses, but they won in the end)

On colour "One thing I know is the colour all round the world is green. It's the money, or the gold or the platinum. It is your balance sheet that counts"

CME Trunk 22/6/88

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Tutu protesters get 'tip-offs from press'

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A group of demonstrators, co-ordinating airport protests against Archbishop Desmond Tutu's stand on sanctions, appears to have access to privileged information about the archbishop's travel movements.

The archbishop's spokesman, Mr John Allen, said the protesters had been at airports at times when only a small group within the church knew of his travel schedule.

Mr Mark Heaton of the National Student Federation (NSF) — one of the protesting bodies — said they had a contact in a press agency who told them of Bishop Tutu's arrivals and departures.

Other bodies in the protests were Inkatha's United Workers of SA, Vic-

tims against Terrorism, the United Christian Action Group and the United Christian Conciliation Party.

Mr Allen said that while the archbishop did not question people's right to protest, he had questioned the impartiality of the police in acting against demonstrators greeting several of his arrivals and departures.

He said it seemed that if any action was taken on these occasions, it was against pro-Tutu supporters while anti-Tutu supporters seemed to have unlimited right to protest in and outside the airports.

Mr Heaton denied this. He said that on Archbishop Tutu's departure for Moscow an NSF member was arrested for handing out press statements. Police could not confirm the arrest claimed by Mr Heaton.

From MONO BADELA

JOHANNESBURG — Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu is "totally unrepentant" of what he had said and done in the Soviet Union and those attempting to discredit him "can do their worst", he says in an interview.

He thanked the Russians for providing refugees from South Africa with succour and scholarships.

"I thanked the Russians for reducing the arms race. Is a good thing suddenly bad because it is done by the Russians? Did the Allies become contaminated (with communism) because they fought with Russians against the Nazis?"

Tutu and his wife Leah recently returned from the Soviet Union where they attended celebrations to mark the 1 000th anniversary of Christianity in Russia.

He said the Russian people were not nearly as regimented as he thought they would be. Laughing, he added "They are just normal people. We saw

'I won't be stopped'

Tutu throws down the gauntlet

young couples cuddling, fathers pushing prams and people walking their dogs.

"But they don't seem to laugh easily although I've heard that is a characteristic of people who live in a very cold climate. They can't have a sunny outlook."

He was pleasantly surprised at how attractive Russian women television presenters were.

"Before going to Russia I thought they would be awfully dowdy and wouldn't have enough dress sense to put on a postage stamp."

The Russians had no

Is a good thing suddenly bad because it is done by the Russians? Did the Allies become contaminated (with communism) because they fought with Russians against the Nazis? — Archbishop Desmond Tutu on his return from the Soviet Union

selfish interests in South Africa and thought the problems of injustice should be solved non-violently.

"They do not know anything about the Cuban build-up. The Cubans are not their clients," Tutu says from his Soweto

garden soon after his arrival.

The Russians wanted the crisis here to be solved equitably and believed when things deteriorate the people would suffer.

"They do not take the stance of 'the more things

deteriorate the better," he says.

Tutu lambasted those who criticised the statements he made during his trip, and deplored what he called the "rent a-crowd" tactics — including the "shameful use of little children" — his

distributing pamphlets attacking Tutu. Police did not break up the demonstration. Tutu's supporters formed a guard of honour at the exit and spoke quietly.

The 100 and more Uwusa supporters, including children holding placards asking for jobs, and NSF members milled outside the international arrivals hall more than an hour before the couple's arrival.

Tutu asked those who organised the demonstrations to stop before someone got hurt. He vowed not to be intimidated by what he termed "renied" protestors. Nothing would stop him from continuing with his present anti-apartheid campaign, and all efforts by the authorities to isolate him had failed, he said.

"Even if those who try to liquidate me succeed it will not help. I will not stop until apartheid disappears."

opponents recently started using against him.

A potentially nasty scene was narrowly averted at Jan Smuts Airport on Saturday when Tutu's supporters clashed with demonstrators sporting tee shirts of the Inkatha-backed United Workers Union of South Africa (Uwusa).

The shirts were handed out by a burly man wearing a crash helmet. Mingling with demonstrators were white members of the right-wing National Students Federation (NSF).



Archbishop Desmond Tutu on Red Square

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South Africa and Democracy

Star 23/6/85 By Patrick Laurence



The theory of democracy, writes Roger Scruton in "A Dictionary of Political Thought", is immensely complicated, noting that there is little agreement on the essential elements of a democratic regime.

President Botha's 20-page speech to the joint sitting of Parliament on Monday underlines Scruton's point.

An underlying theme in the Mr Botha did not acknowledge that speech portrayed Mr Botha and his extra-parliamentary organisations chief henchmen as defenders of democracy against radical and revolutionary forces seeking its overthrow.

South Africa finds itself in one of the most important development phases in its history, a phase in which the Government has committed itself to orderly development and broadening of democracy," he said.

The two-year-old State of Emergency and the draconian powers wielded under it are not an aberration of democracy but are necessary for its defence, according to Mr Botha.

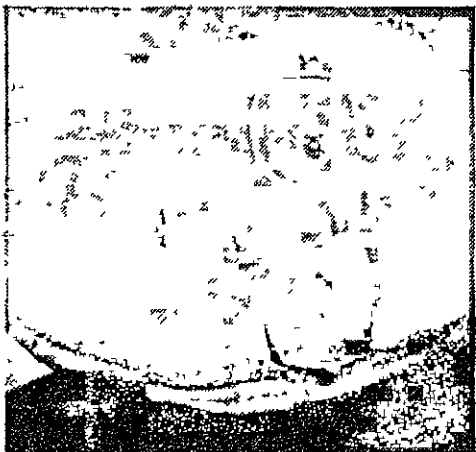
He accused "radicals and revolutionaries" of planning to sabotage peaceful change and of preparing, in particular, to disrupt the nationwide municipal elections in October to deny the extension of "free democratic rights" to all South Africans.

In appropriating the moral high ground for himself as a democrat,

Mr Botha did not acknowledge that extra-parliamentary organisations opposed to participation in the elections have been paralysed by government edict while R4,7 million has been allocated to the Bureau for Information to campaign to persuade people to take part.

The restrictions imposed on the United Democratic Front — whose title reflects its claim to represent democratic values — fly in the face of one treason trial and pre-empt the findings of another. In the first, the Maritzburg trial, 16 UDF leaders were acquitted of treason; in the second, the current "Delmas trial", the judge has not heard all the evidence and arguments by defence counsel.

Nor did Mr Botha mention that at least 40 people — according to the Centre for Applied Legal Studies — have been in detention for two years under the emergency regulations, immobilised and unable to exercise their democratic rights. Mr Botha, however, challenged



President Botha... appropriating the high moral ground.

the right of his radical opponents to label themselves democrats.

"It is universally known that Marxists and revolutionaries use the word 'democracy' to describe their atheist and materialist system of autocratic one-party dictatorship," he said.

"No one in the Western and democratic world would describe the Soviet system as democratic. Yet some of these same people blandly accept that the aim of the ANC-SACP alliance is to implement a true democratic and free economic system in South Africa."

The same Western democrats, judging by the declaration of leaders of the top seven industrial na-

tions at Toronto, Canada, do not share Mr Botha's view of his Government as democratic. They urged South Africa to move away from its present system towards non-racial democracy.

Mr Botha implicitly rejected their advice, declaring: "One man, one vote systems have failed in Africa, particularly in plural societies. Africa is a graveyard of failed experiments with Western models and systems rammed down its throat."

The outlawed African National Congress, however, has refused to abandon its quest to present itself as a democratic alternative to Mr Botha's Government.

Its constitutional draftsmen are working on a blueprint for a "post-apartheid society".

Guidelines for the ANC's new order include a multiparty political system in a unitary state, a bill of rights to protect individuals, a mixed economy (embracing independent trade unions and the right to private property) and land reform to redress the imbalance of wealth between black and white.

The same ANC, however, defends the grenade attacks on political meetings called by black leaders who want to take part in the October elections and attended by, for the most part, older people with little formal education.

Court hears of ~~the~~ coffins in church

By Bruce Anderson

Alexandra Youth Committee (AYCO) members "had decided that coffins should be kept in churches to prevent the hijacking of funerals by police", the Rand Supreme Court was told yesterday.

This submission was made yesterday by State Advocate Mr E du Toit, SC, on the third day of his closing argument before Mr Justice Grosskopf in the trial of Mr Ashwell Zwane and seven other Alexandra residents. They face a main charge of treason and alternative charges of sedition and subversion.

The co-accused of Mr Zwane (20) are: Mr Vusi Ngwenya (20), Mr Andrew Mafutha (22), Mr David Mafutha (19), Mr Arthur Vilakazi (24), Mr Albert Sebola (21), Mr Piet Mogano (28) and Mr Phillemon Phalongwane (18). They have pleaded not guilty to all charges and are in custody.

The trial results from unrest incidents in Alexandra between January and July 1986.

On Tuesday, Mr du Toit dealt with the role allegedly played by Mr Vilakazi and a number of the other trialists.

He told the court that Mr Vilakazi attended a mass funeral on March 3 1986 in Alexandra where he "joined in the singing of freedom songs".

At another funeral, Mr Vilakazi "carried one of the coffins draped in an ANC flag".

It was also claimed that Mr Vilakazi had joined an AYCO anti-crime campaign to "show youth the right way".

Mr du Toit submitted that Mr Vilakazi had searched and "punished" people during each of these campaigns, and regardless of their sex. He also claimed a young girl had been lashed.

Mr Vilakazi had said that he regarded Nelson Mandela as his leader and had no objection to the renaming of Alexandra streets with names such as AK-47, Bazooka and Grenade, said Mr du Toit.

ANC has nothing to say

~~SA~~ The Star's Africa News Service (11A)

LUSAKA — The African National Congress said today it had no immediate comment on yesterday's bomb blast in Johannesburg.

The ANC said, however, its policy regarding the armed struggle had not changed and that it still aims its military actions against "targets considered strategic by the Pretoria regime".

There have been reports stating that the ANC has changed its policies regarding attacks on so-called soft targets, but this has been denied by the organisation.

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Candles shine for those in detention

Teachers reject 'normal sport'

Education Reporter

HUNDREDS of candles shone brightly in a semi-darkened hall at the University of the Western Cape as more than 3 000 people stood for a minute to show their solidarity with those in detention.

The meeting was dedicated to "those women, men and chil-

dren in detention", said Mrs Joan Sonn, wife of the president of the Cape Teachers Professional Association (CTPA), Mr Franklin Sonn.

She said last night: "These brave people are fighting for a just society."

One of the organisers, Mrs Phillipina du Plessis, lit a special candle "for all those people

in detention and who have been restricted".

She asked the audience, each of whom had been given a candle, to stand for a minute in solidarity with the detainees

Mrs Sonn hosted last night's CTPA meeting, which was to study "the role of women in the movement towards a democratic South Africa".

She said that women members of the CTPA could no longer be neutral because "we are living in very serious times".

"We have come to a stage where we must make a commitment," she said

Durban sociologist Professor Fatima Meer said the State had brutalised black youth, transforming them into images of the State and alienating them from their community

"It is our duty to transform them so that we advance to a non-racial society through them and not without them," she said.

Two mothers, including Mrs Begum Pandey, a member of the United Women's Congress, told the audience how they had been affected by the detention of their children.

Mrs Pandey is the mother of Yasmina Pandey, one of 15 mainly University of the Western Cape students charged with terrorism

She did not see her daughter for three months while in detention under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act, Mrs Pandey said

"After three months I received a phone call that she would appear in court. I could not sleep. I just waited for the morning to dawn so that I could see my daughter," she said.

"When she appeared in court I could not control the tears. I know better now how her detention has touched my life. It has filled me with the same anger I see in my daughter."

Education Reporter

THE Cape Teachers Professional Association (CTPA) has adopted the principle of "non-racialism in sport" and decided to discourage involvement in "normal sport"

The decision is an apparent show of support for the stance of the South African Council on Sport (Sacos)

The resolution, adopted at the CTPA's 21st annual congress, said the organisation was working for a non-racial, democratic South Africa and would therefore support non-racial sport

The organisation resolved to discourage members from taking part in so-called normal sport

Mr David Simpson of Port Elizabeth told the conference that politics and sport in South Africa were intertwined because of Government policies and could not be separated.

He said "Apartheid is the cornerstone of the political system in South Africa and is based on repression, exploitation and the denial of privileges. This political manipulation is discernible in school sport"

The Government encouraged apartheid in sport through legislation "In this respect South Africa is the only country in the world where racial discrimination has been entrenched in sport"

He said non-racialism had as its goal a society free of racial discrimination and exploitation and had to be encouraged in school sport.

21 YEARS OF CTPA ... 21 YEARS

Charting new course for teachers

THE once-conservative Cape Teachers' Professional Association heralded its joining of the democratic movement by passing two watershed resolutions which must have surprised some of its most severe critics.

On Tuesday, the organisation adopted the Freedom Charter and a day later the CTPA shed its neutrality on the issue of non-racial sport, passing a resolution in favour of it.

In other resolutions the CTPA.

- called for the lifting of the State of Emergency, the unconditional release of political prisoners and the lifting of restrictions placed on organisations,
- demanded the appointment of a judicial commission of inquiry to investigate allegations of Labour Party interference in education.

High note

The conference started off on a high note on Monday night with anti-apartheid luminaries like UDF chairman advocate Dullah Omar, University of Cape Town rector Dr Stuart Saunders, Western Cape Teachers Union leader Yusuf Gabru, National Education Crisis Committee member Mr Andile Jonas, University of the Western Cape rector Professor Jakes Gerwel, and Dr Allan Boesak sharing the platform with the CTPA executive.

Omar sprang a surprise when he introduced four former Robben Island prisoners to the meeting.

Their presence and the response it evoked was an indication of what was the follow. The audience of about 3 000 gave them a standing ovation.

But CTPA president Mr Franklin Sonn had a few surprises of his own, proposing the following day that the association adopt the Freedom Charter



Franklin Sonn

He said: "The Freedom Charter is a document which is in accordance with our principals. It is capable of destroying apartheid and building a South Africa in which all of us are equal."

His motion, he said, was the first one he had proposed since becoming president more than a decade ago.

"There comes a time when men and organisations must decide where they stand. We must decide where we stand this morning," he said.

And decide they did.

When the vote was taken, each of the almost 2 000 delegates in the hall raised their right-hands to adopt the Freedom Charter before breaking into a long round of applause. Then a hymn, Bind us Together Lord, was sung.

Condemning the Emergency, the CTPA said it was "outraged at the unparalleled powers this measure grants the State and police to detain people, restrict leaders, institutions and organisations without affording them recourse to due process"

The motion was proposed by association's president, Mr Franklin Sonn, seconded by his deputy Mr Randall van den Heever and supported by the executive

'Police have caught 106'

POLICE have arrested at least 106 suspected ANC members, including 23 detained in a recent swoop, and shot dead another 19 since the beginning of the year, a spokesman for the Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok, said yesterday.

A further six suspected ANC members had blown themselves up while on sabotage or terror missions inside South Africa over the same period, said Brigadier Leon Mellet, Press secretary to Mr Vlok

"A total of 591 terrorists were neutralised in the past 18 months, of whom 63 were shot dead

"The rest were arrested, deserted from the organisation or were effectively removed from the ANC network," said Brigadier Mellet, quoting figures released by Mr Vlok in Parliament during his Budget speech in the house of Assembly earlier this year.

Brigadier Mellet said 490 ANC members were "neutralised" in 1987. Of those arrested this year, 79 were detained between January 1 and April and 10 were shot dead

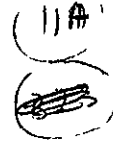
Since April, 23 suspects were arrested in the largest single operation of its kind this year and nine, including three women, were shot dead near the Swaziland border recently

On May 8, Security Police arrested four more alleged members of the all-white Broederstroom ANC cell on their rented smallholding

Large quantities of arms were also seized, including a SAM-7 surface-to-air missile

CTPA adopts the Charter

Sowetan 23/6/55



IN a watershed decision the Cape Teachers Professional Association unanimously adopted the Freedom Charter at its congress in Bellville.

The organisation said it was aligning itself with the democratic movement fighting for democracy in South Africa

The motion to adopt the document was

SOWETAN Correspondent

proposed by the president of the CTPA Mr Franklin Sonn and seconded by Mr Archie Vergotme, principal of Ravensmead Senior Secondary School and vice-president responsible for the organisation's publications

The congress found

that the document could be seen as a declaration of human rights and which could serve to ensure the freedom of all South Africans

It could also ensure the even distribution of wealth without hampering free trade, guarantee religious freedom and advocated reconciliation and justice

Earlier four speakers including Mr Christo Nel, a member of the group which met the African National Congress in Dakar, Senegal, last year and teacher Mr David Priedt, discussed the religious, economic, political and educational aspects of the document which was drawn up at the "congress of the people" at Kiptown on June 26, 1955

Free Mandela — Buthelezi

THE KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha leader, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, yesterday repeated his pre-condition for taking part in the proposed National Council — that the Government must release Nelson Mandela, Zeph Mothopeng and other political prisoners.

The calibre and representativeness of the black leadership present in the council depended on this, Chief Buthelezi said in a statement.

Leaders who took part while African National Congress leader Mandela was in jail would not attract mass support and would become irrelevant, he said.

Unless the forum were

specifically constituted as a necessary step following the Government's undertaking to scrap the Tricameral Parliament in part or in whole, "it will only attract inadequate representation and pursue inadequate agenda."

"Black leaders have long passed the point in history where they can be used as rubber stamps for the real intentions of the country's white political leadership," Chief Buthelezi said.

The choice facing South Africa was a one-party socialist constitution and socialist economy, or a multi-party democracy supporting a dominantly free enterprise economic system. — Sapa.

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Claims of ANC torture and killings

Code 7145
23/6/88

Own Correspondent

(119)

WASHINGTON — An American working for right-wing Senator Jesse Helms has produced a report claiming that the ANC routinely beats, tortures and executes dissidents at refugee camps and detention facilities in Angola and Tanzania

Mr Philip Christenson, formerly an adviser to Senator Nancy Kassebaum, also accuses Mrs Zonelli Mbeki, wife of ANC information director Mr Thabo Mbeki, of complicity in the abuses Mrs Mbeki is a senior official of the UN High Commission on Refugees (UNHCR).

The report was prepared to rebut an April 15 State Department report on ANC detainees which found no hard evidence of abuse and concluded that the only known ANC detention camp was in Angola

Mr Christenson conducted interviews with "several dozen" South African refugees in Kenya, Tanzania, Zimbabwe, Zambia and Botswana between June 1 and June 15. All were in the late 20s or early 30s and fled South Africa to Swaziland or Lesotho during the 1976/7 disturbances

Most said they had been associated with the Black Consciousness movement but had been pressured or induced by the UNHCR with promises of Western scholarships to join either the ANC or the PAC, the report says

One woman, whom the author describes as the daughter of a close friend, was beaten and raped in an ANC prison in Angola in 1979

According to interviewees, "at least 10" executions take place at Quatra, in Angola, the ANC's main detention facility

UN body accused of complicity

ANC camps of torture: US report

11A
23/01/88

WASHINGTON — The ANC routinely beats, tortures and executes dissidents at refugee camps and detention facilities in Angola and Tanzania, a Senate staff report says.

The report accuses the UN High Commission on Refugees (UNHCR), one of whose senior officials in Lusaka is Zonelli Mbeki, wife of ANC information director Thabo Mbeki, of complicity in the abuses.

Author Philip Christenson, who works for conservative senator Jesse Helms, conducted interviews with "several dozen" black SA refugees in Kenya, Tanzania, Zimbabwe, Zambia and Botswana between June 1-15.

All were in their late 20s or early 30s and had fled from SA to Swaziland or Lesotho during the 1976/77 disturbances.

Most said they had been associated with the black consciousness movement, but had been pressured or induced by the UNHCR with promises of Western schol-

SIMON BARBER

arships to join either the ANC or the PAC.

Thereafter, the UNHCR shipped them to camps in Tanzania or Zambia. "Those who joined the PAC reported uniformly that they were relatively well treated."

One woman was sent to Angola for refusing to join the ANC when she fled SA in 1976.

"She was beaten and raped in an ANC prison until the international committee for the Red Cross was able to obtain her release in 1979."

Those interviewed said "at least 10" executions had taken place at Quattrra, the ANC's main detention facility in Angola, also known as "number 4" or "the west".

Atrocities also occurred at camps in Tanzania. At Mazimbu, near Mogorogoro, "two or three women were locked

• To Page 2 →

Torture claims in ANC refugee camps

in a shipping container for three or four weeks by ANC 'commissars' because of their refusal to have sex with the commissars".

Another Mazimbu inmate, transferred there after a spell in Quattrra, was said to have been beaten to death by ANC commissars after complaining about conditions in Angola. He was named as Robert Nyembe, originally from the Johannesburg area.

The report was prepared to rebut an April 15 State Department report on ANC detainees which found no hard evidence of abuse and concluded the only known ANC detention camp was in Angola.

The report finds that aside from Quattrra, there may be four other ANC prisons in Angola at Quibaxe, Viana, Luanda and Malanje. Interviewees described Dakawa in Tanzania and adjacent Kitete as prison camps.

A footnote cites the department cable requesting embassies to provide infor-

← • From Page 1

mation. The cable is reported to state "New or extensive research is not required."

Christenson charges the UNHCR, which receives 30% of its funding from the US, not only "does not intervene in any country to protect black South Africans from abuses carried out by the ANC", but even helps the ANC round up defectors.

"Dissident members who escape the ANC camps are told by the UNHCR they have to return to the camps and obtain a 'resignation letter' from the ANC in order to qualify for UNHCR assistance.

"Such instructions are viewed, quite rightly, as an invitation to suicide."

The report notes that white refugees gain "immediate asylum in developed countries", while blacks are sent to primitive camps "under close scrutiny of Eastern European-trained internal security agents".

'Proof' of ANC support

11A

23/6/87
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EVIDENCE in the Alexandra treason trial proved Arthur Vilakazi was a member of the Alexandra Youth Committee (AYCO) and an active supporter of the ANC, the Alexandra Action Committee and the comrades, the State submitted yesterday

Continuing his concluding argument in the trial that started in April last year, State counsel E du Toit, SC, told the Rand Supreme Court that Vilakazi, 25, had no objections to renaming Alexandra streets such names as AK-47, Bazooka and Grenade

Vilakazi is one of eight Alexandra residents who have pleaded not guilty to charges of treason, alternatively sedi-

EDYTH BULBRING

tion or subversion, relating to incidents between January and July 1986 in Alexandra. The others are Ashwell Zwane, 21, Vusi Ngwenya, 21, Andrew Mafutha, 23, David Mafutha, Albert Sebola, 22, Piet Mogano, 29, and Phillemon Phalongwane, 18

The State alleges they are all members of the AYCO, in particular the branch for the area between 14th and 16th avenues

The eight accused have been in custody since their arrest in July 1986. The trial continues today before Mr Justice Grosskopf

ANC prison camp in Angola

Black exiles executed for dissent, says report

11A

Star 23/6/88

By Neil Lurssen,
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — Black South African exiles are treated harshly abroad and are subject to brutal punishment — including execution — for political dissent, according to a new report to the US senate

Their treatment contrasts sharply with the good treatment given to whites who flee South Africa, it claims.

The report, compiled by staff of the senate's foreign relations committee, was submitted yesterday during a hearing on proposed new amendments to toughen the 1986 American economic sanctions against South Africa

Its author, Mr Phil Christenson, writes "White SA exiles are well treated. As a routine and established practice white refugees are assisted in gaining immediate asylum in developed (and predominantly white) countries of North America, Europe and Australia"

But, according to several dozen blacks interviewed by Mr Christenson, black SA exiles are treated very differently

"They are given minimal financial support, forced to join political organisations affiliated with the Soviet Union (either the ANC or the PAC) and subjected to brutal punishment, including execution, for political dissent"

Mr Christenson carried out the investigation earlier this month in

Kenya, Tanzania, Zimbabwe, Zambia and Botswana among young people who had fled South Africa after participating in protests in 1976 and 1977

"Many of those interviewed live in fear of retribution by the liberation movements if their aid in this investigation is discovered"

"Others are illegal immigrants who fear arrest and deportation, and possible execution by the ANC. All were promised confidentiality," Mr Christenson writes

"Former ANC members speak of life in an ANC camp as one of fear, mistrust of one another, and especially fear of being sent to 'The West' (a shortened name for the Western Front, the ANC prison camp in Angola, also known as Number 4 or Quattro)

"Those who have escaped the ANC reported to me that the arbitrary detentions for political dissent, beatings and even deaths from beatings routinely take place in the ANC camps in Tanzania"

"Reliable information was received that at least 10 executions of political dissidents or suspected spies take place each year at the ANC prison camp in Angola."

Mr Christenson writes that several UN High Commission for Refugees officials opposed proposals that black SA refugees be offered asylum in the US, Canada, Australia and Western Europe

The UNHCR officials were opposed because it would "destroy the liberation movements".

ANC trying to copy Govt, says Meyer

11A

Parliamentary Staff ^{Star} 23/1/84

CAPE TOWN — The African National Congress was a copycat, copying "Government initiatives and attempting to buy in on the process of reform", claimed the Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Roelf Meyer.

"We, however, know what their real aims are," said Mr Meyer yesterday

Speaking in the joint debate on the Promotion of Constitutional Development Bill, he set out at length the ANC's "new tactical approach"

The ANC was trying to woo the middle ground of South African politics

"Through their proposals and methods they are trying to present themselves as democrats accepting normal democratic processes and methods. We, however, know what their real aims are"

These were to realise the transfer of power to the ANC and the implementation of "their well-known philosophies based on Marxist-Leninist ideology".

Winnie Mandela receives award (11A)

NEW YORK — Mrs Winnie Mandela was to be given a Candace Award for distinguished service in New York yesterday.

The award, recognising achievement by black women, is given by the National Coalition of Black Women and Bailey's Irish Cream.

It was to have been accepted on Mrs Mandela's behalf by her daughters, Ziniswa and Zenani.

She has been selected because of her crusade against apartheid — The Star's Foreign News Service

Star 2/3/85

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copy to TB 23/6/88

Police give figures of ANC arrests

PRETORIA. — The 23 ANC guerillas arrested in South Africa recently received their instructions and weapons in Botswana, police said yesterday.

Lieutenant-Colonel Eddie Everson said 12 of the 23 guerillas were arrested in Pretoria and the other 11 on the West Rand.

Captain Reg Crewe said that from January 1 till the end of April, 79 guerillas had been captured and 10 shot dead.

He said earlier this month, a guerilla was killed near Ficksburg, OFS, and nine were killed in a shootout with police in the eastern Transvaal.

Two others died when explosive devices they were handling blew up — one in Cape Town and the other near Underberg in Natal.

“Added to these figures are the 23 terrorists who were arrested in connection with a spate of bombings and murders earlier this week,” Capt Crewe said.

CME TRUSTS 23/6/88

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11A

Non-racial sport gets full backing

IN AN apparent show of support for the South African Council on Sport (Sacos), the strong CTPA yesterday pledged its official backing for non-racial sport and warned teachers continuing to practise "normal" sport that they will be discouraged.

Following a lengthy debate, the estimated 2 000 teacher delegates to the 21st annual congress showed overwhelming support for a motion which read "In execution of its policy of non-racialism and the prospect of a non-racial democratic South Africa, the CTPA gives official support to non-racial sport and decides to actively encourage those members who still practise normal sport to cease this practice

"... The times in which we live require concrete actions and sacrifices"

RONNIE MORRIS reports on the Cape Teachers Professional Association's 21st congress

Mr D E Sampson, who delivered a paper, said school sport should not be seen in isolation but was an integral part of South African sport

The purpose of non-racialism was to create a society across the colour line, make racial prejudice and racism a crime against humanity and create a society free of oppression and exploitation, he said

Intimidation by principals of teachers who supported non-racial sport had taken place and "devious" ways and methods had

been used to curb the growth and influence of non-racial school sport associations, he said

Mr Simpson said facilities were grossly inadequate and it was an "amazing manifestation of selfishness" that 240 times more could be spent on a white child than a black one.

In that period about 3 000 black students in the Peninsula had to use one sportsfield while a year before that R9,9 million had been spent on facilities for white primary school pupils

He also launched a scathing attack on sponsorship and said between 1985 and last year the SA Secondary Schools Sports Association had only received R19 183 in sponsorship while white high schools received sponsorship of more than R1 million for one sport, rugby

CAP. TIMES 24/6/88 (11A) 127

CTPA to consider forming a union

By RONNIE MORRIS

THE 22 000-strong Cape Teachers' Professional Association yesterday resolved to "examine the possibility" of forming a trade union for teachers.

The resolution, which was overwhelmingly accepted by an estimated 2 000 teachers — with only two dissenting votes, recognized that a teacher was "both a worker and professional and that education is crucial for liberation."

The conference mandated CTPA president Mr Franklin Sonn and the executive committee to examine the "possibility of forming a trade union for teachers".

Deputy president Mr Randall van den Heever said various teachers' organizations had expressed differences including ideological, strategic, personal and organizational, at teacher unity talks in Harare in April.

The organizations agreed there was a need for a national unified teachers' movement, increased

protection of teachers from state victimization, the promotion of the ideals of "People's Education", united support action by teachers for the mass democratic movement and the burying of past differences in the interest of unity.

The CTPA had "a proud history of commitment" to teachers' unity and had never been involved in internecine fighting and bickering.

Cosatu talks

During their visit to Dakar in July last year he and Mr Sonn had spent many hours with senior ANC member Mr Thabo Mbeki and had urged him to arrange talks between the various South African teachers' organizations. This resulted in the Harare unity talks, he said.

He and executive committee member Mr David Piedt had also had talks with Mr Jay Naidoo, of Cosatu, and had asked him to play the role of an "honest broker" in unity talks.

Cosatu official Mr Thami Mhloni, who delivered an address

on behalf of Mr Naidoo, said teachers had recently begun to shed their conservative image and relate to the struggles of people in general and students in particular.

Virtually all, except some right-wing white teachers' associations, had seen the need to forge unity and a new perspective to deal not only with the education crisis, but the crisis facing the country.

The destruction of apartheid and replacement of it with a non-racial democracy based on a unitary South Africa was the one objective which bound teachers.

"Teachers must recognize that they are not only teaching our communities, but are actually learning from the experiences and knowledge of our people as well."

Teachers needed to identify the issues around which unity could be built and an example was the wage freeze which would mean that the standard of living of hundreds of thousands of public sector workers would fall this year, he said.

Desecration Star 24/6/08 aimed at discrediting the Church

Extracts from a sermon preached by the Rev Peter Storey, superintendent minister of the Central Methodist Church in Johannesburg, after political slogans were found daubed on the church walls last week:

What makes it worse is that this was no act of sudden passion. If the walls of Central Church had been daubed with swastikas and racist symbols that would be no less a desecration but it would have been more easily understood.

But what happened on Thursday morning June 16 was a carefully premeditated act, planned quite coldly, not only to insult the Church but to discredit it — to smear us and some of the organisations we have sheltered and accommodated in their work for peaceful change and greater justice in South Africa.

ACT OF DECEPTION

It was done to make it look as if some of these organisations would stoop to defiling a house of God, and because most people who pass by do not think very deeply, many have probably been deceived into believing just that.

I have no doubt whatsoever that the perpetrators of this desecration were not just ordinary fanatics taking out their hate on our walls. Jesus warned that some people would act against the Church out of a twisted sense of duty and I believe that when we discover them, we will find that this is closer to the truth.

This act is part of a wider campaign launched at the highest levels in our land to bring churches such as our own into disrepute and to undermine and confuse the respect which people have for the moral authority of Christian witness in South Africa today.

THE REAL ENEMIES

Far more dangerous and evil than the people who did this are the forces that drive them: hatred, prejudice, fear and a twisted patriotism — these are the real enemies and these forces have taken up residence in the minds of too many South Africans.

If we identify and prosecute them (the desecrators), I shall ask the magistrate to sentence them to worship here every Sunday for six months, to sing with us, pray with us, pass the peace with us and break bread with us. In this way perhaps they will find their brothers and sisters and also find God.

11A
week advert

Freedom Charter

Day

June 26

The Freedom Charter

Preamble
We the people of South Africa declare for all our country and the world to know
That South Africa belongs to all who live in it black and white and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of the people
That our people have been robbed of their birthright to land, liberty and freedom on injustice and founded on inequality
That our country will never be prosperous or free until all our people live in brotherhood enjoying equal rights and opportunities
That only a democratic state secure to all their birthright without distinction of colour race sex or belief And therefore we the people of South Africa black and white, together equals countrymen and brothers adopt this Freedom Charter and we pledge ourselves to strive together sparing nothing of our strength and courage until the democratic changes set out here have been won

The people shall govern
Every man and woman shall have the right to vote for and stand as a candidate for all bodies which make laws
All the people shall be entitled to take part in the administration of the country
The rights of the people shall be the same regardless of race colour or sex
All bodies of minority rule, advisory boards, councils and authorities shall be replaced by democratic organs of self government

All national groups shall have equal rights
There shall be equal status in the bodies of the state, in the courts and in the schools for all national groups and races
All national groups shall be protected by law against insults to their race and national pride
All people shall have equal rights to use their own language and to develop their own culture and customs
The preaching and practice of national race or colour discrimination and contempt shall be a punishable crime
All apartheid laws and practices shall be abolished

The people shall share in the country's wealth
The national wealth of our country the heritage of all South Africans shall be restored to the people
The mineral wealth beneath the soil the banks and monopoly industry shall be transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole
All other industries and trades shall be controlled to assist the well being of the people
All people shall have equal rights

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

The doors of learning and culture shall be opened
The government shall discover, develop and encourage national talent for the enhancement of our cultural life
All the cultural treasures of mankind shall be open to all by free exchange of books ideas and contact with other lands
The aim of education shall be to teach the youth to love their people and their culture to know their brotherhood liberty and peace
Education shall be free compulsory universal and equal for all children
Higher education and technical training shall be opened to all by means of state allowances and scholarships awarded on the basis of merit
Adult literacy shall be ended by a mass state education plan
Teachers shall have the rights of all other citizens
The colour bar in cultural life is abolished

There shall be houses, education and comfort
All people shall have the right to live where they choose to be decently housed and to bring up their families in comfort and security
Unused housing space shall be made available to the people
Rent and prices shall be lowered so that food shall be plentiful and no one shall go hungry
A prevention-health scheme shall be run by the state
Free medical care and hospital treatment shall be provided for all with special care for mothers and young children
Slums shall be demolished and new suburbs built where all shall have transport roads lighting playing fields creches and social centres
The aged orphans the disabled and the sick shall be cared for by the state
Rent increase and recreation shall be the right of all
Forced locations and ghettos shall be abolished and laws which break up families shall be repealed

There shall be peace and friendship
South Africa shall be a fully independent state which respects the rights and sovereignty of all Nations
South Africa shall strive to maintain world peace and the settlement of all international disputes by negotiation not war
Peace and friendship among our people shall be secured by upholding the equal rights opportunities and status of all
The people of Lesotho Botswana and Swaziland shall be free to derive their wealth from their own future
The rights of all the people of Africa to independence and self government shall be recognised and shall be the basis of close co-operation

The land shall be shared among those who work it
Restriction of land ownership on a racial basis shall be ended and all work shall be done among those who work the land to banish famine and hunger
The state shall help the peasants with implements seeds tractors and tillage to save the soil and assist the farmer
Freedom of movement shall be guaranteed to all who work on the land
All shall have the right to occupy land wherever they choose
People shall not be robbed of their cattle and forced labour and farm prisons shall be abolished

All shall be equal before the law
No one shall be imprisoned, deported or restricted without fair trial
No one shall be condemned by order of any government official
The courts shall be representative of all the people
Imprisonment shall only be for serious crimes against the people and shall aim at re-education not vengeance
The police force and army shall be open to all on an equal basis and shall be the helpers and protectors of the people
All laws which discriminate on the grounds of race colour or belief shall be repealed

All shall enjoy human rights
The law shall guarantee to all their right to speak to organise to meet together to preach to worship and to educate their children
The privacy of the house from police raids shall be protected by law
All shall be free to travel without restriction from countryside to town from province to province and from South Africa abroad
Pass laws permits and all other laws restricting these freedoms shall be abolished

There shall be work and security
All who work shall be free to form trade unions to elect their officers and to make wage agreements with their employers
The state shall recognise the right and duty of all to work and to draw full unemployment benefits
Men and women of all races shall receive equal pay for equal work
There shall be a 40 hour working week a national minimum wage paid annual leave and sick leave for all workers, and maternity leave for full pay for all working mothers
Miners, domestic workers, farm workers and civil servants shall have the same rights as all others who work
Child labour compound labour and the tariff system and contract labour shall be abolished

Policy document of countless progressive organisations.

Victory is Certain!

Published on behalf of youth congresses throughout South Africa by the Southern Transvaal Youth Congress, 42 De Villiers Street, Johannesburg

ALLEGED SA SPIES HELD IN ZAMBIA

LUSAKA — Two suspected South African soldiers who had been on a spying mission against the African National Congress in Zambia have been detained. (HA) (SA) (Z)

Zambian Home Affairs Minister Mr Paul Malukutula confirmed the detention of the two yesterday but declined to give details.

But according to reliable sources, the suspects, identified as Andre Swart and Steve du Plessis, allegedly infiltrated the ANC last year. Zambian security forces arrested them following their suspicious movements while they were members of the ANC.

The duo are alleged to have joined the ANC last June but were put under surveillance in December leading to their arrest this year.

AFRICA NEWS ORGANISATION

A high-ranking ANC official could, however, not link the detained duo to two South African soldiers who wanted to join the organisation last year and who disappeared while being probed by the ANC.

The ANC source said the two soldiers who have disappeared came last year from the South African Defence Forces and pledged to work with the ANC.

"We were just trying to get their biographics and more details about them when they decided to run away," the ANC official said.

'Lured to join ANC'

A JOHANNESBURG Regional Court magistrate heard yesterday how a Soweto man was angered by his Botswana friends who tried to lure him into joining African National Congress.

Mr Johannes Mohurutse Setlhapelo (39), told the magistrate Mr Hoffman that he was a

regular visitor to Botswana between 1980 and 1987 because he enjoyed discussing and reading political and history books.

The State alleges that between 1982 and 1987, Setlhapelo was a member or supporter of the ANC, that he received political training from the ANC in Botswana and that he had in his possession limpet mines and hand

grenades.

He told the court he started hating his Botswana friend, Jacob, who used to finance his trips between Botswana and South Africa after Jacob had suggested that "I should join the ANC so that they can get a bursary for me to study in Britain, Germany or United States of America"

QUESTIONS

Mwasa rally

THE Southern Transvaal region of the Media Workers' Association of South Africa yesterday released details of the "workers' solidarity rally" it has planned for Sunday noon at Regina Mundi, Soweto.

~~11/17~~ 11/17 Soweto 24/6/88
National Council of Trade Unions president, James Mndaweni, will speak on "worker unity in action" in the main address for the afternoon

Other speakers include Sakkie Nxuba, of the South African Chemical Workers Union, Miranda Ebenezer, Basner Ngceba, both of Mwasa and Thami Mazwai, Mwasa's outgoing national treasurer.

Mafube, a drama group, will give a presentation and poets Don Mattera and Victor Metsamere, will read some of their poetry. The rest of the programme is song and dance.

Policies

Southern Transvaal chairman, Sam Mabe, stressed that this was a rally aimed at worker solidarity. All workers belonging to the two federations, Cosatu and Nactu, were welcome. Workers in independent unions that supported the policies of these federations and liberation organisations were also welcome.

"The idea behind this rally is to revive the spirit of comradeship among all workers and we hope all those who share this thinking will come and join us," he added.

standing in the work as would happen in a formally constituted court

Masuku had decided of her own accord to leave his employ

guges Mr Norman Makhubela interpreted

ance of forces in the area had changed

Rise in terror 'part of an established cycle' (11)

By Patrick Laurence

There has been a steady rise in terror strikes since February 24, suggesting that the clampdown on extra-parliamentary organisations on that day may have fuelled the "revolutionary violence" espoused by the ANC and PAC

But a senior South African intelligence officer has disputed the conclusion that the February restrictions have given impetus to outlawed organisations by driving some of the hardline cadres underground and into the arms of the ANC and the PAC

There were 10 attacks in February by insurgents After that the overall trend was upwards, with 19 strikes in March, 15 in April, 17 in May, and 19 so far in June — including the impet mine explosion in an amusement arcade in Johannesburg

But, the intelligence officer said, the increase in terror attacks is part of an overall pattern established over the years, in which there is a rise in the rate of attacks towards the middle of the year

June 16, the anniversary of the 1976 rebellion by black schoolgoers in Soweto, tends to concentrate the minds of the planners of terror

Statistical data tends to support the intelligence officer's contention In 1985, the number of terror strikes rose from seven in February to 31 in

June Comparable figures for 1986 were 22 and 25 For 1987 they were 11 and 22, producing a more conspicuous mid-year surge

Professor Andrew Prior, professor of political studies at the University of Cape Town, agreed with the intelligence officer that the 1988 increase cannot be attributed to the February 24 curbs

He made two points Firstly, there was not enough time for the ANC to organise a sudden increase in terror strike since February 24, as insurgent attacks need more time for planning, second, South Africa has a "political season" which starts on March 21, the anniversary of the Sharpeville shootings in March 1960, and climaxes on June 16

The officer disagreed that the strait-jacketing of extra-parliamentary opposition would assist the ANC in the long run by providing it with new recruits drawn from an emerging generation of men and women for whom the February restrictions were the proverbial last straw

He argued that the restrictions, like the State of Emergency in general, helped contain township turbulence, depriving the ANC of a congenial environment in which it could move relatively freely and recruit townships malcontents

The problem with his view is that the number of

terror strikes has risen since the imposition of the partial State of Emergency in 1985 and the reimposition of a nationwide emergency in June 1986 and again in June 1987

The annual total of guerilla strikes for those years rose steadily from 136 in 1985 to 230 in 1986, and 234 in 1987 The total for 1988 to June 22 is 95

Professor Prior cautioned those who believe the February 24 restrictions will not plant the seeds of a new harvest of bombs and killings

He said the virtual paralysis of lawful extra-parliamentary opposition might well add impetus to campaigns of bombings and assassinations by persuading members of restricted organisations that their attempts to bring about change by peaceful means is blocked by State repression

Furthermore, the October municipal elections might serve as another peak in the bombing campaign The ANC has pledged repeatedly to disrupt them, and also the curbs preventing extra-parliamentary opposition organisations from campaigning lawfully in favour of an election boycott

Significantly, May last year, the month of the general election for whites, was the month with the highest number of insurgent strikes — 29 against 22 in June

Krugerrands

DISCOUNT

Captured SA men face life

By Dan Side

Star 24/6/88

Relations between South Africa and Botswana are strained, with contradictory statements over the most recent cross-border incursions of the South African Defence Force flying back and forth

Botswana alleges South Africa is guilty of "State terrorism".

In the aftermath of Monday's shooting incident between a Botswana police patrol and a South African commando unit, two South Africans, Mr Johannes Basson (25) and Mr Theodore Hermansen (30), were charged in Francistown yesterday

They could be imprisoned for life if found guilty of attempting to cause the death of another person,

committing an act with intent to cause the death of another person, committing grievous bodily harm, unauthorised use of a government vehicle and committing acts prejudicial to the safety or interests of Botswana under the National Security Act

South Africa says the two men were not involved in the border shootout in which three Botswanan policemen were wounded

South Africa insists it was merely defending its borders against ANC insurgents

Below we carry the arguments of the opposing countries with the view of experts in the field of political studies



Up to the neck in the green stuff. It was indeed an occasion of note when the First Federal Bank of South Carolina opened a new branch in Lexington. In a promotion, John Bundrick won the right to dash into the vault and keep all the money he could carry out in 90 seconds — he managed \$27 381

SADF VERSION

South African military headquarters said its army unit was in Botswana on Monday night on an intelligence mission linked to its efforts to combat the African National Congress

It has not elaborated further and has neither confirmed nor denied that the two men arrested are security force members

According to a radio report on Wednesday, police public relations officer Lieutenant Colonel Eddie Everson said 23 ANC insurgents recently captured in South Africa between June 10 and 13 had received their instructions and weapons in Botswana

The statement issued on Monday by defence headquarters in Pretoria said "A patrol, which was gathering information in Botswana, near the South African border, was involved in a shooting incident with the Botswana police early this morning

"The Botswana police fired on the patrol, which was forced to return their fire. In this process, members of the Botswana police were wounded"

However, the statement said the two white men paraded briefly before reporters in Gaborone on Tuesday, were not involved in the border shooting incident

BOTSWANA VERSION

Botswana's UN envoy, Mr Legwaila Legwaila, yesterday asked the Security Council to issue a statement condemning South Africa for practising "state terrorism" after Monday's shootout

An official protest will also be directed to the South African Government

Botswana claimed the South African commandos planned to mount a raid somewhere in Gaborone. A car bomb went off in the capital on the same night

Botswana's police commissioner Mr Simon Hirschfeldt, said South African military headquarters had "deliberately lied" in saying its commando unit fired at a Botswana police patrol only after the policemen shot first

Mr Hirschfeldt said the policemen, three of whom were injured, were unarmed

He said police in Botswana do not carry arms on routine patrols,

Botswana also claims that of the five-man commando squad, Johannes Basson and Theodore Hermansen, were in plain clothes and were arrested at a roadblock while trying to make their getaway

EXPERTS REACTION

Professor David Welsh of the University of Cape Town's Department of Political Studies is of the opinion that "this type of conflict is inevitable given the high political temperature in southern Africa"

He said it was not possible for outsiders to determine who was telling the truth in such conflicts as the one currently raging between the neighbouring countries

"What is clear," he said, "is that the practice of the South African Army in engaging in cross border forays heightens that temperature, and in the long run will not contribute to a more peaceful region — in spite of whatever short-term advantages such expeditions may bring"

Professor Mike Hough of Pretoria University's Institute for Strategic Studies said South Africa would probably classify the incident as an "official intelligence gathering operation" — in the same mould as the one on which Major Wynand du Toit was captured in Angola — and not as a pre-emptive cross border raid against ANC elements

He said this view was reinforced by indications that Botswana had become the favourite route of entry into South Africa for ANC insurgents

"There is no doubt," said Professor Hough, "that Botswana is now the major ANC infiltration route, followed by Mozambique, Swaziland and Zimbabwe"

Withdrawal with honour possible.

LOSING DOWN

Gagged UDF unlikely to shift on tactics

Weekly Mail Reporter

DISCUSSIONS over future strategies for extra-parliamentary groups are continuing among affiliates and sympathisers of the now-restricted United Democratic Front.

The organisation is hamstrung by the curbs placed on its activities, and observers have to rely on broad indicators to assess the directions it is likely to follow.

Although the latest Emergency regulations forbid the promotion of a boycott of the upcoming municipal elections, it seems clear that the UDF position adopted before it was restricted in February — that it would not participate as an organisation — remains.

Following the recent appearance of a "working paper" — erroneously attributed to UDF executive member Titus Mafolo in earlier reports — debates about the state of resistance organisation, the position of the government and the promotion of new alliances have been escalated.

The paper, while clearly representing the view of some UDF affiliates, was not the responsibility of any single individual.

Discussion has also focussed on the notion of mastering the skills of "secret and underground" work, although this is carefully distinguished from the "strategic adoption of underground work by the African National Congress"

According to the paper. "We (should) adopt underground methods so as to be able to continue with open, above-board mass work. The most important task is to re-organise and strengthen grassroots structures"

While accepting that "most of our mass organisations are facing the deepest crisis in the history of their existence", the paper argued that the "challenge" of the municipal elections should be used "to move to higher levels of organisation"

"We have correctly identified bodies of minority rule as a weak link in the apartheid chain. We, therefore, need to concentrate our energies into this area and frustrate the state in its attempts to rationalise our oppression"

"Objective conditions are favourable for us to move forward," the paper concluded.

Even under Emergency strictures, the debate seems certain to intensify — though it is happening increasingly covertly and becoming more difficult to report.

11A

W/maile
24-30/88

24

WEEKLY MAIL! June 24 to June 30, 1988

The music plays, but not for the ANC

By CHARLOTTE BAUER, Paris

A CONCERT to close a three-day "youth against apartheid" event in Paris was the only thing that went right in a politics-plagued week that has left the French Anti-apartheid Movement (AAM) fighting for its life.

The concert, which drew a crowd of 300 000, was part of a triumvirate of simultaneous anti-apartheid shows in Dakar and New York.

But as the final note died away and the last "Free Mandela" badge was sold, the organisers were forced to return to the problem that had put a damper on every part of the festival except the concert — a serious fall out with the ANC's Paris leadership.

Warning bells first sounded at the beginning of last week when the ANC, through its Paris representative Solly Smith, informed the organisers

that it was unhappy about the PAC presence at several of the debates.

Several days of negotiation followed, before the organisers got a final answer from an unexpected source. In Friday morning's edition of the Communist Party daily, *L'Humanité*, the ANC announced its withdrawal from the festival in bold black type.

A sizeable chunk of the programme simply fizzled out as other groups pulled out as well. The rest limped gamely along with films and debates.

The French AAM has been openly sceptical of the ANC's stated reason

for withdrawing. President Antoine Bouillon said "At an anti-apartheid event in Burkina Faso last September, the ANC and PAC shared a platform. In Paris nine months later, it's impossible."

Observers look to the relationship between French socialists and communists, and the ANC's closeness to the latter for an explanation.

At the funeral of Smith's predecessor, Dulcie September, in April, members of the French Communist Party (FCP) physically prevented anyone from the socialist camp from paying tribute to the assassinated

ANC representative — despite a request from ANC president Oliver Tambo for equal status for communists and socialists at the funeral.

There is no doubt that this and the collapse of the forum has winded the French AAM, which many in France already consider weak. It is a single-issue campaign, and the prospect of fighting apartheid without ANC support is impractical, not to mention bizarre.

"What happened to the forum was a disappointing setback," said Bouillon, "but for the first time, the organisations involved created formal, unfying links."

It seems likely the AAM will, to-

gether with SOS-Racism and various groups, work towards creating a united front against apartheid of non-communist partners.

"Unfortunately the attitude adopted by the ANC in France will force us to adopt a more politically specific position," Bouillon said.

It remains to be seen which way the ANC will move. If it continues to trench its relations with the FCP, it may have to accept the possibility of alienating socialist support.

As the legislative elections have shown the FCP, on the decline for years, has finally lost what parliamentary clout it had. The socialists, by contrast, now govern the country.

● The ANC's Paris office was not available for comment.

W/AN street committees, in Soweto are alive — notwithstanding the third consecutive declaration of the State of Emergency and the recent banning of the Soweto Civic Association

The *Weekly Mail* this week looked at the operations of the network of Soweto's street committees, in the process visiting a street committee meeting in Moflapo

A number of street committees in parts of Soweto are no longer holding regular meetings, but the impending October 26 black municipal elections have jolted committee members into full swing in areas that had been experienced a lull in activity

On top of the agenda at meetings currently are the October 26 black municipal elections and the alleged ongoing detention of pupils in the sprawling townships

An emergency street committee meeting was convened in Moflapo following this week's reports — denied by the Department of Education and Training — that the DET had threatened to close 17 secondary schools in Soweto if class boycotts continued and "there was no return to normality"

The two-hour street committee meeting at Moflapo, as well as an interview with members of the committee, confirmed the committee's purpose democratically to express the aspirations and to cater for the civic needs of black communities after government-created civic bodies have been virtually driven into oblivion by the committees they claim to serve

The agendas of the Moflapo committee since the establishment of street committees at the beginning of Soweto's rent boycott in June 1986, are similar to those of committees in Soweto's 26 townships

Despite the curbs
and the raids, (MIA)
street committees
aren't yet buried
Street committees are still meeting ... in secret, with elaborate security precautions, reports THAMI MKHWANAZI

Stungent security precautions employed by the organisers of the Moflapo meeting before *WM* gained access showed vigilance was the order of the day

The *WM* was told to meet a "contact man" at "point one" (a venue of first instance) from which the two proceeded to "point two" (another venue, unknown to *WM*, the well-kept, modest house where the street committee meeting was scheduled to be held)

Ten men, half of whom were in middle age and the rest much younger — one only 18 years old — constituted the street committee. The committee, part of a wide structure that revolves around the Soweto Civic Association (SCA), comprised the "captain" (chairman), "deputy captain" (deputy chairman), secretary, four organisers and three additional members

Three items were on the unannounced agenda at the meeting, held in the lounge to the sounds of a musical programme from a television in the next room.

The first item on the agenda was based on newspaper reports quoting DET spokesman, Job Schoeman, as having said his department would be forced to close 17 schools in Soweto if a boycott of classes continued when schools re-opened on July 4. It was this item that had provoked the emergency meeting

Pupils of Soweto's Moflana school area (Moflatsane, Tladi and Naledi) have been boycotting classes for about two months in protest against alleged widespread detentions of students. The Moflana boycotts came in the wake of similar action, and for similar reasons, at all six high schools in the Soweto township of Diepkloof

The committee recalled the 1984 closure of all six-high schools in the Pretoria township of Ateridgeville which led to class boycotts country-wide

Street committee members said they feared a threatened closure of Soweto schools might trigger off a boycott similar to the 1984 boycott in Ateridgeville

The forthcoming municipal elections were the second item on the Moflapo committee agenda. Members discussed campaigns opposing the elections, the committee members appeared to feel unanimously that the elections were "not in the interest of the people"

Item number three was the rendering of "political direction" to the community. This would take the form of political classes given to residents. They argued that bread and butter civic issues were not isolated from broad national political issues

The Moflapo committee members discussed alleged violence last weekend at the "Communist Bloc", a local nickname for the Soweto township of Pimville, Zone Six

According to a representative of the Pimville Civic Association (Pimca), by Tuesday seven houses had been damaged during violence that broke out last Friday following a clash between "comrades" and "thugs"

"Thugs" had allegedly been terrorising residents in the past three months, mugging, assaulting them and breaking into their houses. In an attempt to end the crime wave, "comrades" decided to "discipline", or attack, the "politically bankrupt" hoodlums

The Moflapo committee had received reports that in an attempt to quell the violence police had allegedly scaled off the "Communist Bloc"

The rent boycott was an ongoing issue on the agenda

Other issues discussed at street committee meetings were campaigns such as work stayaways, consumer boycotts, May Day and June 16.

The education crisis, ways and means to contain vigilante attacks, environmental clean-up campaigns and ways to deal with "law enforcers who themselves break the law" formed part of the agenda. To counter possible attacks on residents, defence committees had been formed

WINNIE HONOURED

Sowetan 24/6/80
NEW YORK — Winnie Mandela, South African political activist, was due to be given a Candace Award for distinguished service by New York this week.

(11A)
The award, recognizing achievement by black women, is given by the National Coalition of Black Women and

Bailey's Irish Cream, It will be accepted on Mrs Mandela's behalf by her daughters, Zinziswa and Zenani.

She has been selected because of her crusade against apartheid.

Others awarded will be actress, Cicely Tyson, journalist Charlayne Hunter-Gault and tennis star, Althea Gibson.

City bomb blast: Four are still in serious condition

11A

Sowetan 24/6/88

FOUR People were still in a serious condition in Johannesburg hospital following an explosion in the city centre on Wednesday, SABC has reported.

The limpet mine explosion took place in an amusement arcade on the corner of Plein and Jourbert Streets.

The people were injured in the blast Three people who were seriously injured are a pregnant woman, 20-year-old Mrs Michelle Ebrahim, 21-year-old Mr Mark Ilsley and Mr Christopher Rikotse (28).

The name of a black man who was seriously injured had not yet been released at the time of going

to press

Meanwhile the African National Congress, ANC, said in Lusaka it had no immediate comment on Wednesday's bomb blast in Johannesburg

The ANC said, however, its policy regarding the armed struggle had not changed and that it still aims its military action against "targets considered strategic by the Pretoria regime."

There have been reports stating that the ANC has changed its policies regarding attacks on so-called soft targets, but this has been denied by the organisation — *Sowetan Africa News Service.*

Another... for...ville

Alex trialists saw SAP and SADF as enemy — State

Str 24/6/88
(11A) By Bruce Anderson

It was clear that since its inception in 1983, the Alexandra Youth Committee (Ayco) regarded the police and the SADF as "the enemy", a State advocate yesterday claimed in a Rand Supreme Court

The submission was made by Mr E du Toit, SC, on the fourth day of his closing argument before Mr Justice F H Grosskopf, in the trial of Mr Ashwell Zwane and seven other Alexandra residents on a main charge of treason and alternative charges of sedition and subversion

Mr Zwane (20), and his co-accused Mr Vusi Ngwenya (20), Mr Andrew Mafutha (22), Mr David Mafutha (19), Mr Arthur Vilakazi (24), Mr Albert Sebola (21), Mr Piet Mogano (29) and Mr Phillemon Phalongwane (18), have pleaded not guilty to all charges. They are being held in custody.

The trial relates to unrest incidents in Alexandra between January and July 1986

Yesterday Mr du Toit claimed that an analysis of the minutes of meetings held by Ayco showed (among other points) that

- The first function of the group was to encourage and see to the creation of yard committees and the election of yard representatives
 - A decision was taken to "assist harassed comrades or political activists who perform duties in the struggle, at all costs"
 - Defence committees be set up and to whistle when "danger (apparently police or SADF units) was near".
 - Students (in homelands and in boarding schools) should be encouraged to come back "to fight for Peoples' Education"
 - An anti-crime campaign be established
- The hearing continues.

24/6/87

Vlok slates

ANC 'cowards'

Political Staff

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, due to visit victims of the Johannesburg games arcade bomb blast today, has blamed the African National Congress and harangued the countries who housed it.

Botswana's supposed indignation about South African action against ANC terrorists sounded hollow and senseless when it was seen against the background of mutilated women and children in cowardly bomb attacks such as the one in Johannesburg, Mr Vlok said.

Botswana was accusing South Africa of committing State terrorism against it but conveniently remained silent about the fact that 70 percent of the deeds of terrorism were committed from that country

Mr Vlok said most of the acts of terror for which 23 suspected ANC terrorists were arrested in the past few days were directly planned in Botswana. That country's direct support of such terror groups and murder gangs could therefore be described as nothing but blatant terrorism against South Africa.

South Africa found it strange, Mr Vlok said, that there was never any reaction from neighbouring states about the death and mutilation of defenceless South Africans of all races and that there was never any condemnation or even indignation about proven ANC torture camps

The South African security forces would hunt and eliminate this cowardly, despicable scum wherever they were hiding, he said.

6601 259 16/88

Tutu claims travel schedule is 'leaked'

(11A)

By Helen Grange

The only way anti-sanctions bodies and protesters could know Archbishop Desmond Tutu's travelling schedule was if they had access to transcripts of telephone conversations by church staff or to SAA's computers, said his spokesman, Mr John Allen

Archbishop Tutu has expressed concern that demonstrators arrive at almost every overseas trip he undertakes and apparently know details of his schedule.

On his recent return from Moscow, the archbishop was greeted by demonstrators waiting at the airport. No advance information was given out on this trip, yet anonymous pamphlets giving time of arrival had been distributed at a church forum against sanctions.

Demonstrators were also present on his return from the United States on May 19 and his return to Cape Town from Johannesburg.

Mr Allen said there was no possibility of the "one or two informed members of staff" leaking the travel schedules.

"In some cases, a small number of journalists knew the arrival times, but the information was not publicised. I was told by journalists on the archbishop's arrival from Moscow that the National Student Federation had informed them of his arrival time," Mr Allen said.

Mr Philip Powell, president of the NSF, said they were informed of the archbishop's arrival time by "foreign media and sources in the United Kingdom."

"As it turned out, the NSF arrived late and missed Archbishop Tutu, who arrived two hours earlier than expected," Mr Powell said.

He said the information was widely known among the foreign media and it was therefore surprising that the archbishop was concerned about its secrecy.

"The information was never clandestine and if it was meant to be, the question arises as to why," said Mr Powell.

● Mr Allen said Archbishop Tutu was not obliged to discuss his trip to Moscow with the NG Kerk, which has suggested a personal meeting with the archbishop to find out who he spoke to, what he said and what he meant.

Mr Allen said "Archbishop Tutu is not accountable for his actions to the NG Kerk."

11A

ANC denies the Helms 'torture' claims

By THAMI MKHWANAZI

THE AFRICAN National Congress yesterday dismissed claims by an aide of right-wing United States senator Jesse Helms that the banned organisation "routinely beats, tortures and executes" dissident members at refugee camps and detention facilities in Angola and Tanzania.

Describing Helms as a "notorious, unreconstructed white Southerner", the ANC said the claims were an attempt to deflect world attention from the "crimes" of Pretoria under the guise of concern for the rights of ANC members.

In a senate staff report, Philip Christenson, who works for the North Carolina senator, claimed allegations of ANC atrocities had been made in statements by "several dozen" refugees interviewed in Kenya, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Tanzania and Botswana between June 1 and 15 this year.

Christenson quoted the alleged sources, who were said to have fled South Africa during the 1976/7 disturbances, as saying that 10 people had been executed at the ANC's "main detention facility" in Quattrra, Angola.

The ANC said the code of its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, laid down strict guidelines for the investigation of transgressions, procedures for the judicial processing of cases and a schedule of penalties.

Describing the allegations of sexual abuse as "a figment of the senator's imagination", the ANC said that none of its members had the power to detain because their sexual advances were rebuffed.

It added that the South African courts had repeatedly demonstrated that the places referred to by Christenson had been used as facilities and were not detention camps or prisons.

Atrocities are also alleged to have taken place at camps in Tanzania.

The report alleges, among other things, that a female refugee who refused to join the organisation was beaten and raped in an ANC prison until she was rescued by the international Committee of the Red Cross in 1979.

It also claims that women were locked in a shipping container for three or four weeks because of their

refusal to have sex with ANC commissars.

The United Nations High Commission for Refugees is accused of complicity in the alleged abuses.

The ANC said in a statement from Lusaka that visitors to the ANC complex in Tanzania could testify there was no camp in Tanzania. There was only a school, a settlement and a self-reliance project at Dakawa.

The organisation's code of conduct forbade all forms of corporal punishment, it added.

What the archbishop's staff are wondering ...

How do the demos know where Tutu will land?

BY THANDEKA GAUBULE

ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu, ardent campaigner for economic sanctions, believes someone with privileged access to his travelling arrangements is part of a well-organised series of protests aimed at discrediting him

John Allen, press secretary to the Nobel Peace Prize winner, told *Weekly Mail* he believed the person has access either to telephone transcripts or South African Airways computers

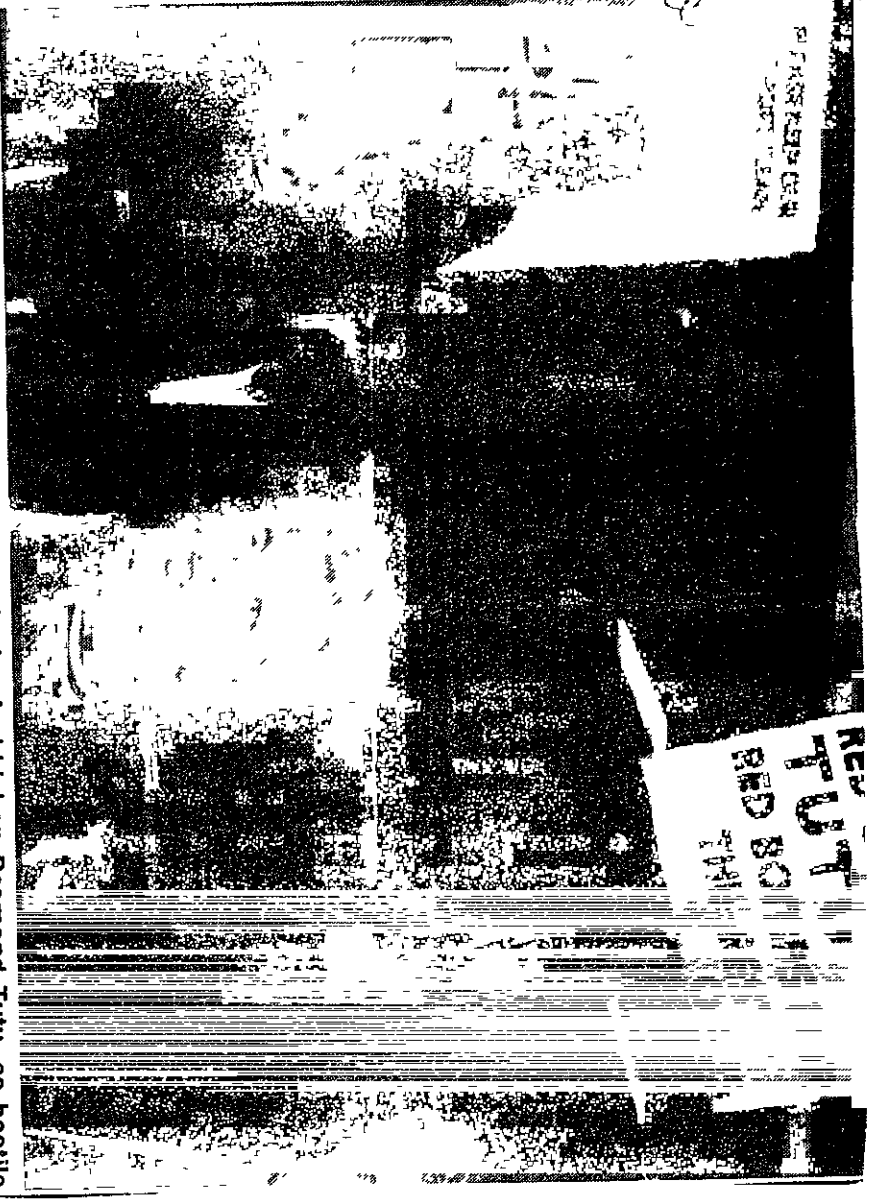
Demonstrators knew when and where Tutu would land, he said, even before the press did

Tutu has expressed surprise that the anti-Tutu demonstrators have been so well-informed about his travelling arrangements. He has also wondered why the government and police appear to be so tolerant of these demonstrations which are illegal in terms of Emergency regulations

Allen said this week when the archbishop returned recently from America there had been a quick change of arrangements — yet anti-Tutu demonstrators were at the airport as he landed

An investigation by the Rev T Soga of the Port Elizabeth Inter-Denominational Ministers' Association (Idamasa) has lent weight to a theory that many anti-Tutu demonstrators have been paid to participate in a nationally co-ordinated campaign against the archbishop.

Soga said he had gone to the local unemployment bureau and found that a number of people had been "picked up" for an anti-Tutu demonstration at the Port Elizabeth airport.



A cross to ward off a priest — a familiar sight for Archbishop Desmond Tutu, as hostile demonstrators await him at yet another South African airport picture. ANNA ZIEMINSKI

For some weeks Tutu has been met by protesters as he landed at various airports throughout the country. The demonstrations have been particularly directed at Tutu's views in support of economic sanctions. Organisations involved have included the National Federation of Students and Victims Against Terrorism

Tutu said this week the demonstrations were an attempt to "discredit" him and to "harass" his family. It is in this light that he viewed the recent police treatment of his wife, Leah Tutu, who was allegedly "man-handled" by traffic policemen when she went to pay a fine a fortnight ago

The gap further widened between Tutu and most of his adversaries when he returned from Moscow on Saturday morning and made state-

ments at a press conference thanking the Soviet government for their aid to the "liberation struggle". He said applauding good done by communists did not make one a communist, and added the Russians had fought with the Allies in World War II

"The problem is not sanctions, the problem is apartheid," he said, vowing to continue to press for economic sanctions.

● Prominent anti-sanctions campaigner Thamsanqa Linda has been part of anti-Tutu demonstrations at airports in Port Elizabeth and Johannesburg. This week he told *Weekly Mail* "South Africa must change but if you want to change South Africa you don't have to take the bread away from the black family"

"If you are talking sanctions you are not talking the language of the or-

inary black man. The ordinary black man needs his job. People like the archbishop who are calling for sanctions will not suffer. Tutu will not stop the collection plate that goes around the church on Sundays. His money comes from the widows and old women in the church. He will not stop the collection on Sundays"

Referring to statements by Tutu that he was surprised at the tolerance of the South African Police towards the demonstrations that are illegal under Emergency regulations, Linda said he too was surprised — but at "the hypocrisy of the archbishop, who wants to use the State of Emergency only when it suits him" — for example when Tutu points out that demonstrations are illegal under Emergency regulations.

24-30/6/88

After 400 days, trial nears end

Judge to decide when does protest turn to treason?

THE policeman's voice came up the stairs linking the dock in Court C to the cells below in Pretoria's Palace of Justice. "Terror Popo," he called, his voice hardly above speaking level.

His tone was not hostile. It was more like a friend's. He was chivvying the two men on not unlike a brother urging siblings to hurry on for their own good.

The two men, Mr. "Terror" Lekota and Mr. Popo Molefe, were saying goodbye to family and friends before returning to the security section of Pretoria's Central Prison.

They responded in the same spirit, moving down the stairs, smiling as a sign to their loved ones to be strong.

With them was Mr. Mess Chikane, like them destined to spend more than a month in prison before appearing again in the same historic courtroom.

The three men were among the 19 men charged with treason in what has become South Africa's longest and, in some ways, best known treason trial.

Mr. Lekota and Mr. Molefe were top men in the United Democratic Front at the time of their arrest more than three years ago. Mr. Lekota served as publicly secretary and Mr. Molefe as general secretary. Mr. Chikane was a member of the executive of the Transvaal branch of the UDF.

The occasion was the closure of the defence case on Wednesday after calling more than 100 witnesses. The marathon trial covering more than 400 working days had gone into recess to allow counsel for the defence and the state to prepare their final arguments for presentation to Mr. Justice Kees van Dyk-horst on August 1.

The trial first began with a bail hearing in the Pretoria Magistrate's Court more than three years ago. It has been distinguished by several hallmarks, the friendly, relaxed attitude of the court policemen being but one of them, one which incidentally, belied the serious nature of the charges.

As evidence and counter-evidence was chronicled since the start of the trial proper more than 30 months ago, several important phases were passed. The last was the closure of the defence case.

The trial has won a niche in the annals of South African legal history as the longest continuous treason trial (the treason trial of 1964-62 was characterised by a long break, during which charges were reformulated against 30 of the 156 original accused).

Excluding the initial bail hearings in the Pretoria Magistrate's Court, the court has met at three venues: Bethal, for one day only; Delmas for more than a year; and Pretoria since August last year.

When the trial resumed in Court C in Pretoria's Palace of Justice, it moved, so to speak, into the shadow of history. Court C was the venue of the black consciousness trial of 1975-76 (in which Mr. Lekota was one of the accused). More significantly, it was the court where Nelson Mandela and seven co-ANC leaders were jailed for life in the Rivonia Trial of 1963-64 after being convicted of sabotage.

As the trial pursued its course, three of the original 22 accused - Lazarus More, Simon Vlakazi and Anns Malinda - were acquitted all but three of the remaining 19 were granted bail under stringent conditions, and one of the two assessors, Professor W A Joubert, was dismissed by Judge van Dyk-horst.

Professor Joubert had been a signatory to the UDF's million-

signature campaign, and therefore, in the eyes of the judge, forfeited his claim to neutrality.

This argument the defence countered by pointing out that the second assessor, Mr. W F Krugel, was allowed to remain despite being an admitted member of the Broederbond.

Alternate charges of terrorism, subversion, of furthering the aims of the ANC and five counts of murder were pressed against the accused.

The state argument on the murder charges was that the accused were indirectly responsible for the violence which swept across the Vaal Triangle in September 1984 and which claimed the lives of four township councillors and one of their aides.

The defence led evidence to show the UDF was formed to peacefully oppose the 1983 tri-cameral constitution and a thro-

of bills known as the Koorhof bills.

It countered a state charge that the UDF was formed in response to a call by the ANC leader, Mr. Oliver Tambo, on Jan-

uary 8 1983, for a unified coalition of "democratic forces" against apartheid, with evidence that calls for a united front were part of South Africa's political tradition, reaching back into the 1950s.

Witnesses for the defence testified that calls for a united front had been made before Mr. Tambo's speech by the anti-apartheid clergyman Dr Allan Boesak, the scholar and political activist Dr Neville Alexander and Mr Molefe himself.

The defence argued that the roots of the violence which erupted in the Vaal Triangle and in black townships elsewhere lay in conditions in the townships and that these conditions pre-dated the formation of the UDF in August 1983.

Apart from the fate of the accused, the cardinal issue has been laid bare by argument and counter-argument, since the trial first started in January 1986. Put simply, it is where does legitimate protest end and treason begin?

Star 25/6/88 (11A)

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After 33 years, the Rev Gordon sees his people adopt Freedom Charter

by DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Weekend Argus Reporter

IT took 33 long years before the Rev Arthur Gordon could say goodbye to the painful memory of his community's failure to adopt the Freedom Charter

Exorcising that memory was made easier when the "children of the very same people who rejected the charter as a communist-inspired document" adopted it at the Cape Teachers' Professional Association (CTPA) conference this week

A tall, dignified, senior figure at the conference, Mr Gordon walked on cloud nine when the CTPA unanimously voted to adopt the document

Delegates gave him a standing ovation when he said "I have accepted the Freedom Charter I salute you on behalf of the thousands of people who met at Kiptown."

Sacrifices

Mr Gordon said he was overcome with emotion when the vote was taken to adopt the Freedom Charter.

"It was an emotional moment when every hand in the hall was raised in favour of adopting the document

"This wiped out the memories of the sacrifices and hardships people endured for being part of the movement for change in the mid-50s," he said this week

He recalled the time after the document was born at the Congress of the People in Kiptown on June 26, 1955

He was a member of the Coloured People's Congress and was one of the delegates who slipped past a police roadblock in Beaufort West and attended the congress

He said the professional people would not support the



Freedom Charter or the Coloured People's Congress

"They were mainly teachers, an exclusive group who believed the document had been inspired by communists It was not true

"The charter is a people's document because it contains the demands of the people I should know - I was part of the machinery that collected demands in the Western Cape"

This week's adoption of the charter by the teaching profession, proved to him that attempts by the National Party and the Labour Party to discredit the document had failed

"It proved that people of colour had decided that they could think for themselves"

Reaching Kiptown was fraught with difficulties, said Mr Gordon

The Western Cape delegation, which included the exiled Isarah Steyn - father of Luton Town Littlewoods Cup hero Brian Steyn - and the late Alex la Guma, was stopped at a roadblock in Beaufort West

"It was a deliberate attempt to stop us from reaching our destination I was one of three people who managed to slip out of Beaufort West, board a train under false names and travel to Johannesburg where ANC leader Albert Luthuli welcomed us

"Chief Luthuli told me 'They may throw us in jail, but victory will come to all South Africans' I remember his words clearly. He was a great man, one of the finest sons to have walked on the African soil His political life ended when he was banned soon afterwards"

Mr Gordon said that Mr Nelson Mandela, who succeeded Chief Luthuli as leader of the ANC, was the organisation's legal brain

Prisoners ^{11/7} are released

Staff Reporter

Four prisoners were released from Robben Island on Saturday after serving prison terms for terrorism and other security offences.

A spokesman for the SA Prison Services in Pretoria said the men were Mr Alson Tshitahe (33), who served 10 years for terrorism and sabotage, and Mr Theo Ranka Cholo (63), Mr Justice Mpanza and Mr Sandi Sijake, who each served 15 years for terrorism and furthering the aims of the African National Congress (ANC)

Friends and relatives waited to welcome the four when the ferry bringing them back from the island arrived in Cape Town harbour

Mr Tshitahe was immediately served with a deportation order to Venda and loaded into the back of a police van, his lawyer, Mr Michael Evans, said

Mr Evans said he would apply to the Supreme Court in a bid to have the deportation order overturned

Mr Cholo, Mr Mpanza and Mr Sijake were the last of six ANC members convicted in a 1973 terrorism trial in Pretoria to leave prison

Mr Cholo is married and has three children

My aim is to alter America's SA policy, says Ophelia Jatta

NO PLACE to live? No job? Forget about Group Areas, forget about job reservation

Whatever situation you find yourself in it is because you let yourself get into it

In other words, her unstated philosophy is every man (or woman) for himself and God for us all. Of course she is willing to help but only if you are serious about changing your life

But please, no excuses. Don't blame whites, the Government or even apartheid for your lack of motivation

Sounds too good to be true, but that is the gist of what Dr Jatta said during an interview just before she left for the United States last week on a month-long lecture tour to encourage the folks back home to forget about hurting the South African Government and start helping blacks

American blacks

But why is she so concerned about South Africa when a report at the end of last year said 31,1 percent of all American blacks lived in poverty?

"Well, I have lived and travelled through about 25 African countries

"I have always had a love for Africa and I just kept feeling it could be developed

"There are failed economies throughout Africa

"And then I came to South Africa and I said 'This is it'

"This is the key to developing the rest of Africa — especially the southern region"

Is she also going to use her ideas to help improve conditions for the 31,1 percent of black Americans living in poverty?

"I'm going to That's why I've started the New Africa Movement. I'm going to unleash it on all people — not only in America, black Africa, the Carribean, London

"I'm going to say to them 'If blacks in South Africa can go into business with R125 as a hawker, what's your excuse in America?'"

What is her message to black South Africans?

"I don't want them to fall into the same trap that black America fell into. That trap was believing that because some legislation says that you are free then you are in fact free"

Then there was her highly controversial statement that she had not seen any ghettos in South Africa which were as bad as the ones in the United States. "Poor US blacks lived in cardboard boxes. Here at least blacks have shacks," she reportedly said at a seminar in Durban

"That was totally taken out of context," she said. "The point I was making is that there is no utopia in any country. I had prefaced my statement by saying that I had travelled all over the world and in every country there had always been poverty"

But poverty caused by a deliberate Government policy of apartheid?

"There are problems everywhere and what I was trying to say to the blacks in this country and the whites who were in the audience is 'Don't continue to believe that you are worse than everybody in the world'. Why complain about your situation?"

What about people living in shacks here because of Government policy?

"If that is the case, it means you are giving over your responsibility for being in that shack to the Government. What you are really saying to yourself is 'Until the Government changes I have to be in this shack'. Which means that you have given up your personal power to change your situation"

What is her message for shack dwellers who want a better life?



NO EXCUSES PLEASE: Dr Ophelia Jatta says we are responsible for our own lives.

The life story of black American lawyer Dr Ophelia Jatta reads like a fairytale. One of eight children who grew up in a shack in Oklahoma, she was married and pregnant at 14 and divorced at 17. Yet she still managed to finish high school, an MA degree and a doctorate in law. Now, through her New Africa Movement, she wants to change American foreign policy towards Africa. IVAN FYNN spoke to the woman behind the fairytale. This is a condensed version of the original two-part series which appeared earlier this week in the Sowetan.

"If the person is happy with the situation, leave him there. If a person is in a shack and happy why do we want to move him out?"

"If the person is complaining and saying 'I want something better' then I challenge him

"In any case," she says, "the Group Areas Act is the easiest thing to get around. I did

"I don't let external forces bother me because then they would have control over me

"I'm a lawyer. As a lawyer I know that there are never any laws written that cannot be gotten around because this is how we (lawyers) make our money"

Overcharged

She would not even buy my offering that even if one disregarded the Group Areas Act and lived in Hillbrow, for example, one was invariably overcharged because one's skin colour made one desperate

"I would challenge any black reading this newspaper to come to me with something that is happening in their lives because of apartheid laws and I will tell them how to get around it"

Her views on other things are argued with equal force

On politics: "Politics are just an illusion for the masses"

On sanctions: "I would say if they favour disinvestment the way they should favour it is by not buying those American products. Don't ask a third party to intervene on your behalf. Don't

ask some white folks in America to pass laws on what you want"

On her needing a bullet-proof vest during her current speaking tour of America: "In America as soon as they hear you say 'no sanctions, no disinvestment' the ANC automatically sends people out to start attacking you

"People don't speak up because their speeches on South Africa are disrupted, they are accused of being sellouts and Government puppets

"I wouldn't mind if people were given balanced information, but they are not"

On her political ambitions: "Who knows, I may just run for President one day. We need a woman! Women always look after the future"

On blacks: "We as blacks are like crabs in a barrel. When one tries to crawl out, we say 'No, come on, get back here'. Because it means if you get out people are going to be pushing me to get out and achieve too"

On the 31 organisations 'working day and night to destroy South Africa': "They are not working against apartheid but against South Africa

"They don't make any distinctions between black and white. They want total isolation

"They could be working in a positive manner to bring about change but they are not

"For example they could be coming up with strategies that would help the South African Government change the rules quicker"

Tambo meets Genscher

BONN — Oliver Tambo, president of the banned African National Congress (ANC), met West German Foreign Minister, Hans-Dietrich Genscher yesterday.

Genscher called apartheid "one of the worst human rights atrocities" and urged dialogue between all South African racial groups, the lifting of bans on black political organisations and the release of political prisoners, the Foreign Ministry said. *Sowetan 15/6/85*

Tambo was on a three-day visit to Bonn at the invitation of the protestant church — Sapa

26/6/88
St James
NIA

CTPA congress aligns itself to Freedom Charter

By HENRY LUDSKI

THE Cape Teachers' Professional Association — a formerly moderate body — has decided to align itself with the Freedom Charter.

But the president of the Association, Mr Franklin Sonn, has urged the Government not to take action against teachers for adopting the Charter at their historic congress this week.

"If it does it will be playing with fire," he said

In an interview this week, Mr Sonn said priorities for his association were teacher unity, the formation of a national teachers' union, consolidation of its position in the "democratic movement", and greater participation in the struggle for liberation.

The CTPA was seriously "looking at the question of forming alliances with progressive organisations" and sharing their ideals.

Stance

The CTPA has adopted an increasingly radical stance. It has also decided to align itself with non-racial sports movements such as the South African Council on Sport and "actively encourage" its members to cut ties with the Government-backed "normal sport"

● The leader of the Labour Party, the Rev Alan Hendrickse, warned the association that it was being drawn "like flies" into a web spun by "political spiders"

Chief says NO, until Mandela is free

CP Correspondent

KWAZULU Chief Minister and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi this week repeated his pre-condition for taking part in the proposed national council — that political prisoners like Nelson Mandela and Zeph Mothapeng be released.

The calibre and representativeness of the black leadership in the council depended on this, Buthelezi said.

Leaders who took part while Mandela was in jail would not attract mass support and would become irrelevant, he said.

Unless the forum were specifically constituted as a necessary step following the government's undertaking to scrap the tricameral Parliament, "it will only attract inadequate representation and pursue an inadequate agenda."

They can be used as rubber stamps for the real intentions of the country's white political leadership," Buthelezi said.

The choice facing South Africa was a one-party socialist constitution and so-called economy, or a multi-party democracy supporting a dominantly free enterprise economic system.

Meanwhile, in Parliament, Miley Richards (LP Toekomsrus), said the Proton of Constitutional

Metal workers warn Iscor

24/6/88 BY KERRY CULLINAN

DISCIPLINARY action by Iscor against workers who stayed away on June 6, 7 and 8 in protest against the new labour Bill could spark more conflict, according to the National Union of Metalworkers of SA.

The union claims 7 000 workers from Iscor's Vanderbijlpark plant have been disciplined.

NUMSA organiser Bobby Marie said that as a result of disciplinary action, at least 55 workers had been dismissed. Hundreds of others had received final warnings.

"To avoid a national and international campaign developing, NUMSA has called for

a high level meeting with Iscor head of-
"Rec," said Marie.

An Iscor spokesman, M du Plessis, said disciplinary action was being taken against those workers who stayed away without permission from the company, but each individual's record was studied before action was taken.

He said it was possible that 55 workers who already had final warnings on their files were dismissed as a result of the stayaway.

Du Plessis added that Iscor management would hold a meeting with NUMSA this afternoon and the union could raise the matter then.

"I am a black brother out there. Come and walk the road with me."
"Do not be afraid because time is on your side and the great majority of people are on your side."
The proposed national council was fatally flawed and would be incapable of initiating a successful process of negotiation, the leader of the PFP, Colin Eglon, said today.

Speaking in the second reading debate on the Proton of Constitutional Development Bill, he said the council might at times give the illusion of success, while, in reality, it would be prolonging the agony of political polarisation and conflict.

The PFP seriously doubted whether the council would be an appropriate body to initiate the critically important process of negotiation on a new constitution.

These doubts had been reinforced by the overwhelming weight of the views of black South Africans who were not represented in Parliament — Sapa

'AMANDLA' CRY IN PARLIAMENT

THE LP MP for Addo, Mr Peter Hendrickse, gave the clenched-fist Black Power salute in Parliament this week, and also for the first time caused the township cry of "amandla!" to be heard inside the hallowed walls.

He was taking part in the debate on the Promotion of Constitutional Development Bill.

And when his father and leader of the Labour Party, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, took his turn at the podium as the first MP of colour to address a joint debate of the Tricameral Parliament, he said he wanted to remind Parliament he had been de-

By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

tained without trial 12 years ago because of his political beliefs.

But nevertheless, he added, the fact that the LP was participating in the debate and not boycotting it showed it was prepared to forgive the past and continue with negotiation politics.

His son ensured he had the attention of members when he introduced himself as a person "who had been detained in 1976; was made to sleep on a mat on a cement floor, was kept in solitary

confinement; had to survive on three slices of bread and two cans of black coffee a day, and was chased and teargassed by police".

Although the LP was in favour of supporting the Bill, which would create a forum for black participation in drawing up a new constitution, he warned the National Party "not to take the LP for granted".

Then, in a sudden change of phrase, he concluded his speech by saying: "To my brothers and sisters out there, comrades in the struggle for freedom, justice and peace, I say; accept this challenge — amandla!"

11A 26/6/88

measure grants the State and police to detain people and restrict leaders, institutions and organisations without affording them recourse to due process"

The organisation recorded its "profound shame that those parties from this community represented in the tricameral Parliament have through their silence and therefore acquiescence declared themselves accomplices to the oppression of their people and the liberation struggle"

The motion expressing the CTPA's outrage was proposed by Sonn and supported by the executive

At the opening of the conference on Monday night, Dr Allan Boesak, speaking to an audience of 3 000, urged teachers to adopt the Freedom Charter

Dignitaries at the opening ceremony included vice-chancellor and principal of the University of Cape Town Stuart Saunders, Rector of the University of the Western Cape Prof Jakes Gerwel, president of the Teachers Association of South Africa Pat Samuels, president of the Western Cape Teachers' Union Yusuf Gabru and UDF (Western Cape) chairman advocate Dullah Omar

Boesak said the conference represented a great victory for the forces of democracy and freedom in South Africa

"It means that after many years this organisation has decided to come home. If you make the right decision, people will tell you that you are home"

Boesak said the conference was an important and historic one. Its deliberations would be watched by churches, pupils and community organisations "not because we want to criticise, but because we are with you in the decision you will make", he said

Gabru said Wectu knew it was not waging a lone battle for a better education system

It was Wectu's sincere wish that it and the CTPA would soon be part of a democratic union of teachers affiliated to Cosatu, he said

Omar, who suffered a heart attack last week, received a standing ovation when he introduced four freed Robben Island prisoners, Alton Tshitahe, Sandi Sijake, Maqina Justice Mpanza, and Theophilus Cholo, to the audience

Teachers opt for Charter, call for end to emergency



Delegates at the opening of the Cape Teachers' Professional Association's 21st annual conference, held this week at the University of the Western Cape.

CP Correspondent

IN a move calculated to align itself with the forces fighting for democracy in South Africa, the mainly coloured Cape Teachers' Professional Association this week unanimously adopted the Freedom Charter at its 21st annual conference held at the University of the Western Cape

The resolution to adopt

the Charter was proposed by CTPA president Franklin Sonn, and seconded by Archie Vergotine, principal of Ravensmead senior secondary school and vice-president responsible for the organisation's publications

The CTPA said the document could be seen as a declaration of human rights that could ensure the freedom of all South Africans

It could also ensure the even distribution of wealth without hampering free trade, guarantee religious freedom and advocate reconciliation and justice

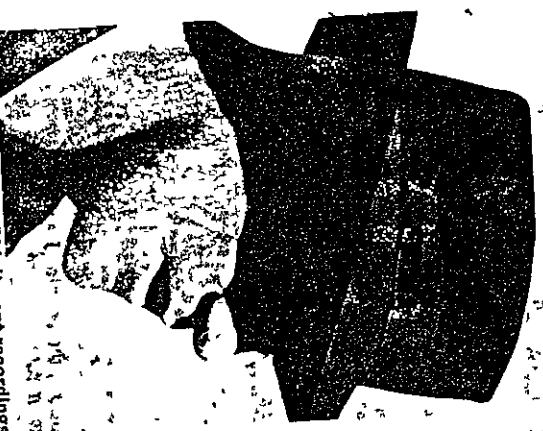
The CTPA also called for the lifting of the state of emergency, the unconditional release of political prisoners and the abolition of clamps on certain organisations "in the liberatory struggle"

Condemning the state of emergency, the association said it was outraged at the unparalleled powers this

1118 Stines 2/16/78

ANC cash from pop hit

Midnight Oil pulls a fast one on 60 000 South African fans



PETER GARRETT ... Didn't want recordings released in SA

THE ANC is receiving most of the profits from Australian rock band Midnight Oil's latest records — which are hugely popular with white South African teenagers.

This shock revelation was confirmed by the Australian record company, CBS, this week. The group's single, Beds are Burning, and the album, Diesel and Dust, are runaway best-sellers in SA and are currently top of the Radio Orton charts.

The album alone has sold 60 000 copies in SA in three months — producing a revenue of more than R200 000. A quarter of this would go to the band to distribute how they pleased.

Both records are considered to convey strong pro-Apartheid and rights messages. But many people in SA consider the songs to be equally "anti-apartheid".

Mr. Charles Kuhn, general manager international for Gallo-GRC, which distributes the records, "We don't know how many people here are taking note of the political message. We'd like to think they do."

By NIC VAN OUDTSHOORN and GWEN GILL

"About 80 percent of Midnight Oil's records have gone to the white market — but more blacks have been buying it in recent weeks.

"It's our best-seller this year by far — it's selling quicker than Michael Jackson's Bad, which has taken nearly a year to sell 95 000."

Young club-goers in Johannesburg say the tracks are very popular at all nightspots, with patrons singing the words as they dance to them.

"Whether they realise what they're singing, I don't know," said one university student.

She said the group, led by bald-headed political activist Peter Garrett, at first did not want the recordings to be released in SA because of their opposition to apartheid.

"When it was put to them that they could help the anti-apartheid struggle, with money raised from South Africans, Peter and the others immediately agreed to go ahead on that basis."

Mr. Fred Mylchreth, managing director of Gallo-GRC, said it was beyond his control what happened to artists' royalties.

"We pay Midnight Oil's royalties directly to CBS in New York. We were asked to suggest who should benefit from these royalties, and the Fuba idea came from us."

Mr. Kuhn said the record had received an "unworld amount" of media support in this country. "SABC and other delays are making it clear when they play the record that there's a message for South Africa here."

For "Popular deary Alex Jay" was said on Radio 5 that it was an album that should have come out of this country.

Protest

Mr. Kuhn said the SABC had ordered one restriction on the playing of the album. This is on a track called Dead Heart, a protest about Aboriginal land rights, in which the words "the white man took everything" are included.

He added that the popular TV programme, Fast Forward, had been told not to screen that particular track, but, despite the order, it had been featured.

Garrett, a lawyer, almost won election as an Australian senator in recent elections which he contested as a candidate for the Nuclear Disarmament Party.

The group are touring the US at present.

The South African vice consul in Sydney, Mr. Marco Bond, said "It's ironic that the profits are coming from a wide spectrum of South African society."

"I'm sure if they knew where the money was going, they wouldn't be so keen to buy the records."

MANDELA GOMBERT

'SMEAR' ENVOY IS QUIZZED

27/6/88

SOEWETAN
Foreign Service

LONDON — South African Ambassador in London Mr Rae Killen was accused yesterday of trying to "smear" the Mandela birthday concert by calling into question the ultimate destination of the funds.

Mr Killen, speaking on the David Frost interview spot on Independent Television for the second Sunday in succession, said there remained three major areas of concern about the celebration that it gave a platform to a terrorist organisation committed to violence, it conveyed political messages throughout, and that there was continued concern and unhappiness about the ultimate destination of the funds.

He said "There has been a charitable moral gloss drawn over the organisations that will get the funds, but the Anti-Apartheid Movement is identified with the ANC and we have very serious doubts about the ultimate use of those funds".

Frost, You have no proof, I mean, that's just a smear, isn't it? Killen: No, no. It's early days yet. Frost Well, prove it. Killen: We can't prove it.

Claims

He also rejected claims that South Africa had contributed to the region's desabilitation. It was South Africa, he said, who had contributed most to balance and prosperity.

But he refused to comment in detail on Frost's persistent questions about the "casual non-involvement" in murder of the Sharpeville Six, claiming the debate in Britain was about the sentence, not about the due process of justice in South Africa.

Nor would he agree with Frost that the South African Government's changes to the apartheid system meant that system had been un-Christian and wrong.

He said finally, "Apartheid as it was understood by the outside world, certainly was wrong".

Frost: Right. Mr Killen said if the funds were going to be used to benefit black South Africans, it would be "nice" if they were used for some of the blacks who themselves had suffered at the hands of the ANC.

Parliament and

'No ANC talks ^{Cape Times} outside ^{27/6/88} prisons. ^{NA}

Political Staff

NO cabinet minister had held any official or unofficial discussions with ANC members or associates outside prisons, President P W Botha said yesterday.

However, the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, had "a line function with regard to prisons." President Botha said in reply to a question from Mr Clive Derby-Lewis (CP, indirectly elected)

Earlier this year, Mr Coetsee told Mr Derby-Lewis that he visited various prison institutions and sometimes he talked to groups or individuals during these visits

Mr Coetsee also said that in the process "I have also had contact with Mr Nelson Mandela".

He subsequently denied that he had met Mr Mandela, the ANC leader, outside of prison.



MEDIA workers from various parts of the Transvaal yesterday came together to revive "the spirit of comradeship" at a rally at Regina Mundi Church.

Call for unity

Soweto 27/4/88
THERE was no need for the existence of so many organisations fighting for the liberation of the black people, about 800 people attending a rally in Soweto, were told yesterday.

Mr Don Mattera, speaking at the rally organised by the Media Workers' Association of South Africa at Regina Mundi Church, said the black liberation struggle did not belong to either the African National Congress or the Pan Africanist Congress

He urged black organisations to unite in their fight, for the liberation of the oppressed. The Africanist and black consciousness movements should join forces in the struggle, he said.

The rally was called by Mwasa to revive "the spirit of comradeship" among the workers

Mr S'thembele Khala, Mwasa's secretary, told the meeting that the media organisation would oppose "nefarious regulations" requiring the registration of freelance journalists

Mr Sam Mabe, Mwasa's regional chairman, said "There is no justification for the existence of two labour federations representing black workers."

He paid tribute to the imprisoned political

leaders, the late Steve Biko and "our forefathers."

Speeches at the rally were interspersed with a performance by singer, Abigail Kubheka



Mr John lyman

Former communist first Ind MP

By BRUCE CAMERON
Political Staff

A FORMER member of the South African Communist Party, Mr John Lyman, has become the first member of Parliament for the Independent Party.

Mr Lyman's membership of Dr Denis Worrall's party follows the signing-up with the Progressive Federal Party of two other MPs in the House of Delegates, Mr Pat Poovalingam (Reservoir Hills) and Mr Mamoo Rajab (Springfield).

Mr Lyman was elected to Parliament as the Solidarity Party member for Camperdown but resigned with others, including Mr Rajab and Mr Poovalingam, when the party formed a shortlived coalition with Mr Amichand Rajbansi's National People's Party.

Sugar workers

Mr Lyman's political career began in 1943 when he was involved with the Sugar Workers' Trade Union. Soon afterwards he joined the Communist Party because it was the only party that accommodated non-whites.

In 1951 he resigned and joined the Liberal Party as a founder member. He remained with the party until it was disbanded in 1968.

Meanwhile, Mr Ralph Hardingham, who continues to sit in the Assembly as the remaining relic of the New Republic Party and who has been a prime target of Independent Party recruiters, is still holding out.

In an interview today he said there was "not sufficient clarity" to Independent Party policy.

I support the Freedom Charter, says Van Eck

CAPE TOWN — A member of Parliament yesterday said he supported the Freedom Charter because it actively challenged Government policies which held that black and white aspirations were irreconcilable.

Addressing a meeting of the Cape Democrats, Mr Jan van Eck, independent MP for Claremont, said the Government had effectively barred whites from gaining insight into black aspirations by identifying the Freedom Charter with both the banned African National Congress and the South African Communist Party.

White ignorance — and fear of the Charter — had further been enforced by the Government describing universal franchise as "One Man, One Vote — Once" and drawing on the "example" of independent African states

where "blacks tore up constitutions and Bills of Rights," he said.

"But unlike the Government, the Freedom Charter — instead of propagating white fears for the majority of the country's population — creates hope for peaceful co-existence in the future," Mr van Eck said.

He believed it was whites, and not blacks, who had the greatest need for liberation, he said — Sapa

SA envoy accused of smear tactics

LONDON — ^{Star 2-26/88} South African Ambassador Mr Rae Killen was yesterday accused of trying to "smear" last Sunday's Mandela birthday concert by calling into question the final destination of the money raised

Mr Killen, speaking on the David Frost interview spot on Independent Television for the second Sunday in succession, said there remained three major areas of concern about the celebration

It gave a platform to a terrorist organisation committed to violence; it conveyed political messages throughout, and there was continued concern and unhappiness about the ultimate destination of the funds

Mr Killen said "There has been a charitable moral gloss drawn over the organisations that will get the funds, but the Anti-Apartheid Movement is identified with the ANC and we have very serious doubts about the ultimate use of those funds."

Frost "You have no proof I mean,

that's just a smear, isn't it?"

Killen "No, no It's early days yet."

Frost "Well, prove it"

Killen "We can't prove it"

Frost "Right"

Mr Killen said if the funds were going to be used to benefit black South Africans, it would be "nice" if they were used for some of the blacks who themselves had suffered at the hands of the ANC

He also rejected claims that South Africa had contributed to the region's destabilisation. It was South Africa, he said, which had contributed most to balance and prosperity

Mr Killen refused to comment in detail on Frost's persistent questions about the "causal non-involvement" in murder of the Sharpeville Six, claiming the debate in Britain was about the sentence, not about the due process of justice in South Africa

He said finally "Apartheid as it was understood by the outside world, certainly was wrong"

11A

~~11A~~

Jailed for 10 years

A FORMER Fort Hare University student, Johannes Mohurutse Sethlapelo of Dobsonville, was last week sentenced to an effective 10 years jail sentence by a Johannesburg regional magistrate after being found guilty of terrorism.

Mr Sethlapelo (39), who was arrested by the Bophuthatswana police at a road block and handed over to the South African police on March 9, this year, was found guilty of being a member of the African National Congress, transporting ANC members into the country; receiving military and political training in Botswana and being in possession of limpet mines and grenades.

Magistrate Mr H Hoffman said the court was satisfied that Sethlapelo transported ANC members including Mr Gordon Webster (who was sentenced to 25 years jail term for terrorism) into the country

Commission will clear air, says Reddy

CNR Times 27/6/88 11A

Political Staff

MEMBERS of the majority Solidarity-PP alliance in the House of Delegates have welcomed the wide terms of reference of the James Commission into alleged irregularities in the own affairs administration.

A statement issued by the office of the State President, Mr P W Botha, said Mr Acting Justice James, a retired former chief justice of Natal, who is the only member of the commission, had been briefed to investigate any allegation against members of the House of Delegates or its Ministers' Council and any other matter it deemed fit.

Mr J N Reddy, leader of the majority alliance, said he welcomed the wide terms of reference because he believed the inquiry could now include the affairs of the old Indian Council and anything which had occurred since then.

"It will clear the air once and for all," he said.

Mr Baldeo Dookie, a former minister of housing who was fired by Mr Amichand Rajbansi, chairman of the

Ministers' Council, and the central figure in the allegations which have characterized proceedings in the House of Delegates for some time, said he had been informed that representations he had made to the Advocate-General were to be handed over to the commission.

The inquiry has been cast as widely as possible.

Mr James will have the power to investigate all allegations concerning "the involvement of any member of the Ministers' Council or any member of the House of Delegates in any irregularity connected with his capacity as a member."

He will also investigate any allegations which have already been submitted to the Advocate-General and any allegations which have been formally submitted to any other official body or official and "are again, in writing, formally brought to the attention of the Commission before July 15"

The commission will also investigate any allegations which "are formally placed before the commission in writing and supported by affidavits before July 15 and 'any other matter on which the Commission deems fit to report'."

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HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Indicates translated version

For written reply

General Affairs

Bonteheuwel line, commuters killed/injured

40 Mr P C MCKENZIE asked the Minister of Transport Affairs

- (1) (a) How many commuters (i) died and (ii) sustained (aa) light and (bb) serious injuries on trains or in train-related incidents on the Bonteheuwel line during the latest specified period of 12 months for which figures are available, (b) what (i) were the names, (ii) were the ages and (iii) was the nature of the injuries of the commuters who (aa) died and (bb) were injured, (c) how many of them were (i) workers and (ii) scholars and (d) what percentage of the persons who were injured or died were travelling (i) away from and (ii) towards their homes,
- (2) (a) how many such commuters (i) fell through open doors in overcrowded train coaches, (ii) lost their grip whilst clinging to or jumping into trains in motion, (iii)

(3) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

were deliberately pushed or thrown from trains and (iv) were forced to jump from trains to avoid serious assault and (b) what percentage of these accidents occurred (i) on weekdays, (ii) over weekends and (iii) during peak (aa) morning and (bb) evening periods.

The MINISTER OF TRANSPORT AFFAIRS

- (1) (a) (i) 2
- (ii) (aa) Unknown
- (bb) 15

(b) (i) (aa) B Zofuxhe and J Davids

For the period 1 April 1987 to 31 March 1988

(ii) and (iii) (aa) and (b)(i), (ii) and (iii) (bb), (c), (d) Particulars are not readily available and it will take much time and expense to gather such information

(3) No

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HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

Indicates translated version

For oral reply

General Affairs

State President

Questions standing over from Tuesday, 21 June 1988, pursuant to resolution adopted by House on Monday, 20 June 1988

Managing directors/newspaper editors

* 1 Mr P G SOAL asked the State President

- (1) Whether he contacted any (a) managing directors and/or (b) editors of any newspapers on or about 6 June 1988, if so, (i) why and (ii) in what manner,
- (2) whether he issued any instructions and/or put forward any suggestions to these persons at the time, if so, (a) why, (b) what was the purport of these instructions or suggestions, (c) to whom were they issued or put forward and (d) what was the response to them in each case?

The STATE PRESIDENT

I am in continuous contact with various people who hold responsible positions in South Africa I am however not prepared to disclose the contents of confidential discussions

Mr P G SOAL Mr Chairman, arising out of the reply of the hon the State President, would he not consider giving the answer to this question in view of the fact that it concerns a very serious matter?

The STATE PRESIDENT The reply is no

New Question

ANC. discussions

* 1 Mr C J DERBY-LEWIS asked the State President +

Whether, since 1 January 1984, any Ministers have held any official or unofficial discussions outside prison premises locally or abroad with Mr Nelson Mandela or other members or associates of the ANC, if so, (a) which Minis-

ters, (b) on what occasions, (c) with whom, (d) when, and (e) for what purposes, in each case?

The STATE PRESIDENT

I refer the hon member to the reply of the Minister of Justice to question No 4 of 22 March 1988 and his subsequent replies The Minister has a line function with regard to prisons

As regards other ANC members or associates outside prisons, the answer is no

Ministers

Questions standing over from Tuesday, 14 June 1988

State President's patient

* 8 Mr C W EGLIN asked the Minister of Justice

- (1) Whether a certain person, whose name has been furnished to the Minister's Department for the purpose of his reply, is still being held as a State President's patient, if so, (a) what is his name, (b) (i) in which institutions has he been held since 1966 and (ii) for what periods in each case and (c)(i) where and (ii) under what conditions is he being held at present,
- (2) whether he is receiving any (a) medical and (b) psychiatric treatment at present, if not, why not, if so, (i) what is the nature of this treatment, (ii) by whom is it being given and (c) what have been the results of the treatment,
- (3) whether the Government is considering taking any further steps in regard to this person, if not, why not, if so, what steps?

The MINISTER OF JUSTICE

(1) Yes

(a) The person whose name was furnished to the Department

(b) (i) and (ii) He was declared a State President's patient by the Cape Provincial Division of the Supreme Court of South Africa on 20 October 1966 and an order for his detention was issued

(c) (i) Pretoria Prison complex

Spotlight on Charter

THE Freedom Charter — a policy document of a number of progressive organisations — will once more come under the spotlight at an Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa conference scheduled for Cape Town on July 15-16.

The theme of the conference is "The

freedom Charter and the Future - a critical appraisal"

Some of the topics to be dealt with include "The Freedom Charter and the economy, The Charter and Equality before the Law, and the Congress of the People Campaign and the overall view of the Freedom Charter"

The topics will be dealt with by structured panel discussions

Among prominent speakers who will address the conference are Mr Zac Yacoob, an advocate, Dr Farouk Meer, Dr Nthato Motlana, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa and Dr Frederick van Zyl Slabbert

Registration for the conference is R50 which includes all meals

The conference can only accommodate 350 participants. Closing date for registration is on July 4

The venue for the conference is Robert Leslie, 2A Upper Campus, University of Cape Town

Accused 'showed their acceptance of violence'

Star 28/6/88

(S)

(VIA)

Eight young Alexandra men facing charges of treason, alternatively subversion or sedition, showed their acceptance of violence because they belonged to an organisation named after a member of the banned African National Congress who was killed in action, the Rand Supreme Court heard yesterday

Mr E du Toit SC, for the State, submitted that the accused — Mr Ashwell Zwane (20), Mr Vusi Ngwenya (20), Mr Andrew Mafutha (19), Mr David Mafutha (23), Mr Arthur Vukazi (24),

Mr Albert Sebola (21), Mr Piet Mogano (28) and Mr Phillemon Phalongwane (18) — were members of the Vincent Tshabalala section's branch of the Alexandra Youth Congress (AYCO)

Vincent Tshabalala was a founder member of AYCO who later left South Africa to join the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto We Sizwe, the court heard

He was killed in a hand grenade explosion following a shoot-out with police in the township on February 9 1986

The hearing continues

D. Zuluwini

- (e) what are the names of the business concerns in question,
- (2) whether normal tender procedures were followed in respect of all products and services so supplied, if so what procedures were followed, if not, (a) why not, (b) what procedures were followed and (c) who decided (i) not to follow normal tender procedures and (ii) on the procedures to be followed,
- (3) whether a certain person, whose name has also been furnished to the Minister's Department, is (a) associated with either of these business concerns and/or (b) related to a senior official in his Department, if so, (i) what is the nature of his (aa) association with the business concern in question and (bb) relationship with this official and (ii) with which of these concerns is he associated,
- (4) whether this person has done other business with his Department, if so, (a) what other business and (b) when,
- (5) whether normal tender procedures were followed in respect of such other business, if not, why not, if so, what are the relevant details?

THE DEPUTY MINISTER OF EDUCATION

(1) Yes

The questions asked by the hon member in (1)(a), (b), (c), (d) and (e) and also in (2), (3), (4) and (5) and particulars of the replies thereto are relevant to a matter that has been referred to the Commission of Inquiry that was appointed on 17 June 1988 by the State President. In terms of regulation 14 of Proclamation R 106, 1988 I deem it not to be in the interest of the inquiry at this stage to reply to the question in detail.

If the hon member possesses any information which he feels should be brought to the attention of the Commission, he ought to submit it to the Commission.

Should the Commission decide to investigate this matter, the question of the proper observation or otherwise of the procedures will be answered fully in the report of the Commission.

Should the Commission decide not to investigate this particular aspect, I shall at a later

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

stage be happy to reply to the honourable member's question, or supply any additional information he may be interested in

Government archives building

*15 Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Public Works and Land Affairs

- (a) What area will the new government archives building in Cape Town cover, (b) what is the anticipated total cost of the building and (c) when is it anticipated that it will be (i) completed and (ii) available for occupation?

THE DEPUTY MINISTER OF WATER AFFAIRS AND OF LAND AFFAIRS

- (a) 17 582 m²
- (b) R19 000 000
- (c) (i) Early in 1989
- (ii) Early in 1989

Identity documents

*16 Mrs H SUZMAN asked the Minister of Home Affairs

- (1) Whether Blacks applying for passports are required to produce identity documents for which finger prints have been taken, if so,
- (2) whether such applicants are required to have their finger-prints taken again, if so, (a) since when, (b) on whose instructions, (c) why, (d) in terms of what statutory provisions or regulations and (e) at what stage of the application procedure?

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS

(1) and (2)

The Identification Act, No 72 of 1986, which came into operation with effect from 1 July 1986, requires the finger-prints to be taken of every person who applies for an identity document

Persons who apply for passports and who are not in possession of identity documents issued in terms of the aforementioned Act, are being required by my Department to simultaneously apply for the new identity document. This results in their fingerprints being taken at that point in time for the purposes of the issuing of their identity documents

Steward

*17 Mr R M BURROWS—Administration and Privatisation [Reply standing over]

Educators' remuneration

*18 Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister of National Education

- (1) Whether he has met or intends to meet with representative bodies of university, technikon and college/school educators concerning remuneration, if not, why not, if so, (a) on what dates has he met with them since 13 June 1988 and/or does he intend to meet with them and (b) what are the names of the bodies concerned,

- (2) whether he has advised the Minister for Administration and Privatisation of the recommendations he received from the Committee on Education Structures and the Research Committee on Education Structures, as referred to in his reply to Question No 12 on 14 June 1988, if not, why not, if so, when,
- (3) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

THE MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE (for the Minister of National Education)

- (1) Yes Meetings were held (a) on 23 June 1988 (b) with the following interest groups
- Committee of University Principals
Committee of Technikon Principals
Teachers' Federal Council
Union of Teachers' Associations of SA
African Teachers' Association of SA
- (2) Yes The Minister for Administration and Privatisation had been informed about this matter on 28 April 1988
- (3) No

Airports' demonstrators

*19 Mr J VAN ECK asked the Minister of Law and Order

- (1) Whether members of the South African Police were present at the Jan Smuts, D F Malan and H F Verwoerd airports on 19 May, 9 June and 11 June 1988, if so,
- (2) whether any demonstrators carrying posters protesting against Archbishop Desmond Tutu were present (a) in the (i) (aa) international arrivals lounge area and (bb)

- domestic departures area of Jan Smuts Airport on 19 May 1988 (ii) domestic departures area of D F Malan Airport on 19 May 1988, (iii) arrivals area of H F Verwoerd Airport on 9 June 1988 and (iv) international departures area of Jan Smuts Airport on 11 June 1988 and/or (b) in any other areas inside or outside these airport buildings on the above dates, if so, whether, with regard to the demonstrations at each of these airports, the Police (a) (i) (aa) requested and/or (bb) ordered these demonstrators to leave and (ii) (aa) removed and (bb) arrested any of them and (b) confiscated any of the posters carried by them, if not, why not, if so, what action was taken on each occasion,
- (4) whether this action was taken as soon as these demonstrators were noticed at these airports, if not, why not,
- (5) whether any further action will be taken against these demonstrators, if not, why not, if so, (a) what action and (b) when?

THE MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER

(1) to (5)

The occurrences mentioned in the hon member's question must be judged and replied to against the following background

The goal of the Communist/Marxist forces regarding South Africa namely the establishment of an initial socialist system as forerunner for a total communist dominated state, is still being purposefully pursued

In this process these forces are using various instruments — this includes terror by unscrupulous terrorists, diplomatic actions, propaganda against the country and the Government, as well as sanctions and boycotts on various levels, and much more

The actors in these actions are people — from confirmed communists and cold-blooded terrorist murderers to so-called harmless "do-gooders" who are teacherously manipulated and abused by the communists

Archbishop Tutu, head of the Anglican Church in South Africa falls into the latter category. Archbishop Tutu has in the past few years by his actions, including amongst other things the propagation of sanctions against the

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

Zambia claims SA men infiltrated ANC

'Spies' wanted by police

Star 28/1/88 (1119)

By Craig Kotze

Two white men being held in Zambia for allegedly spying on the ANC are wanted on various criminal charges in South Africa, according to the SAP.

The men, Mr Hendrik Steve du Plessis and Mr Andre Swart, both had criminal records and had fled South African justice. They were wanted on fraud charges, said a statement issued last night by the police public relations directorate in Pretoria.

Mr du Plessis, who was wanted for skipping bail, violating bail conditions and fraud amounting to more than R164 000, was also posing as a political refugee to escape justice and had never been politically active, police said.

Both men operated in the Pretoria area according to Zambian Home Affairs Minister Mr Paul Matukutla, both detained men were South African agents sent to infiltrate the ANC. He refused to give further details.

In a report from Lusaka, the African News Organisation (ANO) quoted "reliable sources" as saying the two South Africans infiltrated the ANC last year. ANO said they joined the ANC last June but were put under surveillance.

Mr du Plessis, was a "confidence trickster with a long list of previous convictions for perjury, theft and fraud". He was wanted for failing in January last year to repay Stannic R4 000 as ordered by a magistrate after stealing the money, failing to observe bail conditions in January 1986 regarding an exchange control case. 15 counts of fraud involving R2 900, two fraud cases involving R94 000 for which he skipped bail, and three more fraud counts involving R15 000, R9 000 and R15 000.

Referring to Mr du Plessis, the SAP, said in their letter to the Zambian police that he was "wanted for trial in Pretoria on several criminal charges for which warrants for his arrest have been issued".

"It was said that he entered Zambia from Botswana on June 10 last year, posing as a political refugee from South Africa, that his pretended refugee status was only a ploy in a bid to escape justice for purely criminal offenses, and that he had never been politically active while in South Africa.

"The list of previous convictions supplied at the same time clearly indicates that Mr du Plessis is a confidence trickster with a long list of previous convictions for perjury, theft and fraud. "A number of other fraud charges involving large sums of money are being investigated against him," police said.

Escape

in December and later detained ANO said the ANC had been unable to link the two detained men to two South African soldiers said to have attempted to join the organisation last year and who disappeared while under investigation by the ANC.

But South African police said they had on November 5 last year already notified the Zambian police about Mr du Plessis and requested their help in tracing him. The SAP had even later informed Zambia about the whereabouts of the two men.

A South African Foreign Affairs spokesman said last night that no official notification had yet been received from Zambia on the two South Africans. The department therefore had "no comment" on the matter.

The Defence Force also declined to comment.

Mr du Plessis, was a "confidence trickster with a long list of previous convictions for perjury, theft and fraud", the SAP said.

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Labour digs in heels on Areas Act

Areas
29/6/88
11/11

By BRUCE CAMERON
Political Staff

A MAJOR confrontation in the tricameral Parliament loomed today, forcing an early closure of the sitting as the Labour Party dug in its heels on the future of group areas.

The Labour Party has given notice to the Government that it will not pass any constitutional legislation before the Government enters proper talks on the Group Areas Act

And it appears that not only has the Labour Party snookered the Government in postponing white elections until 1992 but it has also now cut President Botha's options in going for an early election

It also appears that publication of the already disputed trilogy of Group Areas Bills, which were due to be published during the current sitting, will now be delayed

Firmly opposed

The Labour Party and the parties in the House of Delegates, which have had pre-publication sight of the Bills, have already stated that they are firmly opposed to principles contained in the Bills

Labour Party sources said that the LP was refusing to pass all current constitutional legislation until the Government scrapped the Group Areas Act. The two major Bills now before committees on which they have dug in their heels are constitutional

Bills. One seeks to establish the position of a "Prime Minister" and the other a re-allocation and increase in the number of seats in Parliament

The LP sources indicated they had lent their support to legislation to establish a national council but that the Government had given nothing in return

They said that they saw the constitutional Bills as "bargaining chips" to get what the Labour Party really wanted — an end to the Group Areas Act

Labour leader the Rev Alan Hendrikse confirmed today that the LP attitude was that it wanted to enter a process of negotiation with the Government about the constitutional Bills now before the parliamentary committees

"The basis of our protest is that the Government refuses to negotiate on the issues which the Labour Party considers relevant, such as the Group Areas Act"

There had also been disagreement between the Labour Party and the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, about whether or not the State President should merely consult with or get the concurrence of Ministers' Councils before appointing Ministers as members of the councils

This disagreement arose during discussion of the Constitution Third Amendment Bill, which among things seeks to establish an office of Prime Minister

The other Bill re-distributing

parliamentary seats cannot be sent to the President's Council for resolution and like the Government attempts to postpone the white elections must have approval from all three Houses of Parliament.

President Botha is unlikely to call an early election without the re-allocation of seats

The Group Areas Bills, which seek to establish open group areas while firmly clamping on the exclusivity of existing group areas, are now unlikely to come to be published during the current sitting.

Order paper

Spokesmen for the Ministry of Constitutional Development have declined to give any indication of what was happening to the legislation

Chief Whip of Parliament Mr Alex van Breda said today everything on the order paper should be completed today and there was no reason why Parliament should not rise today

Parliament would not be dealing with anything that was currently before a standing committee. This included all the constitutional measures.

Some of the legislation currently before the committees would be dealt with during the August sitting of Parliament while the rest could be left until next year.

He declined to comment on whether the Labour Party attitude to the constitutional legislation was causing an early end to the sitting

29/6/82
118
'Ayco obeyed ANC'

500 fans
THE Alexandra Youth Congress embarked on anti-crime campaigns in the area in response to "the ANC call to the nation," the Rand Supreme Court heard yesterday.

This was a submission made by the State Advocate, Mr E du Toit, SC, in his arguments for a conviction of the eight Alexandra Township young men charged with treason, alternatively sedition or subversion.

The eight young men appearing before Mr Justice S H Grasskopf are, Mr Ashwell Zwane (20), Mr Vusi Ngwenya (20), Mr Andrew Mafutha (22), Mr David Mafutha (19), Mr Arthur Vilakazi (24), Mr Albert Sebola (21), Mr Piet Mogano (29) and Mr Philemon Thalongwane (18).

Exhibits

The State alleges they committed the offences between January and July in 1986 in Alexandra Township. They have pleaded not guilty and are held in custody.

Mr du Toit said the accused were all members of Ayco who embarked on anti-crime campaigns in Alexandra in response to a call to the nation by the ANC.

Quoting from one of the exhibits in court, Mr du Toit said the ANC call stated.

"We call on our people and, more especially, our fighting youths in every black community, school and university to find ways of organising themselves into small mobile units which will protect the people against anti-social elements and acts in an organised way in both white and black areas against the enemy and its agents."

The case was then adjourned to August 1, after Mr Norman Kades, counsel for the defence, had told the judge that he would require time to prepare for his arguments



Before his departure to Moscow, Archbishop Desmond Tutu flanked by well-wishers. With him is his wife, Leah

Jobless recruits for Tutu demos

PORT ELIZABETH. — Unemployed workers who "protested" against Archbishop Desmond Tutu on his arrival at the airport here recently were "loaded on buses" and given placards "they did not understand".

This was said by the Rev de Villiers Soga of the Interdenominational African Ministers Association of South Africa who interviewed some of the workers at the local labour bureau after the demonstration.

"The workers were told to get on the buses if they wanted jobs. They did not know what was on the placards," Soga said.

Among the demonstrators were white members of the National Students Federation, Victims Against Terrorism, the Positive Students Organisation and people recruited by the Labour Party-controlled Northern Areas Management Committee.

Some of the placards read. "We want jobs not starvation" and "Sanctions breed violence".

Tutu, head of the Anglican Church in South Africa, walked smiling past the demonstrators.

The former mayor of the Ibhayi Town Council, Mr Tamsanqa Linda, confirmed he had recruited the unemployed workers for the demonstration and had transported them in two buses to the airport.

Linda said he "dealt with job seekers everyday. I drew the posters myself".

"We want to show our little bishop that what he's doing overseas is not in the interest of our country. People need jobs. We wanted to say thank you for what he had done to Ford and other companies which have pulled out of South Africa.

"My organisation, the United Conciliation

Party, brought these jobless people here (the airport) Tutu can't come here after all this suffering. He has no mandate among my people," Linda said.

He walked directly behind Tutu during the demonstration chanting "You're a liar. No one gave you a mandate to call for sanctions. You are a Marxist agent. To hell with you."

An official of the Ibhayi Town Council said Linda had acted in his personal capacity and his actions should not be associated with the council.

The police liaison officer for the Eastern Cape, Captain Bill Dennis, said the particulars of seven people had been taken after the demonstration because "certain airport regulations were contravened".

He said the matter would be investigated and referred to the Attorney-General.

Mandela to get birthday visit

JOHANNESBURG. — The government has promised Mr Nelson Mandela a present on his 70th birthday — an unprecedented six-hour visit from his family on July 18.

Mr Mandela's lawyer, Mr Ismail Ayob, said Mrs Winnie Mandela heard yesterday that she would be allowed to visit her husband from 9am to 3pm.

Political commentators said the concession, amid intense international pressure for Mr Mandela's release, could not have been taken without President P W Botha's

approval.

"The whole family can go," Mr Ayob said. "This will be the first time since he went to prison that the authorities have waived the rule limiting visits to two people for a maximum of 40 minutes."

Mrs Mandela was not available for comment, but a secretary at her Soweto office confirmed that the news was telephoned to her from Pollsmoor Prison.

"Mrs Mandela was very excited," she said

Mr Mandela has been serving a life sentence for sabotage since 1964.

He had his first contact visit in 1979 and has been allowed to sit in the same room with his wife on every visit over the past five years. At least one prison official remains with him at all times.

He has no right to release before he dies and has rejected a government offer of freedom in return for denouncing political violence. — Staff Reporters and Sapa-Reuters

Handwritten notes:
Cape Times
29/6/88
11A

THE Soccer Association - of South Africa will work with all groups inside and outside the country for the creation of a South Africa free of discrimination and which would cater for the interest of all its people

This was said by Solomon "Sticks" Morewa in an interview on Sasa's vision for the future

According to him the only solution was the extension of the vote to all South Africans so that they could elect a government of their choice

He called for the scrapping of the Group Areas Act, arguing that this would facilitate the process of integration

It is simply impractical, said Morewa, to physically work with organisations like the United Democratic Front, African National Congress, Pan Africanist Congress or Azanian Peoples Organisation

Morewa said although Sasa was not a political organisation, it could not divorce itself from political matters He said it would continue to play a supportive role in the struggle for a just society

On sanctions and disinvestment Morewa said "Those who call for sanctions are highlighting the plight of the black man in the country And that goes for those who advocate disinvestment If things were normal these would not be necessary

Morewa said the effects of sanctions would be devastating He said whether they would have the effects to change the hearts of the rulers, he was not qualified to say "But they will have a devastating effect," he said

SOLOMON "Sticks" Morewa

Soccer boss' vision for the future of SA



OUR GOAL

Sowetan 29/6/88

stance He said SASF should not think just because Sasa did not subscribe to the South African African Council of Sport's code on non-racialism it was an irrelevant body

Giant

"Our critics should be aware that we like they are the victims of a system we did not vote into power To accuse us of collaborating with the system is hypocrisy, Morewa said

Rather than engaging in mudslinging Morewa suggested, it would be far better for organisations to be tolerant of one another and to forge links for the good of all

We cannot go on pontificating and talking rhetoric for ever This will not get us anywhere Morewa said

Formed on May 12 1985, Sasa has grown into a giant organisation commanding respect in various spheres of life Its sponsorship totals R15 million and the growth potential is great

Some of the companies that finance Sasa include Gilbey's Distillers Chapelat Industries Premier Milling Adidas and Toyota

A respected member of the community Morewa holds a BA degree from the University of South Africa with majors in history and psychology

Prison

He holds a Labour Law diploma from the University of Witwatersrand and a host of other qualifications from other institutions

He is in the third year of the four year BProc degree at Unisa and hopes to complete it next year

Morewa spent time between 1963 and 1967 in Robben Island prison after he was convicted of furthering the aims of the outlawed Pan Africanist Congress He was among the early 90-day detainees of the John Vorster era

According to him sanctions and disinvestment were alternatives to bloodshed and violence that would be brought by revolutionary insurrection

Morewa said Sasa had



By JOE MDHLELA

like the National Soccer League, placed a moratorium on foreign tours

"We reject rebel tours South Africa is not worth readmission to the international community until apartheid has been dismantled," Morewa said

Morewa said Sasa would not attempt to seek readmission to Fifa, the international body controlling football

Fifa expelled South Africa during the Soweto uprisings in 1976 Since

then the world body has said that for South Africa to be re-admitted to the international community there would have to be a change of government and that legislated discrimination would have to cease

Policy

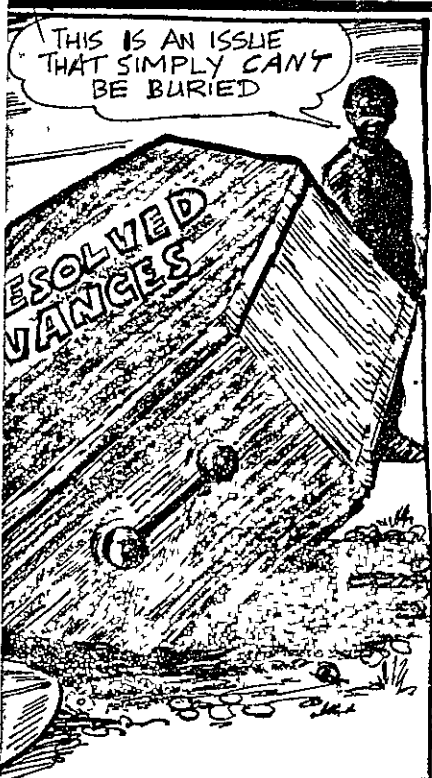
It was Sasa's policy to mourn June 16 and other national days said Morewa He said his organisation and its clubs observe the days by suspending activities

Morewa hit out at organisations like the South African Soccer Federation for adopting a "holier-than-thou"

Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Joe Thloloe Sub editing headlines and posters by Sydney Mathuku All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West Johannesburg

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• Write to the Editor at PO Box 6663 Johannesburg 2000 Nom-de plumes can be used but full names and addresses should be supplied or the letter will not be published



ANC IN THE

Sowetan 29/6/88

Sowetan Africa News Service

LUSAKA — The African National Congress was still in the dark yesterday about two South Africans detained by the Zambian Government on allegations of spying on the ANC.

The ANC said here it still had no idea whom the men were. It had enquired of the Zambian Government but had not yet received any reply.

Last year two white men had wanted to join the ANC but had disappeared once the organisation had started investigating their past.

DARK ON SPIES

11/8

South Africa The Zambian Police had been informed about this last year.

A spokesman for the Zambian Ministry of Information said he only

knew what he had read in the local newspapers

"I don't know anything about the case," he said when asked about the SAP statement

The Zambian Home

Affairs Ministry was not available for comment

The ANC said local newspapers had no follow-up stories in yesterday morning's editions.

Detained

The ANC could not say if they were the same men detained by the Zambians because the Zambian Government had not yet clarified the matter

On Monday Zambian Home Affairs Minister Paul Malukitila said two South Africans had been detained while on a spying mission against the ANC.

Identity

Local newspapers identified the men as Mr Andre Swart and Mr Steve du Plessis.

The South African Police said the two men were common criminals facing several charges in

Motion to teach Zulu in Natal white schools

Sowetan 29/6/88

A MOTION that Zulu should be made a compulsory subject in Standard Six and Seven as soon as practically possible was passed by a vast majority of delegates at the annual meeting of the Natal Teachers' Society in Durban this week.

The motion, proposed by University of Natal Zulu lecturer Mrs Beverley Muller, drew lively debates from the delegates at the conference

Important

Mrs Muller said that it was vital that Natal pupils were taught Zulu while still at school

"It is becoming increasingly

important for people to speak Zulu. I know it is a sacrifice of time at high school, but we have to be realistic that in Natal it is really essential to speak Zulu.

Mrs Muller said that the present system of teaching Zulu in Standard Four and Five in Natal schools was not enough. "We have a long way to go. We must look to the future and make the sacrifices now."

She added that in the Transvaal, Zulu was taught from Standards Three to Seven. "We in Natal are lagging behind"

INSUBORDINATE [174] FLEED

Sowetan 30/6/88

A 14-year-old trained insurgent was arrested by the South African Police last week, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, revealed in Durban yesterday.

Speaking at the passing-out parade of 112 Indian policemen and policewomen, Mr Vlok accused the banned African National Congress and the South African Communist Party of "manipulating and abducting children to fulfil their selfish marxist goals".

"This was borne out during the past week when the South African Police arrested a 14-year-old African National Congress trained insurgent. The child insurgent was recruited and taken to a training camp in Angola.

"In the camp known as Pango, he received training in the handling of a variety of arms such as machineguns, side arms, hand grenades and limpet mines.

"He was with other insurgents and sent back to South Africa to identify specific targets to sabotage."



MR ADRIAAN VLOK.

Minister accused ANC and the SACP

incident illustrated statements by Mr Oliver Tambo, leader of the ANC, that the youth must be seen as the "shock troops" of the ANC.

"I trust that those in

South Africa and the rest of the world who take the plight of children in a serious light will condemn this reprehensible abuse of children in the strongest terms possible," said Mr Vlok.

Mr Vlok added that during the past four years there had been a big increase in crimes committed by children.

"In many cases, the children were forced to take part in such deeds. I find it inexcusable that children can be misused and abused to such an extent that they are forced to take part in such callous crimes as, for instance, the lack of defenceless people," said Mr Vlok.

Sapa

11A whole page

30-year burden bears fruit

THE Rev Arthur Gordon has rubbed shoulders with Nelson Mandela, the late Albert Luthuli and exiled Isaiah Stein

In another highlight of his distinguished life the Cape Teachers Professional Association adopted the Freedom Charter at the University of the Western Cape last week

He addressed delegates at the CTPA conference about the historic Congress of the People held at Kliptown on June 26 1955, where the Charter was adopted, and had them glued to their seats

"I salute you on behalf of the thousands of people who met at Kliptown on June 26 1955

"After the Defiance Campaign, it

was decided that a Freedom Charter be drawn up to show the kind of country the people wanted Meetings were held — street committee meetings and area meetings"

People in the rural areas were consulted The news spread everywhere that a Freedom Charter was to be drawn up

Gordon was a member of the Athlone region of the Coloured People's Congress at the time So was Isaiah Stein, the trade unionist who was later banned and left for London where his son Brian Stein found fame and fortune with Luton Town Football Club

The Western Cape delegation to the Congress, including Gordon and author Alex la Guma, was

stopped at a road-block on their way to Johannesburg (La Guma later became ANC representative in Cuba)

"There were no buses and we were travelling in a lorry The driver of the vehicle was charged with some road violations

"Some of us were subpoenaed to give evidence in his trial We knew it was a ploy to prevent us from reaching Johannesburg But others were determined to take their places at the Congress"

Three members of the delegation slipped out of Beaufort West "We boarded a Johannesburg-bound train under false names and were on our way to Johannesburg, where we were met by Chief Albert Luthuli"

The Charter was adopted on a hot, dusty day

"Thousands of people were at Kliptown Several hundred policemen on horseback surrounded the area, but we ignored them and went ahead with the Congress

"Each section of the Charter was thoroughly discussed before it was accepted"

Persuading professionals to adopt it was an impossible task

"In those days the leaders in this community were mainly teachers, an exclusive group who believed the document had been inspired by communists

"This was untrue The Charter is a people's document because it contains the demands of the people I should know — I was part of the machinery that collected demands for it in the Western Cape

"Those demands came from ordinary people and were not prescribed to anyone"

The failure of "coloured" teachers to adopt the Freedom Charter bothered Gordon for more than three decades

The pain was wiped out last week when a sea of hands were raised as the CTPA unanimously adopted it

Wiped out

"I was overcome with emotion when the vote was taken, especially since the delegates were the children of the very same people who rejected the Charter as a communist-inspired document

"This wiped out the memories of the sacrifices and hardships people endured for being part of the movement for change in the mid-50s"

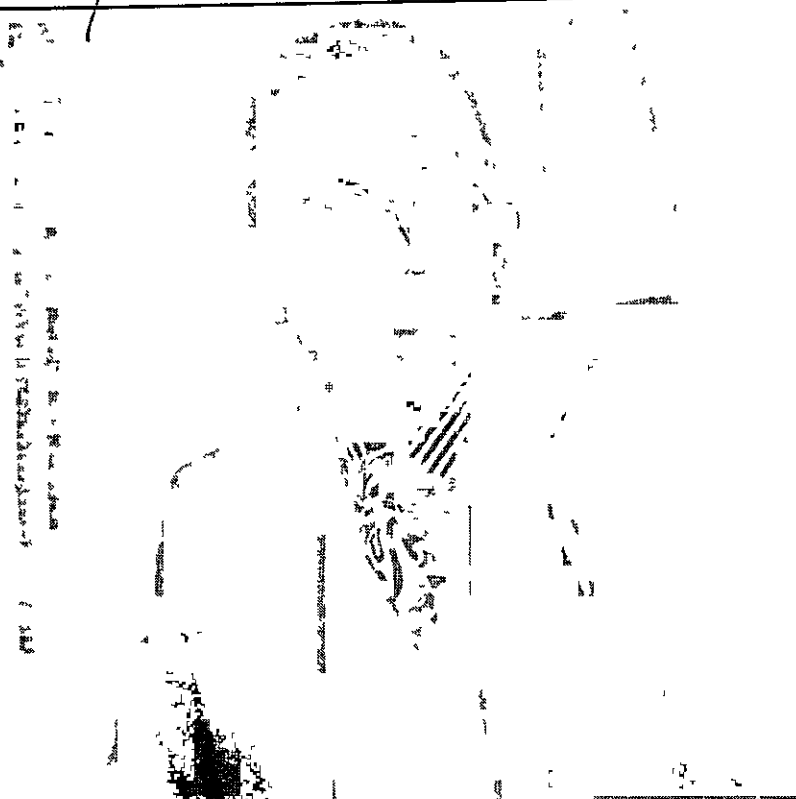
He is still rich with memories. "Luthuli told me: 'They may throw us in jail, but victory will come to all South Africans' I remember his words clearly. He was a great man, one of the finest sons to have walked the African soil His political life ended when he was banned soon afterwards"

Whites flocked to Luthuli's meetings "I think that is one of the reasons why he was banned"

Of Mandela he said "He believed South Africa's problems could be solved if people of all political persuasions were to sit around a negotiating table"

He could not remember soccer star Brian Stein "Isaiah lived in Belgravia Road All I can remember is that he had many children"

He was associated with the National Union of Laundry Workers and National Union of Textile Workers He was also chairman of the Workers' Action Council, an organisation formed to oppose the introduction of apartheid trade unions



Arthur Gordon



Randall van den Heever during the reading of the Freedom Charter at the Cape Democrats conference

Charter reflects aspirations of majority — VD Heever

By CHIARA CARTER

THE Freedom Charter reflected the aspirations of the majority of black South Africans as well as a substantial proportion of the white population, independent MP Jan van Eck said at the weekend

Speaking at a Cape Democrats meeting on the Freedom Charter, Van Eck said the South African government's propaganda had prevented whites from considering the "moderate demands" set out in the Charter, he said

The government had succeeded in convincing them that universal franchise meant "one man, one vote, once"

Many, including the present Labour Party, defended the present



Van Eck

system by saying "rather the devil you know" Perceptions of Africa's history as presented on television and in schools served to reinforce

such stereotypes

White interests were continually depicted as diametrically opposed to those of the black majority This had prevented the Progressive Federal Party from coming to terms with the demands of black South Africans as embodied in the Charter, Van Eck said

CTPA deputy president Randall van den Heever said the Charter served as a bill of rights which reflected "the aspirations, dreams and ideals" of the majority of South Africans

The adoption of the Charter by the CTPA was a clear indication that teachers had chosen to identify with the broad democratic struggle

Van den Heever called "tragic" a statement made by Labour Party

leader Allan Hendrickse that teachers should remember who paid their salaries

He outlined how the CTPA had set out to popularise the Charter and clear up the misconceptions about it

The repression in places such as Oudtshoorn meant that teachers in the rural areas had been ready to accept the Charter unconditionally Teachers in the cities were more inclined to debate its clauses, Van den Heever said

Support for the Charter was also voiced by speakers of the South African Rugby Union and Black Student Society, as well as by Mr Sandi Sijake, who was released from Robben Island last week after serving a 15-year sentence

Labour refuses to back bill

CAC Trivis 30/6/88

~~30/6/88~~ HA

Political Staff

PARLIAMENT adjourned yesterday — two days ahead of schedule — as a result of the Labour Party's refusal to pass legislation providing for a black cabinet minister and the creation of 20 extra seats in the three Houses.

A second session will start on August 22.

The Labour Party, having lent its support last week to the Promotion of Constitutional Development Bill which creates a national forum, decided against supporting the Constitution Second Amendment Bill.

The standing committee reached deadlock on Tuesday and, as the content of the bill addresses partly entrenched clauses and cannot be passed by the President's Council, it was dropped.

This stopped the government's chances of appointing a black to the cabinet and of creating extra seats.

A spokesman for the Labour Party, Mr Peter Hendrickse, said it would not accept the legislation before full talks had been held with National Party leaders on future constitutional direction.

Hold to ransom

It is understood that the LP, seizing the opportunity presented by the fact that the bill affected partly entrenched clauses, is once again poised to hold the government to ransom as it did with the postponement of a general election to 1992.

The Labour Party has also declined to pass another constitutional bill to legalize actions performed by the KwaNdebele Legislative Assembly since 1984.

This is necessary following a Transvaal Supreme Court judgment which declared the KLA to have been illegally elected as women were denied the vote.

The bill does not, however, involve any of the partly entrenched clauses and will therefore be referred to the President's Council.

From NEIL LURSEN, The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — The United States Government, clearly dismayed by this week's bloody military clash near Calueque in the midst of the delicate Angolan peace negotiations, has told the parties in the conflict it is up to them to choose between war and peace.

The US reacted swiftly to news of the clash, declaring its determination to continue the peace effort and adapting what appeared to be a markedly even-handed position, perhaps to emphasise its sponsorship role in the negotiations

State Department spokesman Mr Charles Redman said in a prepared statement here "It is for the parties to decide whether they want to bring the negotiations to a successful conclusion or whether they wish to pursue illusory military solutions"

Mr Redman said the US still expected to host a round of talks at senior expert level in the week of July 11

"Concerning the fighting, we have long made clear our view that neither Cuban nor South African troops should be in Angola," he said.

"As the Cuban military build-up has increased in the past several months, we have pointed out to all sides the dangers inherent in maintaining hostile military forces in close proximity to each other

Aim of efforts

"Our active mediation effort is aimed at achieving a peaceful negotiated resolution to the conflict. Only through success in this endeavour can we avert the unfortunate sort of confrontations that have now occurred

"In both London and Cairo, all sides expressed their intention to pursue vigorously a diplomatic solution that would result in the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Angola, and independence for Namibia

"Further military clashes can only exacerbate the situation," he warned.

Sapa reports that in Cape Town the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, said that if the Defence Force did not act when provoked, as it did after the Calueque air raid, loss of life would be much higher later

The general said in an interview on SABC-TV last night that South Africa was the ultimate goal of the Cuban revolutionary onslaught.

Although South Africa was striving for peace for the sub-continent, it could not allow the export of terrorism from Angola to SWA/Namibia and South Africa

He described the Cubans as a destructive force living off the Angolan people

General Malan said South Africa had "never had her nose bloodied" in the 21-year revolutionary war.

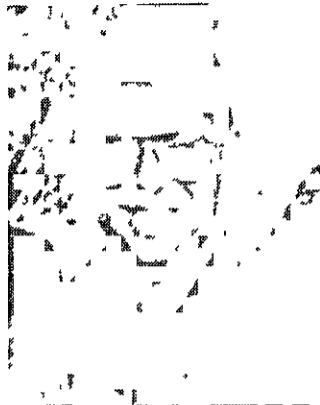
Referring to further peace talks, the general said South Africa would now have to convert challenges into opportunities and that it would have to do its utmost at the negotiating table

If this did not succeed, challenges would have to be met in some other way

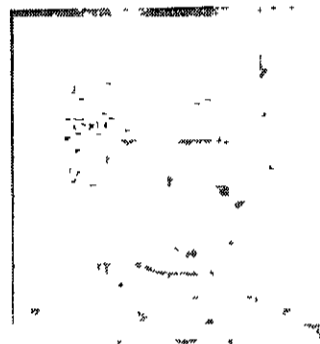
Awaits replies

The Argus Political Staff report that in the interview Foreign Minister Pik Botha took a dove-ish approach to the Cuban attack, suggesting that South Africa should not go on the offensive in retaliation.

He indicated that he thought



Lieutenant Noah Tucker, 23, of Germiston — killed in battle near Calueque.



Rifleman Philippus Marx, 19, of Middelburg — killed in the bombing raid

it was better for South Africa to wait for an attack in positions where it was strong, with assured supply lines "instead of marching into the enemy fire".

Mr Botha said he was still awaiting a response to messages he sent to the American and Angolans governments, telling them that the Calueque attack had destroyed the Cubans' credibility at the peace negotiations

Mr Botha has also been reported as saying that he did not think the Calueque attack was in retaliation for the diplomatic success which the South Africans achieved at the Cairo peace talks last week

He said he believed that the Cuban military commander responsible for the attack was uninformed about what had happened in Cairo

Meanwhile, a more optimistic note from London is that the peace talks are expected to remain on course in spite of this week's clashes

The Argus Foreign Service

(Turn to page 3, col 1)

P.T.O →

General Malan... South Africa the ultimate goal of the Cuban revolutionary onslaught.



WAR OR PEACE?

Angola talks still in balance after Calueque fighting

News 30/6/88

Handwritten notes and signatures, including circled numbers and scribbles.

Angola talks

(Continued from page 1)

reports that strategists in the British capital believe that a relatively firm basis of understanding has developed between South Africa, Angola, Cuba and the United States during the talks so far.

Some diplomatic sources agree — but they warn that military clashes could affect bilateral relations, particularly between Angola and South Africa.

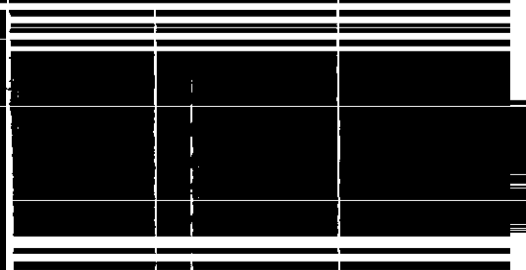
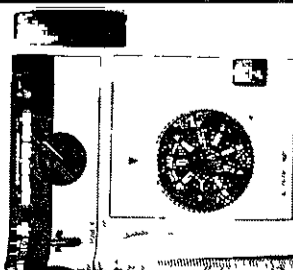
In Cape Town yesterday the Progressive Federal Party's spokesman on military matters, Mr Harry Schwarz (PFP Yeoville), told the Assembly the Cuban attack on the Caluque water works in Angola, which supplied desperately needed water to SWA/Namibia, was a callous act.

He expressed his sympathy with the relatives of the dead South African soldiers and wished the injured a speedy recovery.

Also in the Assembly the leader of the National Democratic Movement, Mr Wynand Malan, said it was to be hoped that this week's clash would not spike efforts to bring about peace in the territory.

● See Page 25

LOW



Police arrest 'ANC child terrorist'

CAE Times 30/6/88
Staff Reporter 11A

POLICE claim that a 14-year-old alleged ANC terrorist arrested last week has given them "valuable information".

The arrest of the "child terrorist" was announced in Durban yesterday by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok.

Police said they were unable to disclose where the youth had been arrested because their investigation was continuing.

"Several leads will be followed up in the next few days so we can't divulge

any further details concerning the child at this stage," a spokesman for Mr Vlok said.

Mr Vlok said the "child terrorist" had been recruited by a trained ANC terrorist and taken to a training camp in Angola.

"In the camp known as Pango he received training in the handling of a variety of arms such as machineguns, side arms, hand grenades and impet mines.

"He was trained together with hardened terrorists and sent back to South Africa to identify specific targets to sabotage," said Mr Vlok.

11A

B/day

30/6/88

BUSINESS D.

VLOK SLATES ANC OVER CAPTURED CHILD TERRORIST

DURBAN — A 14-year-old "child terrorist" was arrested by the SA Police last week, Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok revealed yesterday.

Speaking at the passing-out parade of 112 Indian policemen and policewomen, Vlok accused the banned ANC and the SA Communist Party of "manipulating and abusing children to fulfil their selfish Marxist goals".

"This was borne out during the past week when the SA police arrested a 14-year-old ANC terrorist. The child terrorist was recruited by

a trained ANC terrorist and taken to a training camp in Angola.

"In the camp, known as Pango, he received training in the handling of a variety of arms such as machine-guns, side-arms, hand grenades and limpet mines.

"He was trained together with hardened terrorists and sent back to SA to identify specific targets to sabotage," said Vlok.

Vlok added this incident illustrated statements by ANC leader Oliver Tambo that the youth must be seen as the "shock troops" of the ANC.

"I trust that those in SA and the rest of the world who take the plight of children in a serious light will condemn this reprehensible abuse of children in the strongest terms possible," said Vlok.

Vlok added that during the past four years there had been a big increase in crimes committed by children.

"In many cases, the children were forced to take part in such deeds. I find it inexcusable that children can be misused and abused to such an extent," said Vlok — Sapa.

CAP 7-173 30/6/88

Parliament adjourns days ~~early~~ ^{early} ^{NA}

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A second session will start on August 22.

The Labour Party, having lent its support last week to the Promotion of Constitutional Development Bill which creates a national forum, decided against supporting the Constitution Second Amendment Bill.

● Full report — Page 5

Freedom Charter Day

June 26

VIA Sapp 396-6/788

The Freedom Charter

Preamble:
We the people of South Africa declare for all our country and the world to know
That South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of the people
That our people have been robbed of their birthright to land, liberty and peace by a form of government founded on injustice and inequality
That our country will never be prosperous or free until all our people live in brotherhood enjoying equal rights and opportunities
That only a democratic state based on the will of the people can secure to all their birthright without distinction of colour, race, sex or belief. And therefore we, the people of South Africa, black and white, together equals countrymen and brothers, adopt this Freedom Charter and we pledge ourselves to strive together, sparing nothing of our strength and courage, until the democratic changes set out here have been won

The people shall govern!
Every man and woman shall have the right to vote for and stand as a candidate for all bodies which make laws
All the people shall be entitled to take part in the administration of the country
The rights of the people shall be the same regardless of race, colour or sex
All bodies of minority rule, advisory boards, councils and authorities shall be replaced by democratic organs of self government

All national groups shall have equal rights!
There shall be equal status in the bodies of the state in the courts and in the schools for all national groups and races
All national groups shall be protected by law against insults to their race and national pride
All people shall have equal rights to use their own language and to develop their own culture and customs
The preaching and practice of national, race or colour discrimination and contempt shall be a punishable crime
All apartheid laws and practices shall be set aside

The people shall share in the country's wealth!
The national wealth of our country the heritage of all South Africans, shall be restored to the people
The mineral wealth beneath the soil, the banks and monopolies of industry shall be transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole
All other industries and trades shall be controlled to assure the well being of the people
All people shall have equal rights

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

to trade where they choose to manufacture and to enter all trades, crafts and professions

The land shall be shared among those who work it!
Restriction of land ownership on a racial basis shall be ended as shall work it, to banish famine and land hunger
The state shall help the peasants with implements, seeds, tractors and tillage to save the soil and assist the tillers
Freedom of movement shall be guaranteed to all who work on the land
All shall have the right to occupy land wherever they choose
People shall not be robbed of their cattle and forced labour and farm prisons shall be abolished

All shall be equal before the law!
No one shall be imprisoned, deported or restricted without fair trial
No one shall be condemned by order of any government official
The courts shall be representative of all the people
Imprisonment shall only be for serious crimes against the people and shall aim at re-education, not vengeance
The police force and army shall be open to all on an equal basis and shall be the helpers and protectors of the people
All laws which discriminate on the grounds of race, colour or belief shall be repealed

All shall enjoy human rights!
The law shall guarantee to all their right to speak to organise and to meet together to preach to worship and to educate their children
The privacy of the house from police raids shall be protected by law
All shall be free to travel without restriction from countryside to town from province to province and from South Africa abroad
Pass laws, permits and all other laws restricting these freedoms shall be abolished

There shall be work and security!
All who work shall be free to form trade unions to elect their officers and to make wage agreements with their employers
The state shall recognise the right and duty of all to work and to draw full unemployment benefits
Men and women of all races shall receive equal pay for equal work
There shall be a 40 hour working week, a national minimum wage paid at least leave and sick leave for all workers and maternity leave for all working mothers
Mines, domestic workers, farm workers and civil servants shall have the same rights as all others who work
Child labour, compound labour, the tot system and contract labour shall be abolished

The doors of learning and culture shall be opened!
The government shall discover, develop and encourage national talent for the enhancement of our cultural life
All the cultural treasures of mankind shall be open to all, by free exchange of books, ideas and contacts with other lands
The aim of education shall be to teach the youth to love their people and their culture, to honour their brotherhood, liberty and peace
Education shall be free, compulsory, universal and equal for all children
Higher education and technical training shall be opened to all by a scholarship award on the basis of merit
Adult illiteracy shall be ended by a mass state education plan for all other citizens
The colour bar in cultural life shall be abolished

There shall be houses, education and comfort!
All people shall have the right to live where they choose to be decently housed and to bring up their families in comfort and security
Unused housing space shall be made available to the people
Rent and prices shall be lowered so that all people shall be able to afford a decent standard of living
All preventive health services shall be run by the state
Free medical care and hospital treatment shall be provided to all young children
Slums shall be demolished and new suburbs built where all shall have transport, roads, lighting, playing fields, creches and social centres
The aged, orphans, the disabled and the sick shall be cared for by the state
Idle leisure and recreation shall be the right of all
Idle locations and laws which break up families shall be repealed

There shall be peace and friendship!
South Africa shall be a fully independent state which respects the rights and sovereignty of all nations
South Africa shall strive to maintain world peace and the settlement of all international disputes by negotiation, not war
Peace and friendship among our people shall be secured by upholding the equal rights, opportunities and status of all
The people of Lesotho, Basutoland and Swaziland shall be free to decide their own future
The rights of all the people of Africa to independence and self government shall be recognised and shall be the basis of close co-operation

Policy document of countless progressive organisations.

Victory is Certain!

Freedom shock for prisoners

CAPE TOWN — Freedom came as a shock and a surprise to six Robben Island prisoners who were unconditionally released yesterday before completing their sentences.

They are Mr Monde Tshete (33), Mr Vuysile Matinise (35), Mr Ben Mashinini (45), Mr Gallo Veto (33), Mr Richard Chauke (38) and Mr Keno Hlatshwayo (28).

Each had rejected the government's 1985 freedom offer to political prisoners if they renounced violence, they said.

Mr Matinise was due for release in 1992 and was shocked when prison authorities told him yesterday to "pack my bags".

Mr Tshete had served 11 of his 13 years.

Mr Veto, also sentenced to 13 years, was bewildered.

Mr Hlatshwayo was in matric at Tshireletsa High School, Kimberley, when he was detained in 1981. He was held under security legislation for a year before being charged with terrorism in 1982 and sentenced to 10 years imprisonment.

Former bricklayer Mr Mashinini was one of four Soweto residents convicted of terrorism in 1977.

Mr Chauke, convicted of furthering the aims of a banned organisation, had almost completed his 11-year sentence. — Sapa.

House suspends Rajbansi

Own Correspondent

30/6/88 (11)
DURBAN — Mr Amichand Rajbansi, who was suspended from the House of Delegates yesterday, said last night that he would consult his lawyers today for an application to the Supreme Court to have the suspension set aside

Mr Rajbansi, chairman of the Indian Ministers' Council, was suspended from the House until next year on charges that he misled Parliament in connection with donations for his party

However, he retains his position as chairman of the Ministers' Council

The move came in Mr Raj-

bansi's absence after a motion by Progressive Federal Party MP Mr Mahmoud Rajab, calling on President P W Botha to fire Mr Rajbansi

Mr Rajbansi had attempted to "split hairs" and "play semantics" by denying he had received money for his party from a building contractor, knowing the money had come from a company of property realtors, Mr Rajab said

Mr Rajbansi, who said he had learnt about his suspension only after his arrival in Durban last night, vowed "I am not taking this matter lying low I have spoken the truth in Parliament and I stand by the truth"

Jailed PAC president in hospital

Star 188
30/6 By Jo-Anne Collinge

(11A)

(28)

Zephaniah Mothopeng, jailed president of the Pan-Africanist Congress, has been admitted to a private nursing home in Johannesburg, according to a spokesman for the law firm Priscilla Jana & Associates

The attorney said his client's family had permission for daily visits

Although lawyers do not know the nature of Mothopeng's illness, they are concerned that the lenient visiting terms might indicate he is seriously ill.

The Department of Prison Services has not confirmed or denied Mothopeng's admission to hospital, but has stated "It is our policy not to comment on the physical condition or medical treatment of individual prisoners as it is regarded as a private matter between the prisoner, his family and the doctor

"It can, however, be stated that Mr Mothopeng, like all prisoners, has regular access to doctors and trained medical personnel"

The department said it was satisfied that the medical treatment of prisoners was of a high standard and that specialist care was provided strictly as prescribed.

Mothopeng (74), sentenced to 15 years' jail in 1979 for offences under the Terrorism Act and PAC activities, was elected PAC president in 1986.

At the trial in Bethal, he and the other accused refused to plead because they refused to acknowledge the court's jurisdiction

Mothopeng, once a member of the ANC Youth League, became a founder-member of the PAC in 1959.

He served two earlier prison terms — a two-year sentence for incitement during the Sharpeville crisis of 1960 and a further three-year term, imposed in 1964, for PAC activity.

He was detained under the 90-day law in the 1960s and was banished for a period to QwaQwa. Mothopeng taught for more than 10 years at Orlando High School in Soweto.

BLACK POLITICS - 1988

JULY.

ANC denies its policy is to attack civilians

Star 1/7/88

11A

The Star's Africa
News Service

LUSAKA — The ANC has again said that it has not changed its policy of not attacking civilian targets in South Africa, and it has no intention of changing that policy.

The ANC statement follows a spate of bomb attacks on civilian targets and speculation that the movement has now officially declared war on so-called "soft targets".

BREAK COMPLACENCY

Earlier newspaper reports said ANC military leaders had accepted that bomb attacks in white-zoned city centres should be increased and that this would inevitably mean more civilian deaths.

It was also reported that the military leaders wanted to direct violence specifically at whites in an effort to

break their complacency.

The ANC then denied that there had been such a change in policy.

Yesterday's statement by the ANC said:

"The ANC's policy on targets in South Africa has not changed. All military cadres are trained in such a way that purely civilian targets must be avoided at all times.

"The ANC has not, and is not now claiming, responsibility for (the recent spate of civilian) attacks. There are clear indications that a large number of them were aimed at Government and State infrastructure, railway stations and lines, and SAP and SADF personnel. Whoever is responsible is likely to have considered avoiding taking innocent lives.

"This is how the ANC understands 12 of the explosions which have occurred in South Africa. An explanation for the others still has to be found."

More acts against 'soft' targets

By Esmaré van der Merwe

The African National Congress (ANC) was increasingly concentrating on "soft" targets — injuring or killing civilians in the process — as part of its armed struggle, South African experts on revolutionary warfare said this week.

Although ANC experts interviewed by The Star differed on the definition of "soft" and "hard" targets, they agreed that two recent bomb blasts indicated an intensification in acts of urban terrorism.

Attention was yet again focused on the outlawed organisation's "revolutionary violence" after last week's two bomb explosions — one in a Johannesburg entertainment centre, another in an East London restaurant.

The incidents, for which no organisation has yet claimed responsibility, left 10 people injured and twin girls dead. It brought the total number of bomb explosions this year to 25.

"The number of attacks on targets in which civilians get hurt have been increasing," said Dr Tom Lodge of the University of the Witwatersrand's department of political studies.

Professor Mike Hough, director of the University of Pretoria's Institute for Strategic Studies, said about 70 percent of all incidents last year had been "soft" (according to his definition "unprotected") targets. Of that percentage, about 40 percent constituted "murder or attempted murder on civilians".

CONCERN

Since about two years ago, he said, the ANC had on fewer occasions accepted responsibility for incidents of violence.

That could either be the result of concern in ANC ranks about its international image, or an indication that the organisation's executive had lost control over its grassroot cadres.

Following the ANC's declared policy of phasing out the distinction between hard and soft targets, the fact that it less frequently accepts responsibility for incidents could either be an indication that more discretion is left to grassroot cadres, or that the ANC has lost control over its grassroots. I would suggest it is a combination of the two," he added.

Mr Wim Booysse, a researcher at the International Freedom Foundation, said the distinction between "soft" and "hard" targets had become "a political ploy which has nothing to do with military strategy".

Grassroot cadres, which were often trained badly, were not "sensitive to the broader strategy of the ANC".

"It is becoming evident that the ANC does not act as coherently as one would expect from an organisation with such an international profile.

"It is unbelievable that an organisation with the international status of a liberation movement can commit such sickening acts," he said.

Mr Booysse said if "soft" targets were defined as non-military targets, the number of terror strikes would be "very high".

Jailed PAC chief

is 'gravely ill'

By VUSI GUNENE

THE JAILED president of the outlawed Pan-Africanist Congress, Zephaniah Mothopeng, was this week admitted to the Florence Nightingale hospital suffering from what his lawyer described as a grave illness.

Mothopeng's son, John, said family members had first heard of the PAC leader's admission to hospital when they tried to visit him at Diepkloof Prison on Tuesday this week.

"We later saw him at the Florence Nightingale hospital and he was in great pain. However, when we visited him the following day, he looked as if he was recovering," John said.

Mothopeng, 74, is serving a 15-year prison sentence, and is due to be released in 1994.

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1-7/7/88

Teachers' Charter ^{1-7/17/88 with} vote could herald new unity

THE adoption of the Freedom Charter by the 22 000-strong Cape Teachers' Professional Association heralds an important new alignment in the educational arena and could bring closer the formation of a national, non-racial teachers' union

It could also put the association – which represents the majority of teachers employed in coloured schools – on a collision course with the government.

Little actual debate preceded the unanimous vote cast last week by the estimated 2 000 delegates attending the CTPA's 21st annual congress at the University of the Western Cape, and there were no counter-motions

CTPA executive members spent weeks canvassing members in its 103 branches throughout the Cape, and president Franklin Sonn indicated its adoption was a foregone conclusion in his presidential address the previous evening.

The decision represents a turning-point for an organisation which once seemed willing to work with the government to achieve objectives such as improved service conditions for its members, rather than broad political goals.

The night before, delegates heard Dr Allan Boesak, leader of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches and a patron of the United Democratic Front, say that a decision in favour of the charter would mean the organisation had finally "come home".

Boesak said the time was ripe for teachers to decide to take part in the struggle for freedom.

The president of the Western Cape Teachers' Union (Wectu), Yusuf Gabru, said it was his organisation's sincere wish that it and the CTPA would soon be part of a democratic union of teachers affiliated to the

By GAYE DAVIS,
Cape Town

Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu)

Wectu, formed during the school boycotts of 1985, is far smaller than the CTPA, but has enjoyed greater political credibility.

Both organisations are among those currently engaged in unity talks at the request of Cosatu, and were represented at the milestone conference on teachers' unity in South Africa in Harare in April.

The conference brought together representatives not only of "progressive" teacher groupings but also of the officially recognised black, coloured and Indian bodies

At the conference, a working document was adopted in which a commitment to a unitary, non-racial, democratic South Africa was expressed.

It was also decided that a national union would work towards achieving "people's education" and maintain a policy of non-collaboration with apartheid structure.

Built up over 21 years, with a solid infrastructure administered by 14 full-time staffers, the CTPA could provide valuable resources and expertise for a national union

One of the factors making the shift possible has been the deterioration in relations between the organisation and the House of Representatives

This week delegates called for a judicial commission of inquiry into widespread allegations of Labour Party interference in education – an issue which has repeatedly appeared on CTPA conference agendas

MPs promised teachers posts in return for support, it was alleged

Call to scrap special voting in October poll

Municipal Reporter

The Transvaal Indian Congress has called for the scrapping of prior (special) votes in the October municipal elections. It said in an advert in a morning newspaper that the Bill which the NP was rushing through Parliament this week was designed to prop up percentage polls in black areas in the elections.

"It will transform them into virtual postal elections. We believe that over 90 percent of the votes cast in Indian, coloured and black areas will be prior votes with hardly anyone voting on the 26th."

The TIC said the Bill made it easier for electoral fraud to take place than in parliamentary elections, which were governed by the Electoral Act.

The Prior Votes for Election of Members of Local Government Bodies Bill made it easier to cast prior votes because virtually any reason was acceptable, it abolished the public's right to inspect prior-vote applications and prohibited the publication of names of prior voters, the advertisement said.

It also allowed candidates' agents actually to vote for the millions who could not read or write and allowed blacks to vote in neighbouring white areas, ensuring that bosses could force their workers to vote.

Six Robben Island prisoners were unconditionally released on Wednesday before completing their sentences. The men were released between a few months and four years before their prison terms ended, after remission of sentence for "good behaviour and adaptation in prison", a Prisons Services spokesman said.

The six are Mr Monde Tshete (33), Mr Vuysile Matinise (35), Mr Ben Mashimi (45), Mr Gallo Veto (33) and Mr Richard Chauke (38) — all sentenced in 1977 to between

6 Robben Island prisoners set free

Star 11/7/88

11 and 15 years' for sabotage or "participation in terrorism" — and Mr Keno Hlatshwayo (28), sentenced to seven years' in 1983 for "participation in terrorism".

The six had rejected the Government's 1985 freedom offer to political prisoners if they renounced violence.

The Prisons spokesman said "The release of all

prisoners is considered from time to time by the relevant statutory bodies, in the process of which a variety of factors such as the nature of the crime, previous record, length of sentence, portion of sentence already served, health condition, age, prognosis etc are taken into account."

Several of the released men spoke of their sur-

prise and shock at their unexpected freedom.

Mr Matinise was due for release in 1992 and was shocked when prison authorities told him to pack his bags because he was going home.

Mr Tshete, a jazz musician and a member of the band formed by prisoners on Robben Island, had served 11 of his 13 year-sentence.

"My release came as a hell of a shock because it was the last thing I expected. I'm sad at leaving my friends behind" — Pretoria Bureau

New leaders are filling the void

The past decades, and specifically recent years, of state coercion and powers of detention have effectively suppressed black socio-political and community leadership structures. It has created a leadership vacuum by detaining and outlawing popularly supported leaders, while attempting to fill that void with co-opted leaders who are willing to subjugate themselves to effective white domination.

In the process, the majority of whites have been led to believe that legitimate black, Indian and coloured leaders are willing to cooperate with the government. Images of fabricated black "leaders" are regularly flashed across our television screens, yet these same people are rejected as leaders by the communities whom they are supposed to represent.

ABNORMAL BURDEN

These circumstances are giving rise to a new breed of popular leaders who are filling this void. In the process they are accepting the burden of socio-political leadership which no normal society would have demanded of them.

The first to step into the vacuum was organised labour, followed closely by church leaders, and increasingly joined by business organisations such as Nafcoc.

The socio-political leadership gained a new injection of resources on June 21 1988. Under the leadership of its president, Franklin Sonn, the annual conference of the Cape Teachers' Professional Association (CTPA) adopted the

Star 17/6/88 (11A)
By Christo Nel, a Johannesburg business consultant, who addressed the recent Cape Teachers' Professional Association conference — at which the Freedom Charter was adopted — on the economy in the context of the charter.



gion and the religious integrity of the CTPA, and reconciliation with: in a righteous and just society.

The rational, religious and many would say, moderate underpinnings of the CTPA makes this step all the more extraordinary. It never has been, and still cannot be, described as a radical or extremist organisation. Its members and leaders are also fully aware of the potential negative State reaction that will probably be generated by their adoption of the Freedom Charter. Yet there was an unanimous acceptance when it came to the vote — without an intimidator in sight!

Regardless of official reaction, the CTPA's bold move has yet again demonstrated the reality of the majority of South Africans' feelings and persuasions.

SUPPORT DESERVED

Change-minded South Africans of all persuasions should be thankful that the process of authoritarian coercion has not served to only radicalise leadership, but that it has also enticed organisations such as the CTPA to accept the burden of leadership during times of crisis.

The State's response to their move will ultimately determine the extent of totalitarian intolerance dictating change in South Africa. It is however up to responsible South Africans to embrace the CTPA's willingness to accept leadership responsibility with all the recognition and support that it deserves and will surely need.

non-racial and democratic future

The motivation and basis for adopting the Freedom Charter is equally important. Mr Sonn said in his presidential address that, "The charter will serve as a bill of rights and it will be recognised for what it is, a populist document." In doing so, the CTPA has contrasted significantly towards demands mythologising the Freedom Charter, by bringing it into its potentially most valuable perspective.

This historic step by the CTPA was the result of painstaking debate and the total adherence to democratic processes. In the process the CTPA members accepted that by adopting the charter they would be redefining themselves to human rights, just distribution of wealth without inhibiting free economic activity, freedom for all South Africans, freedom of reli-

Freedom Charter as its manifesto for the organisation.

Mr Sonn and the CTPA are not newcomers to the field. But their stance has aligned them irrevocably with the mass-based progressive movements. This distinct alignment is significant, given their past middle-of-the-road stance, and particularly given Mr Sonn's own previous positioning as intermediary.

No analyst could define this as part of a total communist onslaught or limited radical elements intent on a violent overthrow of the government. Nor can it be ridiculed as the result of intimidation by devious radical leaders. It is nor more and no less than a powerful and cohesive response by ordinary people rejecting the current racial system of government in favour of a truly

ANC-trained boy fears he 'will not be safe'

By Craig Kotze, Crime Reporter

A 15-year-old self-confessed former ANC "freedom fighter" — the youngest yet captured in South Africa — yesterday stripped an AK-47 rifle at an international press conference in Soweto and said his mission was to sabotage power stations and to recruit new members

Herbert Nkosana Mtshali of Soweto, apparently undaunted by the presence of TV cameras, glaring lights and a dozen journalists, stripped the rifle in just over a minute.

"I was trained in Punga camp in Angola to dismantle the AK-47 in 50 seconds," he told the conference held at the Protea Police Station

Herbert, in an unprecedented move by police, was presented to the media after the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, announced his capture this week and said the ANC had embarked on "a campaign of child revolution"

Stripping the assault rifle in the manner of a trained soldier — identifying each part and laying them out with their rapid reassembly in mind — Herbert said he was taught weapon hand-

ling and limpet mine theory for three weeks in Angola with about 25 other recruits

Recruited in Soweto by an ANC member called Thabo on November 18 last year, he said he was arrested by the SAP in Hillbrow on Monday last week after re-entering the country in March

He was 14 at the time of his arrest but turned 15 on Wednesday

"I now regret joining the ANC I am now going to work with the police and go back to school The ANC can't win against the SAP To be a member pays nothing They can fight but where will they end up?" said the slightly-built and bespectacled boy

He joined the ANC of his own free will — "I was a comrade and concentrated on politics" — but changed his mind after his arrest

The police had not promised him anything, nor had told him what to say

However, he said he would have to join the police for his own protection from possible ANC retaliation

"I don't think I will be safe in Soweto from ANC members I was a freedom fighter but now I'm nothing," he said



Self-confessed ANC "freedom fighter", 15-year-old Herbert Mtshali.

'ANC boy' (15), paraded

Sowetan 1/7/88

By THEMBA MOLEFE

A 15-YEAR-OLD Soweto boy who claims to be a trained African National Congress guerrilla, was yesterday paraded before local and foreign journalists by the South African Police.

The boy, whose name was given by the police as Herbert Nkosana Mshahly, told reporters at the SAP headquarters at Protea, Soweto, that he underwent training in the use of the AK-47 rifle and other weapons at an ANC camp in the Pango bush of Angola in November last year.

He said the training lasted three weeks and that he could dismantle an AK-47 rifle in 50 seconds. An attempted demonstration lasted more than 50 minutes.

The boy said he was arrested on Monday in Hillbrow and that he had decided to "work with the police because the ANC will not defeat the Boers and the SAP".

Asked why he left the country he said he was a "comrade" and his aim was to join the ANC. He said he left the country into Botswana on November 18, 1987. No one told him to join the ANC, he said. He said a comrade was

a "friend" and that he regarded himself as a freedom fighter while at the ANC camp.

"I am no longer a comrade or a freedom fighter because I am now in the hands of the police. All I want to do is to work with the police in capturing ANC members and to continue with my education," he said.

He said he left the ANC in March and was instructed to point out electric power stations and recruit members at school.

The boy said his home was in Dlamini and that he had not seen his parents since he returned to South Africa nor after his arrest.

The police said he was being held in terms of the Internal Security Act and throughout the interview they monitored questions posed to the boy.

Lieutenant Colonel Steve van Rooyen of the SAP Directorate for Public Relations, told reporters yesterday that the boy would not be able to answer questions relating to circumstances around his arrest because the matter was "sub

judge".
The boy said he was being well taken care of

by the police who were holding him at John Vorster Square. He had not been assaulted nor tortured, he said. Displayed at the

parade were AK-47 rifles and South African-made Rf- and Uzi machine guns which Colonel Van Rooyen said were not in

the boy's possession when he was arrested. The parade is a sequel to a statement by the

Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, at a police passing out parade in Durban on Wednesday.



THE 15-year-old Soweto boy who claims to be a trained ANC guerrilla demonstrating how an AK-47 rifle is used.

increased white zone attacks'

ANC's double-thrust: 'A liberal constitution and

The Star Bureau

LONDON — The African National Congress is putting the finishing touches to a set of astonishingly liberal constitutional guidelines for a post-apartheid society in South Africa, says Michael Hornsby of *The Times* in a report from Johannesburg.

The ANC's initiative, he writes, follows two years of intense discussion within the organisation. Details of the constitutional proposals have yet to be revealed. They are expected to form the thrust of a stepped-up campaign to win international support. As the ANC intensifies its diplomatic offensive, however, it is also pursuing a more aggressive policy of military action in white-zoned city areas. Mr Chris Ham, chief of staff of Umkhonto we

Sizwe, the ANC's armed wing, is responsible for the policy. It is intended to persuade whites that the Government can no longer guarantee their safety.

The objective sits somewhat uneasily with the parallel goal of the ANC, which is to give whites confidence that the ANC wants them to stay.

Hitherto, the ANC's only public political credo has been the 1956 Freedom Charter.

The three most specific points in that document are the statements that South Africa "belongs to all who live in it, black and white" (a commitment to multiracialism that has always distinguished the ANC from the Black Consciousness groups), that "material wealth beneath the soil, the banks and monopoly industry shall be transferred to the ownership

of the people as a whole", and that racially based land ownership "shall be ended". Hornsby writes "While details of the constitutional guidelines are not available, ANC officials say they will include the following elements:

- A multiparty democracy in a unitary state
- A Bill of Rights that will be enforceable by an independent judiciary
- Protection of cultural and language rights, freedom of association, the press and religion.
- Independent trade unions
- Land redistribution coupled with recognition of private property rights
- A ban on all forms of racism and tribalism
- A mixed economy

On the economy, it appears that the guidelines, which the ANC intends should be discussed at a conference outside South Africa attended by representatives from within the country, will water down the Freedom Charter's demand for nationalisation.

Nationalisation is considered to be all very well, writes Hornsby, but even if the ANC takes over, does it have the personnel and expertise to run enterprises like the mines? These have been among the questions the ANC looked at under Mr Zola Skweyiya, a member of the committee which drafted the proposals and head of the ANC's legal department.

Scenarios, President Botha among them, will no doubt say the constitutional proposals have been carefully tailored to reflect only the more acceptable

black nationalist face of the ANC

In that context, it is interesting that the committee which drafted the guidelines included two white members of the banned South African Communist Party, Mr Jack Simons, the chairman, and Mr Albie Sachs, who recently lost an arm in a car bomb explosion in Mozambique.

They may have gone along for purely tactical reasons. The Communist Party, when it went into alliance with the ANC more than 25 years ago, did so in pursuit of a two-stage strategy — first, a "national democratic" revolution to destroy white supremacy, in which the ANC would play the leading role, and then the socialist revolution, in which the communists would come to the fore.

GOVT PLANS ARE BLOCKED BY LP



ALLAN Hendrickse ...
Labour Party leader.

117/188 Sowetan
THE current sitting of Parliament ground to a premature halt on Wednesday as the Labour Party once again thwarted the Government's constitutional plans. (11A)

Parliament was scheduled to rise today and the Government expected to push through several important constitutional Bills before then.

But the Labour Party — after enthusiastically siding with the Government last week on a Bill to create a multi-racial negotiating council to find a new constitution — unexpectedly dug in its heels this week and withheld support from three Bills.

Two of the Bills amend partly entrenched clauses of the constitution and so the support of all three Houses is necessary — they cannot be forced through the President's Council.

So the Government decided to drop them off the Parliamentary agenda for this week.

The Labour Party is withholding its support for the Bills as a "bargaining chip" in an attempt to get the Government to scrap the Group Areas act.

Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis confirmed yesterday that some of the Bills involved entrenched clauses.

He said that the Bills were on the agenda for the next meeting of the joint standing committee on constitutional affairs where they would be discussed.

Mr Heunis said he knew nothing about the LP demand for negotiations over the Bills in exchange for concessions on the Group Areas Act.

By blocking the Bills the LP is also thwarting President Botha's plans to hold an early election for the House of Assembly.

LP leader, the Reverend Allan Hendrickse, said earlier that the LP wanted to enter a process of negotiation with Government.

"The basis of our protest is that the Government refuses to negotiate on the issues which the LP considers important such as the Group Areas Act."

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Left turn

At its annual congress last week at the University of the Western Cape, the Cape Teachers' Professional Association (CTPA) celebrated its 21st birthday by adopting the Freedom Charter. This is a watershed event in the politics of the coloured community, arguably, the conference was the most important political happening in the region since the launch of the UDF at Mitchell's Plain in August 1983.

Most of the four-day conference was devoted to dealing with matters of specific professional interest. More significant, however, were the political undercurrents. From the emotionally charged opening evening onwards, there was a clear feeling, repeatedly expressed in the speeches, that "the time has come" for the organisation to stand up and be counted.

The political significance of the conference boils down to this: an organisation which in the past had been seen to be equivocal about its political stance, hitched its wagon in the most convincing way to the "democratic movement." This was most obviously done through the organisation formally accepting the charter. It also decided to align with Sacos and the nonracial sports movement and discussed the formation of a central teacher union affiliated to Cosatu (which itself adopted the Freedom Charter last year).

CTPA's political stance is remarkable when the constituency of the organisation and its past are considered. This is not an outfit of T-shirt sporting political activists. It is an essentially moderate, God-fearing (in the words of their president, Franklin Sonn) group of people. It is also, with 22 000 members, probably the largest organised grouping in the coloured community.

The opening ceremonies were dominated by such luminaries of the Left as Allan

11/88 FM

Boesak, Father Smangaliso Mkhathshwa and Dullar Omar — and thus resembled more a political meeting than a teachers' conference. This is not entirely surprising. As more avenues for the legitimate expression of dissent are closed off by the State, so dissent will increasingly be found in churches, teachers' forums, trade unions and the like.

The CTPA has been moving, with customary deliberation, leftwards for some time. In 1986, it decided to distance itself from State structures and, in 1987, to raise more closely with extra-parliamentary groupings and to pursue a programme of alternative education. It remains remarkable that a group which only a few years ago had something of an Uncle Tom image in certain circles, should now appear as the standard-bearer of alternative, or people's, education.

In a recent newspaper advertisement, the CTPA described this policy shift as "a clear example of the radicalising and polarising effect of the three-chamber parliamentary system." It also spoke of the suicide which it would be for the CTPA to isolate itself from the sentiments of its community. Sonn also highlighted, in his presidential address, the need for teachers to be in tune with their students. "We must move in the same geographic and emotional zones (as them)."

Sonn recognised the dangers the CTPA was exposing itself to by taking a higher and more radical, political profile. He spoke of "a bitter yet challenging future" and said "There is not, and never will be, an easy road to freedom."

The fact that a body like the CTPA cannot abide the Labour Party is a sobering comment on the continuing failure of the House of Representatives to enjoy widespread legitimacy within the coloured community. But it is also a dangerous day for education when the teachers stop leading and start following their pupils.

The teachers' job is surely to teach pupils to question their assumptions — not to rubber-stamp them. No doubt Sonn and his colleagues are aware of this danger. If they fail, it will be their pupils who suffer. ■

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MEET 'KING HOSA' OF KHAYELITSHA

by EDWARD MOLONIYANE
Special Correspondent

IN sprawling Khayelitsha township, Mali Hosa is a household name — referred to in tones of awe, reverence, fear or scorn usually reserved for presidents or people of great power.

In his own restricted sphere of influence Mr Hosa — a slim 49-year-old — probably wields more clout than many presidents

As chairman of the 15 member Langeletu Committee, he has effectively "ruled" Site B, Site C and Green Point since the time Khayelitsha was established

Some residents believe he is the richest man in the township. He is certainly the most powerful, the best-known and, in some quarters, the most feared

His committee collects R25 for every new shack erected in Khayelitsha, imposes discipline on residents, prescribes and dispenses punishment for certain offences — apparently with the authority's tacit approval

But to claim by some residents that he is a self-elected despot, who is backed by a mysterious group of white men, he replies bluntly "That is a lot of lies"

In an interview with Weekend Argus, he said he was "deeply concerned" about his people's plight and that he was instrumental in forming the Langeletu Committee as far back as 1981 while still in Crossroads

"Our people had their shacks demolished daily because the Government said they did not belong here," he said "We organised the people into this committee so that we could resist together"

When the people were moved to Khayelitsha "community leaders", like himself, went with them

The committee began with five members and has now grown to 15. It plans to put up its own candidates in the October elections

To the specific allegations of some residents, Mr Hosa provided the following answers:

Allegation 1: All committee members work full time for the committee

Answer "Untrue. All the members earn a living either owning a small shop or selling something like vegetables." Mr Hosa said he, personally, ran a store and a shebeen in Khayelitsha

Allegation 2: The R25 fee for the erection of a shack goes into his pocket or the pockets of other members of the committee

Answer "Not true. The money is in a bank account established by the committee."

Allegation 3: He runs an operation with connections in high places, holds frequent meetings with certain white officials

Answer "They come here to solve problems of people who quarrelled over a site. We work together. We also want land from them"

Allegation 4: He runs his own court in the Langeletu Community Centre in Site C.

Answer. "Even the police (who are often seen there) know about that. It's not a

court. We simply solve problems"

Allegation 5: People who are brought there are often assaulted

Answer "People bring their problems themselves and we make them reach an agreement themselves"

Allegation 6: Some of the money he says is in a bank account "somewhere in town" is invested in a fleet of taxis registered in the committee's name

The fleet is used to ferry Mr Hosa and members of his committee to meetings and functions in many parts of the township and the Peninsula. The taxis generate income for the Langeletu Committee when they ply their routes

Answer "The taxis do not belong to the committee. They belong to a group of businessmen who have asked for space at the committee's offices. We hire them just like anyone else when we need transport"

Mr Hosa was born in Umtata in 1939, is married and the father of seven children — six boys and a girl

He was taken out of school

before he had completed his first year of formal education "There was no-one to look after the cattle," he explains

He came to work in the Cape as a migrant in 1960 and became involved with the community about 16 years later "With Transkei accepting independence in 1976, restrictions on the people from that territory were tightened as they began streaming to the Cape in large numbers," said

Obtaining this interview with him was a tortuous process. After the first request, Weekend Argus was introduced to another man as being Mr Hosa and an appointment was arranged. When the Weekend Argus team arrived for the interview "Mr Hosa" was not there

Later, Weekend Argus made contact again and another meeting was arranged at the Langeletu Centre. This time the real Mr Hosa introduced himself

When asked why he was so evasive and why it had been necessary to arrange for a substitute at the first meeting, he said "You don't just show who you are to strangers. You can't trust everybody"



Mr Mali Hosa, "King of Khayelitsha", in a reflective mood during the interview.

Picture LEON MULLER, Weekend Argus

Shift in Soviet policy worries ANC

Weekend Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON — The Soviet Union's shift in policy toward Southern Africa appears to be causing anxiety among African National Congress leaders, according to an American expert here.

And the ANC's dependence on the three countries where it has sanctuary — Angola, Zambia and Tanzania — is making its leadership distinctly nervous, says Dr Stephen Davis, a research analyst at Washington's Investor Responsibility Research Centre.

He told an American Senate panel that with the ANC leadership under fire from extremists within the organisation, worried about their Soviet and frontline state patronage, and showing new eagerness to improve relations with Washington, the time could be ripe for the US to expand its contacts with the organisation.

Dr Davis, author of a book on the ANC published in both the US and South Africa, was testifying at a hearing into proposed new anti-SA sanctions.

He said the Soviet Union — once an unques-

tioning ANC ally — was signalling a review of its policy toward South Africa.

"The end result is in doubt, but so far Moscow seems intent on finding ways to avoid an extended war that could compel the USSR to devote resources it cannot afford into a region in which it has little interest, while risking a superpower confrontation it does not want."

"As a consequence, Soviet representatives have suggested softening the terms the ANC has said Pretoria must meet for negotiations to occur."

"In addition, Soviet policymakers have hinted that the ANC consider a settlement formula granting minority guarantees to whites — something the ANC has not been prepared to concede," Dr Davis said.

HE NOTED reports that Moscow had told the SA Communist party, its close ally, that a mixed economy, rather than socialism, was likely to prevail in South Africa.

Dr Davis argued that the ANC could survive a break with Moscow since most of the items it got from the Soviets could be obtained else-

where. But it was heavily beholden to Angola, Tanzania and Zambia.

"A break with them would be viewed by the organisation as catastrophic. ANC facilities in these countries give Umkhonto (the ANC military wing) insurgents access to the SA frontier," he said.

"Dependence on the three host countries makes the ANC leadership distinctly nervous."

"ANC executives worry that the sanctuary nations, under economic and military pressure from Pretoria, are capable of making policy demands of the ANC, ejecting the ANC altogether, or insisting on SA settlement terms far short of what the ANC itself would demand."

Dr DAVIS described a "tug of war" within the organisation between the forces of militancy and statesmanship. Its outcome was uncertain, he said.

"On the one hand, the compulsion to attract increasingly impatient and angry comrades into the movement has resulted in some Umkhonto commanders (most recently chief of staff Chris Hanu) pressing for permission to target white civilians such as judges and politicians."

"On the other hand, ANC president Oliver Tambo this month rebuked such moves and reiterated the group's ban on terrorism."

"The ANC leadership seems eager to preserve and enhance the organisation's image as a responsible party, both to allay fears of whites inside South Africa and to attract more international sponsors."

THE tug of war between the opposing points of view was likely to grow more acute as black frustration mounted and the ANC continued to lag in its ability to extend effective control over its members inside South Africa, he said.

Dr Davis said it was important for the US to expand contacts with the anti-apartheid resistance to buttress democratic elements, counter a possible drift to terrorism and enhance the prospects of a political settlement.

The most important organisation promoting resistance was the ANC, he argued.

"Evidence suggests that as the state of emergency crackdown drags on and moderates remain in detention, radical factions within the ANC camp are gaining in influence," he said.

SPECTRUM

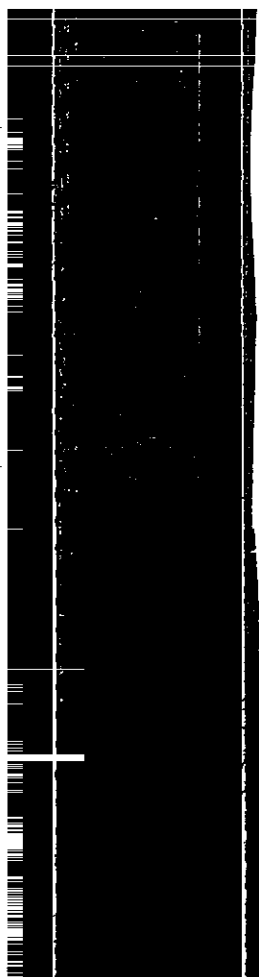
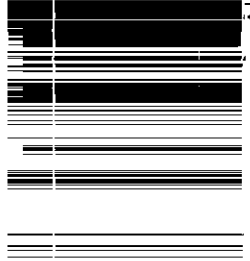
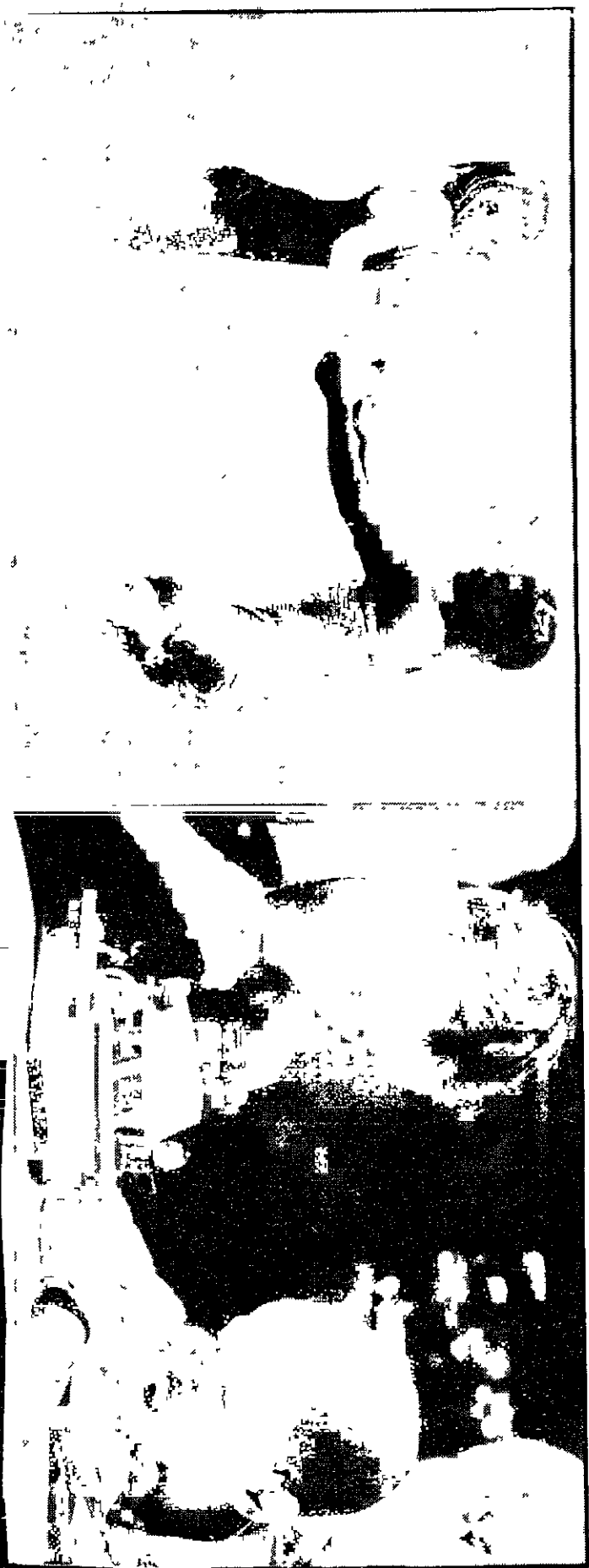
Star 217/58

RADICAL TRENDS 1

The stealthy advance of white exclusivity as the only solution for the future

continued

THE STRUGGLE between the National Party Government and the ANC for the hearts and minds of the people is concealing the stealthy advance of much more radical political thinking. While a growing number of whites are adopting the idea of white exclusivity as the only solution for their future, blacks are turning towards their own counterpart of this: Pan Africanism. Many political observers believe that after the Government and the ANC have sorted out their differences, only then will South Africa's real political struggle begin — between the advocates of these two ideologies. **PATRICK LAURENCE**, in a two-part series, looks at the development of radical political trends. This week he analyses the thinking of the white separatists. Next week he will look at Pan Africanism.



STIRRED by the crisis confronting South Africa, Afrikaner leaders are increasingly looking to a radical solution creation of an Afrikaner volkstaat, in which Afrikaner paramountcy will rest on Afrikaner numerical pre-dominance.

The corollary of an Afrikaner majority in an Afrikaner nation state is, of course, a territory without black people, or one in which they constitute a tiny powerless minority.

The idea of a volkstaat, once the preserve of zealots on the fringe of the political debate, has moved increasingly to the centre.

Professor Alkmaar Swart, a long-time devotee of the Afrikaner volkstaat idea, describes it as the alternative policy of the Right.

A current position paper in which Dr Carel Boshoff argues strongly for a volkstaat underlines Professor Swart's point.

Dr Boshoff is no ordinary Afrikaner. He is a former chairman of the Afrikaner Broederbond and a son-in-law of the former Prime Minister and "high priest" of grand apartheid, Dr Hendrik Verwoerd.

He was thus once a pillar of the Afrikaner Establishment. But the crisis generated by the black revolt against white minority rule — Dr Boshoff uses that phrase "minderheidsreging" several times in his analysis — drove him to espouse the Afrikaner volkstaat ideal.

The theme which recurs repeatedly in his closely argued paper is that a racially mixed South Africa has one inevitable destination black majority rule which he believes, will be imminent if not disastrous to Afrikaners.

"The South African Government and thus the whites in South Africa have painted themselves into a corner," he says



RACIAL HARMONY: Scenes of the social mixing of races such as these arouse strong feelings among white separatists who wish to entrench the polarisation of the races.

They rule the present heterogeneous South African State through a "morally indefensible minority government" against which their own subjects increasingly rebel. But settlement within the context of the existing State can only mean "surrender to the black majority."

Running through Dr Boshoff's paper is an overwhelming conviction that white rule in the present civic State (burgerstaat) is inexorably doomed even if the military struggle against the African National Congress (ANC) is won — and his arguments do not inspire confidence in victory — the settlement will be lost.

"Moderate black leaders and organisations demand nothing less than the radicals," he avers. "It is therefore misleading to maintain that agreement can be

reached with moderates. The whole mustering of might demands one thing, and that is an internal settlement in which whites will have to abdicate power and hand over to a black government."

But, Dr Boshoff contends, the prospect of a settlement with "moderate" blacks is remote in any case. "The ANC is gaining the upper hand over Inkatha in the power struggle in South Africa," he says, adding "Even church leaders, such as Archbishop (Desmond) Tutu and Dr (Allan) Boesak and South African Council of Church Leaders, talk the language of the ANC rather than Inkatha."

Dr Boshoff's underlying pessimism about the outcome of

the military struggle, about the chances of holding the line against the growing challenge of the ANC, is reflected statistically in a poll commissioned by the Afrikaans-language Sunday newspaper *Rapport*.

It showed that if it came to an all-out struggle between the Afrikaner Weerstandsweg (AWB), whose zealots are the toughest protagonists of white supremacy, and the ANC, most whites pick the ANC to win.

Overall, 38.8 percent of whites foresee an ANC victory against 20.4 percent for the AWB. Among Afrikaners, the ANC gets the nod by a whisker, 29.6 percent against 28.9.

Dr Boshoff writes "The only chance of survival for the Afrikaner people is an Afrikaner volkstaat. If he does not want to be irrevocably sucked in and

swallowed (verswelg) in the internal settlement with the black multitudes (menigte) which will be forced on South Africa, then he (the Afrikaner) must secede from South Africa geographically, constitutionally and economically."

He goes on to quote Dr Verwoerd approvingly as saying "I would rather have a smaller South Africa that is white than a white nation that can fight for its existence, than a larger state that has already surrendered to black domination."

But Dr Boshoff is not advocating the classical Verwoerdian doctrine of grand apartheid or separate development.

Verwoerd envisaged lopping off bits of South Africa from the periphery and handing them over to the 10 designated "black

nations" as their allotted "homelands." The core of South Africa, including its vital industrial centres and ports, would remain under white control as the "white fatherland."

Black people would be linked politically and constitutionally to their supposed "homelands", irrespective of whether they lived permanently in the purported "white fatherland" or not. Through the device of extra-territorial citizenship, blacks were deemed to be citizens of their homelands and stripped of all ties to South Africa when those homelands became independent.

Thus Dr Connie Mulder, one of Verwoerd's ideological disciples, could envisage a South Africa in which there would not be "one black man with South

African citizenship." There would, however, have been plenty of ex-black South African citizens.

Dr Boshoff concedes that Verwoerd's vision is no longer realisable. Where it was possible to achieve 20 years ago, the chances of implementing it have long since been allowed to "slip through the fingers."

Apart from a constellation of unfavourable forces in present-day South Africa, including the shift by capitalism (geldmag) towards a black takeover, the Afrikaner is spread too thinly (te yl versprei) to rule the whole of South Africa, he says.

What Dr Boshoff is proposing is a retreat or withdrawal — he

b/c. Masas 2/7/88 MR

THE FREEDOM CHARTER

Can it work for South Africa?

CAN the Freedom Charter — once banned for nearly 30 years and now increasingly accepted, even in Government circles, as a significant human rights document — become a basis for future constitutional negotiations?

Some academics, politicians and community leaders believe it can. They see it as a potential instrument for bridging South Africa's great divide between white and black political aspirations.

With this in mind virtually every aspect of the Charter, and its future significance, will be examined at a national conference to be held by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa) in Cape Town on July 15 and 16.

Speakers at the conference, to be held at the University of Cape Town, will include Soweto civic leader Dr Nthato Motlana, National Democratic Movement leader Mr Wynand Malan, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa of the National Union of Mineworkers, Dr Beyers Naudé of the Ecumenical Advice Bureau, Idasa directors Dr F van Zyl Slabbert and Dr Alex Borlaine, and several university professors.

THE talks are being arranged against the background of the increasing adoption of the Charter in recent years as a policy document by anti-apartheid organisations, including the United Democratic Front (UDF), major trade union movements and other organisations.

One of the latest movements to adopt it is the 22 000-strong Cape Teachers' Professional Association whose recent congress hailed it as a declaration of human rights which could ensure the freedom of all South Africans.

On the Government side, senior spokesmen have praised the contents of the Charter while showing deep suspicion and fears that it will be used for ulterior motives by communist-inspired revolutionaries.

What may be significant, however, is that there has been a remarkable change in National Party views about the Freedom Charter itself since the days when it was a banned document.

From 1955 until 1984 possession of a copy of the Charter was an offence. Several publications were banned because they quoted it. Government spokesmen regarded it as communist-inspired and unfit for the eyes and minds of South Africans.

THEN, in 1984, the Publications Appeal Board ruled that it was not an "undesirable" document and unbanned it.

Political staffer FRANS ESTERHUYSE looks as this controversial document which was banned for 30 years.

The Government's official acceptance of the Charter as a document worth reading was expressed in Parliament last year by Defence Minister Magnus Malan.

He said "It is an exceptionally significant document as I want to tell honourable members frankly today. Anybody who has not yet read it should do so."

But then General Malan came to the problem with the Freedom Charter, as he saw it.

"The fact remains that this document is accepted by many as the final goal and people do not realise that it is merely the point of departure. They do not know that the ultimate changeover will be a dictatorship of the proletariat."

"In itself it is an exceptionally fine document but what is to follow is the crux of the matter. Even communist documentation admits the short-term nature of this document. We are dealing with the second phase."

"The party programme of the South African Communist Party (SACP) accepts the manifesto as a bait for the first phase, to entice people to use this document as a forum for discussion. After this phase has been bridged, however, the manifesto will lose its power and the SACP programme will become operative."

BIRTH OF THE CHARTER

THE Charter came into being 33 years ago, at the height of the Nationalist Government's initial apartheid programme.

It offered an alternative to apartheid and expressed the aspirations of those who found apartheid unacceptable.

The Charter was adopted by about 3 000 people of all races at the Congress of the People, organised by the Congress Alliance, in Klipfontein on June 26, 1955.

It was endorsed by the then legal African National Congress, the Congress of Democrats, the

A senior Nationalist MP, Dr Boy Geldenhuys, adopted a conciliatory approach to the Charter when he claimed in Parliament last year that the Government had already met many of the demands made in the Charter.

HIS argument was that this showed the ANC was ideologically committed to violence because even though the Charter's demands had been met, violence continued.

In recent times the ANC has, according to reports to have drawn up a set of constitutional guidelines for a "post-apartheid South Africa." These deviated to some extent from the somewhat vague ideals of the Charter.

The ANC, it was claimed, adopted a more cautious stand about nationalisation when black South Africans may not have acquired adequate management skills to run mines and banks, for example.

Former National Party MP Mr Wynand Malan said this week that he regarded the Charter as an essential basis for future negotiation.

As long ago as 1965, when he was still in the National Party, he had openly supported the aims of the Charter. His only reservation was that dialogue and negotiation should take place on alternative strategies to achieve the Charter's objectives and that the Charter should not be adhered to in a dogmatic way.

MR Malan said he did not agree with General Magnus Malan's "negative" approach to the Charter.

"General Malan, in fact, suggests the document is being abused by subversive powers and, therefore, the people should reject the document itself."

"I have no doubt that anything — even the Bible — can be abused by people for their own

SA Indian Congress and the SA Coloured People's Congress.

The Charter affirmed that South Africa belonged to all those who live in it, black and white, and that no government could justly claim authority unless based on the will of the people.

It demanded a non-racial democratic government; equal protection before the law; nationalisation of the banks, mines, and heavy industry; land redistribution; and equal work and educational opportunities.

ends," Mr Malan said. "But one should not say to people that they must, therefore, disown the Bible because it can be abused."

"One should rather spread the positive message, which clearly is also within the Freedom Charter."

Mr Wynand Malan said the aims of the Charter were not only legitimate but also praiseworthy. To an extent it also dealt with strategy around which debate could take place.

The Publications Appeal Board, by unbanning the Charter under the chairmanship of Professor Kobus van Rooyen, had contributed to the political debate in South Africa.

It was, therefore, not an executive action by the Government which had made the Charter available once more to the general public.

There was no way in which future constitutional negotiations could be possible without the Charter featuring as one of the major source documents.

PROFESSOR Lourens du Plessis, Professor of Public Law at the University of Stellenbosch, who will also speak at the conference, said the Charter was in line with any standard declaration of human rights found in Western countries.

It was a "remarkable" document in that its authors had not drawn it up in the comfort of a lounge or a study but had nevertheless succeeded in producing a balanced document.

"I see nothing hot-headed in the Freedom Charter. I think it is important because of the support it enjoys. This makes it an inevitable basis for discussion in any meaningful dialogue on the constitutional future of South Africa," Professor du Plessis said.

"I would sleep peacefully if I knew that the values embraced in the Charter would form part of a Bill of Rights for this country."

THE document sought to protect the rights of all, and not just those of a particular group. Professor du Plessis will speak on the Freedom Charter and equality before the law.

Idasa co-director Dr Van Zyl Slabbert said it made sense to use the Charter as a basis for discussion because of the wide support it enjoyed among many extra-parliamentary organisations.

It would be an important basis for talks on the nature of a South African democracy, economy and civil liberties.

In the past there had been a tendency among many people to ignore the Charter as if it did not exist, he said.

Bid by SA agents to free five 'foiled'

3/7/88

S/Times

ZIMBABWE is reported to have foiled a bid by South African agents to "spring" five people charged with planning bomb attacks against ANC targets

Five more people have been picked up in a swoop after the abortive snatch

Details of the raid are still sketchy but it appears it was planned for June 30 but called off after Zimbabwean officials rumbled it

Last night South Africa's trade mission in Harare said it had heard "rumours" of the raid and was making inquiries

The sources said a team of South African commandos was preparing to free the five arrested alleged South African spies on

By PETA THORNYCROFT

their way to court from Chikurubi maximum security prison in the eastern part of the city

Escape

They said a helicopter of the Zimbabwean air force picked up the South Africans from a firing range near the prison and flew them to a private airstrip near Kwekwe, south of Harare

From there they escaped to South Africa in a low-flying light plane together with the pilot of the helicopter, who was believed to be a white Zimbabwean officer

Police and Government officials in Harare refused all comment on the report

The five men are expected to face charges carrying the death penalty of blowing up five ANC targets in Harare and Bulawayo

They are Kevin Woods, Michael Smith, Barry Bawden, Guy Bawden and Philip Conjwayo

A sixth member of the group, Rory Maguire, has said he will give evidence against the other five and is currently awaiting sentence before the Harare Regional Court on lesser charges of failing to report the presence of South African agents and assisting them

No date has been set for the trial of the other five

Dr Motlana has not yet given up the struggle

Soweto's 'gentle old man'
still has a role to play . . .

WITH the zeal of Dr Livingstone searching for the source of the Nile, Dr Nkhato Motlana answers the first question

"What drives me? In one word - injustice. The injustice of South Africa and the system of apartheid, the humiliation of black people and the denial of what is the right of every man throughout this world - that is what drives me."

His hands chop and slice the air for emphasis when he talks.

Dr Motlana has been described as the authentic political voice of Soweto. Some radicals hold the view that he is no longer relevant to the politics of resistance because he is not confrontational enough.

Others more cynical, say that, due to over-exposure in the media, his standing in the community has been eroded by the workings of the law of declining marginal significance.

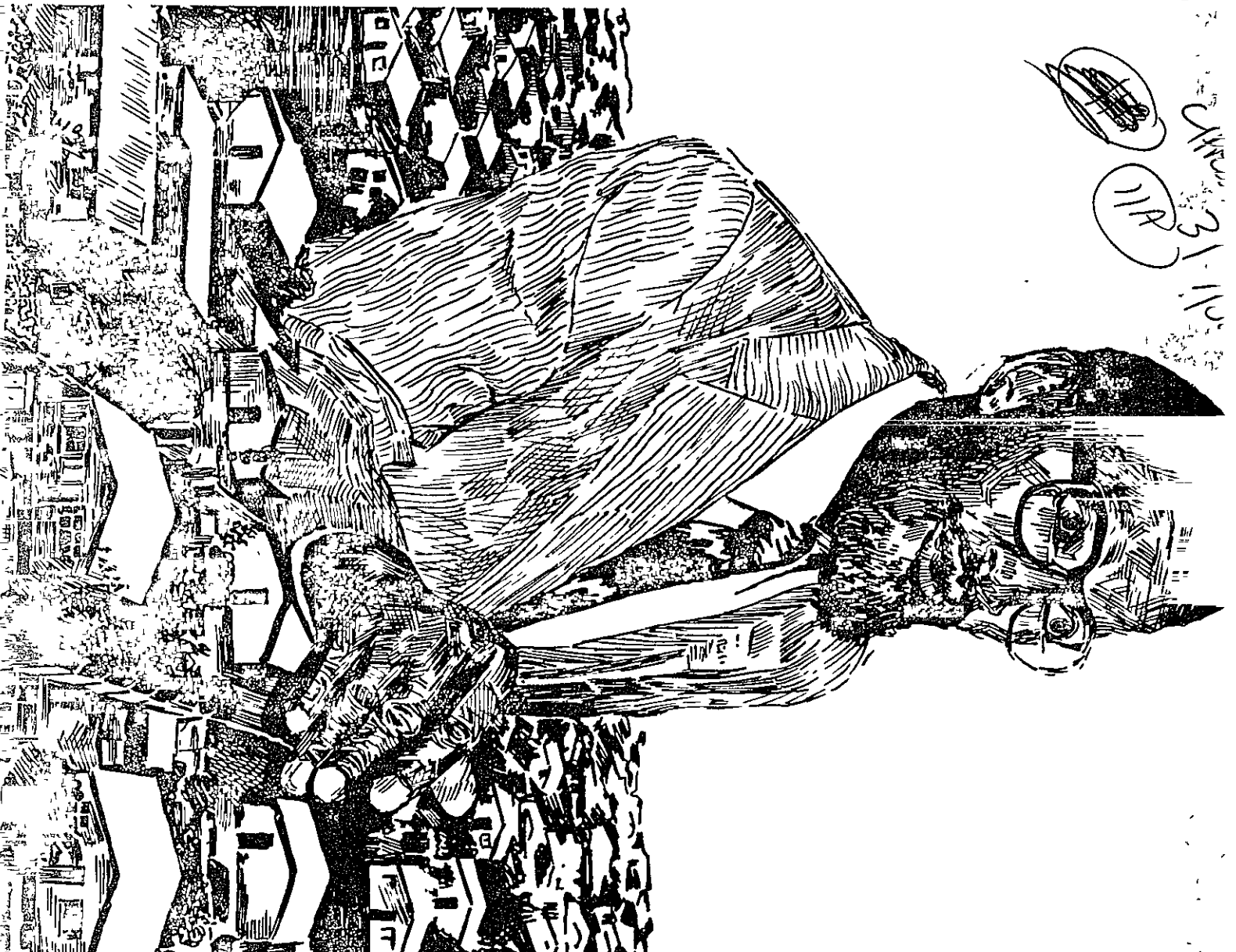
Conversely, Anthony Heard, former editor of *The Cape Times*, is quoted in *Alibelas* and Fischer's *A Question of Survival* as saying that Dr Motlana primarily represents the aspirations of urban black sophisticates and has a major role to

Veteran activist Dr Nkhato Harrison Motlana talks about his beliefs, ambitions, achievements and disappointments in this in-depth interview with freelance journalist HELLOUISE TRUSWELL. The article, the second part of which will appear on Sunday, was originally published in *Optima* magazine.

ceived here as a gentle old man who has been practising medicine for over 30 years."

Five years ago he helped develop Lesedi Clinic the Soweto-based private clinic for which First National Bank helped arrange the R3.5-million finance required. Dr Motlana is regarded as a wealthy member of the black community. He certainly supports free enterprise. "I believe in capitalism with a human face. Capitalism must be restrained and made responsive to the needs of ordinary people."

What distinguishes him from many proponents of the free enterprise ethic,



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There can be no doubt that Dr Motlana's political track record over four decades qualifies him to speak on behalf of blacks

From the time he was at school he systematically set out to overcome the constraints of the system. And he's not giving up the struggle yet

Armed with a vision of post-apartheid South Africa, he hammers hard on the themes of majority rule in a unitary state - his minimum negotiating position

"For all South Africans I want an egalitarian state with 'one man, one vote' in a united country"

His greying goatee beard and razor-boned face make him as recognisable as Coca-Cola around the black townships

Marathon-lean with piercing dark eyes that accentuate his intensity, he wears his 63 years with the assurance of a man who has made his own way

He believes in discipline and keeping fit. As dawn breaks he is on the run, jogging for two or two and a half hours every day "At my age I don't go very fast. But I persist

On an early autumn morning he prepares for the interview in his study. His ranch-style house, to which his surgery is attached, is in Dube, the upscale suburb in the flat, featureless landscape of Soweto

A medical doctor who qualified at the University of the Witwatersrand in 1954, he has been in private practice in Soweto since 1957

"I have delivered countless babies and the babies of those babies. I am per-

ambitions, achievements and disappointments in this in-depth interview with freelance journalist HELLOISE TRUSWELL. The article, the second part of which will appear on Sunday, was originally published in *Optima* magazine.

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What distinguishes him from many proponents of the free enterprise ethic, however, is that his involvement goes beyond mere verbal exhortation

He is a founder member and the chairman of the Get Ahead Foundation, a small business development agency begun in 1983 that provides start-up loan funds for black entrepreneurs. This help ranges from R75 for, say, fresh-produce hawkers, to a maximum of R10,000 for relatively capital-intensive undertakings like clothing manufacturers, printing outfits and vehicle repair workshops

Dr McRobert, managing director of the Get Ahead Foundation, relinquished what no doubt would have been a distinguished career as a Pretoria patent lawyer to start the agency

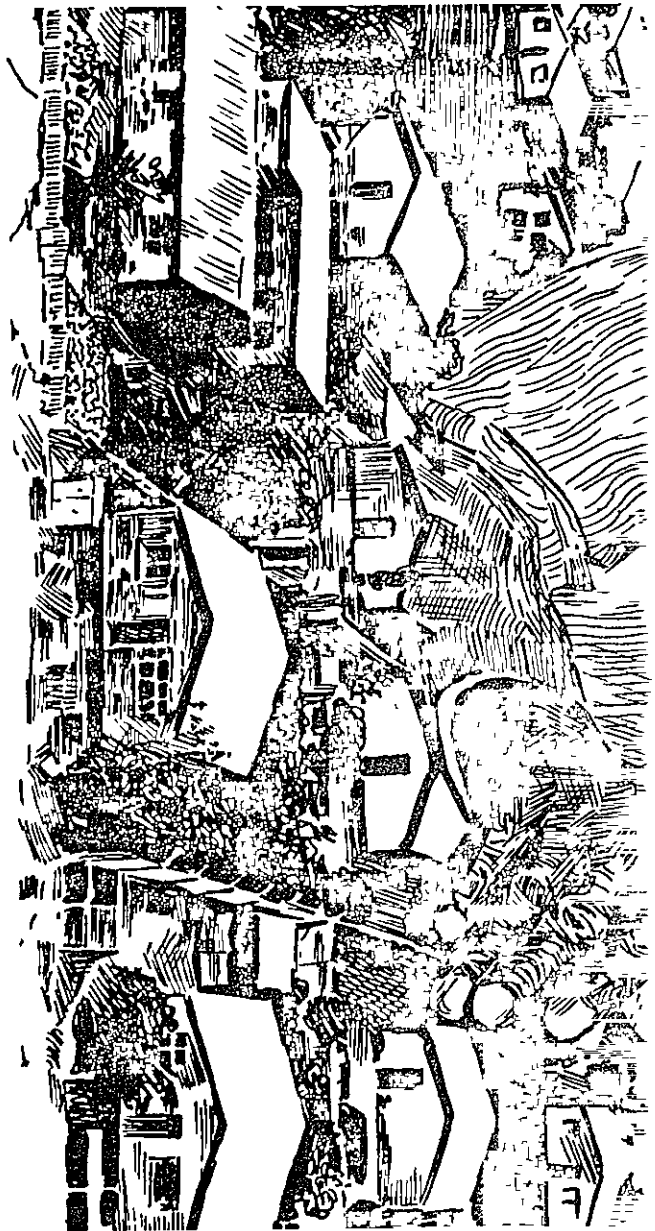
He ascribes the decision, not taken lightly after 11 arduous years to qualify as a patent attorney, to the persuasive powers of Dr Motlana

McRobert describes Dr Motlana as something of an enigma as far as black activists go who cut their teeth on the protest rhetoric of the townships, and in organisations like the ANC Youth League

Dr Motlana, he says, has always believed in the power of markets and in the informal sector of black commercial endeavour

I economic power, he tells young political heads, in the townships, is the flipside of political power - the one cannot do without the other "Go out and create wealth with your hands," he tells young blacks

The Get Ahead Foundation, which had its beginnings in Pretoria, has grown steadily since 1983 and now operates in all the metropolitan areas in South Africa



It recently opened an office in Washington, manned by two former US ambassadors, who combine public relations duties with fund-raising and lobbying on the Hill

It is perhaps a measure of Pretoria's own brand of glasnost that Dr Motlana has been granted a passport to go to Washington with McRobert to observe the workings of the 'international division'

'Go out and create wealth with your hands,' Dr Motlana tells young blacks

It wasn't always like that. A man of many bannings and restrictions since 1952, when he took part in the Defiance Campaign of the ANC Youth League, many of his previous attempts to obtain a passport were referred to the government of Bophuthatswana

will have nothing to do with that ridiculous homelands nonsense," he would say

For the magnitude of the task Get Ahead has set itself and the amount of capital it requires in order to meet the demand for start-up funds, the organisation maintains a high order of discretion as to the source of its funding

At the insistence of chairman Dr Motlana, it will not accept offers of finance from (white) companies that do not comply with three major requirements of corporate ethics. Acceptable donor companies must promote upward mobility for black executives, they must adopt affirmative action programs to educate young black professionals and executives, and they must support black business

Also, only three South African corporations meet these requirements

In addition to his work at the Get Ahead Foundation, Dr Motlana also acts as a kind of consultant for many projects initiated by the Urban Foundation, while more recently he has become involved in a black education project known as Promat - a cram agency with operations in Pretoria and Isando which admits black students with a minimum of standard eight and prepares them, in a space of 12 months, to write matric the following year

Dr Nihato Motlana has come a long way since the days he grew up as the son of peasant farmers in the small village of Skliphfontein in the Pretoria district

It has been exercised from South Africa and made part of that ridiculous little homeland Bophuthatswana," he says with a wry grin

He says he never really wanted to be a doctor "I would have loved to have been a lawyer. I never saw myself as a great jurist or criminal lawyer or judge. I saw myself as a fighter for justice. It seemed to me that law was the one profession with which you could face the government head-on. But the authorities provided money to train doctors, not to train troublesome lawyers"

Whether one agrees with his views or not, consensus is that Dr Nihato Motlana is a remarkable man

A many-sided activist, he manages a successful professional life with an active campaign fighting for the rights of blacks and against racial prejudice

"After all these years I have not lost my passion. My desire to be involved and be where the action is

"When I was at university, fellows my age went to watch football on Sundays. I would be holding meetings in Randfontein and Springs to try to motivate people to say 'Can we live under this system of injustice, can we tolerate this kind of thing?'"

● To be continued

Will black families become extinct?

City Press
3/7/88
U1A

Political engineering to blame - advocate

By BONGANI HLATSHWAYO

THE black family is fast becoming an endangered species, a seminar was told at the weekend

Speaking at an Educational Opportunities Council seminar held at Shareworld on "The family in the present South African crisis", Advocate Dikgang Moseneke said the basic structure and function of the black family has not only been transformed by a vigorous process of urbanisation, but also virtually annihilated by carefully contrived and systematic political and socio-economic engineering

"Such engineering by the South African ruling class was directed at and achieved political domination, economic exploitation, social degradation and racial inequality at all levels," Moseneke said

Discussing strategies for the survival of the black family, he said skills should be acquired

"Whether this side or that side of liberation, skills remain primary. A lack of a practical mobility to maintain and to bolster the society of one's dreams might be as nightmarish as oppression itself

"Freedom, justice,

equality and economic fair play are mutually destructive and inconsistent with ignorance, inefficiency and resultant ineffectiveness. Good families can only survive in good societies"

Moseneke called on black families to re-inculcate worthwhile and abiding values, such as hard work, a deep commitment to social and personal achievements, excellence, discipline and responsibility

He called for a high level of awareness of the sources of the present crisis and a continual striving towards a positive ideal of a re-created society beyond the limitations of present repression, and the creation and underscoring of community support systems, ranging from traditional ancillary family support to political liberatory pressure and support groups

He said the black family was at the bottom of the socio-economic ladder - "so heavily laden, it was not surprising that in the process the black family had to break its back. Now the black family lies virtually prostrate"

Moseneke said in 1910, African people were, except in the Cape Colony and to a lesser extent in Natal, excluded

from the parliamentary political process. By 1953, the total disenfranchisement of all black people had taken place. The Land Acts of 1913 and 1936 consummated the inequitable distribution of land in South Africa. Moseneke said the vast majority of black people were rendered either landless or not eligible to acquire, own or occupy certain land

The Black Administration Act of 1927 applies exclusively to African people and sought to regulate "the control and management of black affairs" from rural local government to land ownership, the attainment of age majority, marriage laws, laws of succession and virtually all aspects of the administration of the African people

Influx control was a primary tool of regulation. One of the chief legal instruments was the Urban Consolidation Acts of 1923 and 1945. An analysis of the legislative program from 1949 to 1960 reveals a legislative program that was systematic, contrived and clearly inspired by ideological considerations

The years 1960 to 1980 saw the legislative construction of the homeland policy and the declaration of at least four "inde-

pendent" states. "It could be argued that that was the high water mark of white political domination and economic exploitation in South Africa," Moseneke said

Of the laws and legal structures that have a negative impact on black families and that remain alive and well, he cited the homeland policy, the Group Areas Act, laws that regulate the political process along racial lines, such as the Tricamerat, Parliament, local authorities and their continued existence, and the Population Registration Act

Moseneke said three questions remained unanswered in the present crisis. One was whether the pressures were any less, or whether the crisis in black families had worsened

The second was whether the crisis was wholly related to political domination, economic exploitation, social degradation and racial inequality, or whether social, individual, cultural or traditional factors could be identified and isolated

The last question was whether black males were liberated vis-a-vis their female counterparts - whether there was any sexual tension related to the major socio-economic-political issues

Dikgang Moseneke ... family structure changed.

11/17
3/7/88
Times

NEWS ANALYSIS ■ ■ ■ BY DRIES VAN HERDEN

Wielding black power within the white system



MAVUSO
In the system

TWO years ago, John Mavuso decided to join the system

Even his strongest critics had difficulty labelling him a sell-out. His credentials were far too impressive.

A member of the ANC's national executive in the Fifties. On trial for treason because of his involvement in the liberation struggle. Still later, a leading light in Inkatha. One-time right-hand man of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Then, out of the blue, Mr Mavuso was drafted into the hurry-burry of "system politics".

Power

Appointed to the Transvaal Provincial Executive Council, he found himself wielding more power than any other black leader in South Africa this century.

Two years on and sitting in his plush office in downtown Pretoria Mr Mavuso does not, for one moment, regret his decision to get involved in the engine-room of power politics.

And the quality of his performance over the past months makes him a hot tip to become the ultimate conservative nightmare of the first black Cabinet Minister.

Mr Mavuso believes his decision to participate follows the true tradition and spirit of black liberation politics and especially the ANC. Since the ANC was

founded in 1912, its main objective was to get blacks included in the management of the country.

Never during its legal existence did the ANC decide on a policy of non-participation and boycott. Where boycotts were called for in the Fifties, they were tactical decisions aimed at specific short-term objectives, he says.

His critics have been scathing about his decision to accept the appointment. He is just helping the Government to administer apartheid, it is said.

"This criticism does not deter him. The support far outweighs the criticism, he says.

"I am constantly being besieged by people who tell me I have made the right decision. I should hang in there."

Difference

He looks back on his two years with a great deal of satisfaction and sense of achievement.

"I think I have made a difference on a level where

it really counts," he says. And he can point to specific instances: a community project in Kwa-Thema that might never have materialised without his efforts. A housing scheme in Sabie that he helped to plan and execute.

"I was appointed at a time when black people were starting to doubt whether there was any hope at all of their influencing decisions in South Africa. I believe my appointment provided some hope."

Mr Mavuso refers to what he calls "the changing face

of the townships" in the past few months which he believes is the result of planning and hard work, in which he played no small part.

"What has happened in the towns is proof that strong-arm tactics and the so-called populist organisations have failed.

"We have reached a stage in our history where the conflict is no longer between white and black but between radicals and reasonable people." The Government was

"It should always be remembered that people get the government they deserve. It would therefore be suicidal to encourage people to boycott the elections."

'Suicidal'

Mr Mavuso's star is definitely in the ascendant. It is safe to expect that in future he is going to take a lot of decisions that will materially affect the lives of all South Africa's citizens.

Mr Mavuso's star is definitely in the ascendant. It is safe to expect that in future he is going to take a lot of decisions that will materially affect the lives of all South Africa's citizens.

To help this process along, Mr Mavuso believes, black leaders should come forward and use the avenues opened to them. His main concern is for the coming municipal elections in October.

OPPOSE PRIOR (SPECIAL) VOTES BILL

The National Party is rushing through its
**PRIOR VOTES FOR ELECTION OF MEMBERS OF
LOCAL GOVERNMENT BODIES BILL** in
Parliament this week.

*C/Res
3/7/88*

The bill is designed to prop up the percentage polls in black areas in the coming October 26 elections.

It will transform the elections into a virtual postal election.

We believe that over 90% of all votes cast in the October elections in Indian, Coloured and African areas will be prior (special) votes, with hardly anybody voting on polling day itself.

This is borne out by recent by-elections to the Houses of Delegates and Representatives.

We believe that the bill makes it far easier for electoral fraud to take place than is the case for Parliamentary elections.

Unlike the Electoral Act No 45 of 1979 which governs procedure for special votes for Parliamentary elections, this bill

- * makes it far easier to cast prior (special) votes since it allows virtually any voter to do so for very little reason
- * abolishes the public's right to inspect prior (special) vote applications
- * prohibits publication of names of prior (special) voters
- * allows agents of candidates to actually vote for the millions who cannot read and write.
- * allows blacks to vote in neighbouring white areas, thus ensuring that bosses can force their workers to vote.

THE PUBLIC HAS THE RIGHT TO INSPECT

No political party that is committed to clean administration can support this bill. This bill makes electoral malpractices and coercion far easier. It further removes the public's right to monitor elections to ensure that no tampering takes place. No independent body will be able to check whether the percentage poll figures are correct or not.

What guarantees are there that the October elections will be free and fair?

PREVENT ELECTION ABUSES SCRAP PRIOR VOTES

ANC refuse to comment

LUSAKA — The ANC yesterday declined to accept or reject responsibility for the explosion outside Ellis Park stadium on Saturday

(119)
Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok has blamed the ANC for the bombing. — The Star's Africa News Service SW 4/7/88

Family of bomb victim began worrying after news of blast

By Lloyd Coutts

The two men who died in Saturday's car-bomb explosion at Ellis Park were colleagues who had gone to the stadium together

Mr Clive Clucas (48) of Riverside Lodge, Riverside, and Mr Linas Mare (32) of Southcrest, Alberton, died instantly

Mr Clucas was a senior manager in the purchasing department of Gencor, his brother-in-law, Mr Ken Robinson, said yesterday

"We were not too concerned when he did not return after the match because we knew he would take Mr Mare home to Alberton first

"But after the TV news we started

Mrs Eliza de Bruin lost all her possessions in a fire started by the blast. She and her one-year-old son Ricardo were standing on the stoep of No 4 when the bomb went off

"I heard the bang, saw flames and fell on top of my child. A tyre grazed my head. I saw a motorbike fly into the air and hit the top of the tree outside the house

"The tree started burning. There were cars burning and people screaming. We ran into the next street," she said

Mr Koos van der Merwe, the trainer of a South West Africa schools rugby team, said: 20 players could have been injured if they had boarded the bus earlier

Speaking from his hospital bed where he was being treated for wounds to his legs and neck, Mr van der Merwe said that he, his brother, Mr Martiens van der Merwe, Mr Gideon von Willig, and the children were waiting for someone to unlock the bus for them after the match

They stood on the pavement and were thrown against a fence by the force of the explosion

"The boys didn't panic. We grabbed each other and ran to the stadium. Our only thought was to get away"

Shrapnel

The seat either Mr van der Merwe or Mr von Willig would have occupied was pierced by a piece of shrapnel about 20 cm long

Mr von Willig and Mr Martiens van der Merwe were also hit by shrapnel but were discharged from the Johannesburg Hospital after treatment

Mr WD Lewis said he saw the body of a man in the street. "There was fire and water everywhere. Somebody was screaming 'My brother, my brother, help me'"

Mr Sam Koko, who was slightly injured, said he ran home to see a car against the front window of his house

"There were a lot of people in the street, screaming. I helped someone"

The blast could not have come at a worse time for some residents of Upper Meyer Street

Last week they received eviction notices from a new landlord

Mr Christopher de Bruin, who lost all his possessions, said the houses and flats in the area were to be razed

"We have nowhere else to go"

The bomb was "no way to achieve peace" he said

worrying and contacted the police and the ambulance. We were told he died instantly," Mr Robinson said

He had been with Gencor for 24 years

Mr Mare was a buyer in the same department at Gencor

Mr Clucas leaves his wife, Sally, a daughter, Joanne (21), and a son, Kenneth (17)

Mr Robinson said Mr Clucas had attended all the major rugby matches at Ellis Park

He was a keen bowler, had represented the Northern Suburbs and the Chamber of Mines at national bowling competitions, and was a member of the Wanderers Club

Survivors describe Ellis Park bombing horror

By Lloyd Coutts and Jovial Rantao

For a while on Saturday, Upper Meyer Street, the scene of the killer car bomb explosion near the Ellis Park rugby stadium, resembled a Beirut battleground

Yesterday, a huge crater, the burnt-out wreck of a car, a damaged bus and the shell of a semi-detached house bore testimony to the havoc wrought by the bomb, thought to have been planted in a luxury German car

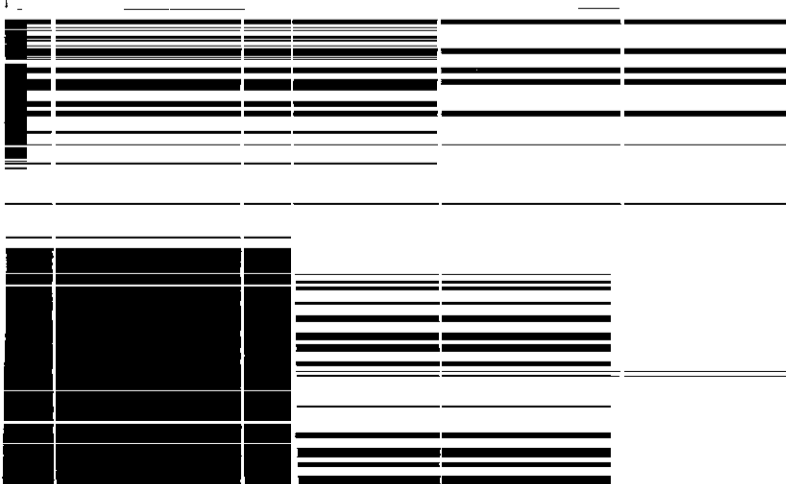
Residents of Upper Meyer Street told The Star of injured rugby enthusiasts screaming for help, burning cars and houses - and miraculous escapes

Possibly the luckiest person in the street was Miss Christina Mosomane (17), who was asleep in No 4 when the car carrying the bomb was hurled into her bedroom, setting it alight

"I heard a very loud bang and as I woke up I saw a car coming forward toward the window. I closed my eyes and dived to the floor. When I opened them, the room was on fire," she said

Miss Mosomane escaped without a scratch

On the stoep



Armed men in South Africa, whether or not they were loyal to the African National Congress (ANC) leadership, believed attacks like the Ellis Park car-bomb explosion, which killed two people and injured at least 35 others at the weekend, were justified

This was the view of Dr Tom Lodge, lecturer in political studies at the University of Witwatersrand, who was reacting last night to an apparent increase in attacks on civilian targets on the Reef

"It's difficult, at this stage, to work out whether the recent attacks on civilian targets reflect a change in strategy or disagreements between different leaders or ill-disciplined

"Whether they are loyal to ANC leadership or not may be a question which has become increasingly academic," said Dr Lodge

"In any case, what is quite clear is that there are bodies of armed men within the country who appear to feel that this sort of attack is justified

"But, under similar circumstances, the ANC has indirectly claimed responsibility by justifying similar acts of terrorism or sabotage in their publications"

The June 1985 Kabwe conference was a significant landmark in the shift towards terrorism, said Professor Hough

Here, he explained, the ANC declared it was becoming increasingly difficult to distinguish between "hard" and "soft" targets and that consequently civilian casualties, while regrettable, were inevitable

Soft targets seen to be justifiable by terrorists, say SA experts

By Inga Molzen

Star 4/17/88

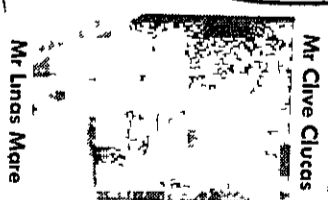


responsibility for terror attacks was a smokescreen, he said

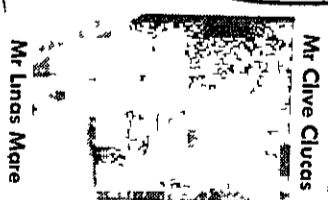
"By trying to shift the responsibility by not themselves claiming responsibility, the ANC receives the advantage of intimidation and possible panic that could follow from such a blast," Professor Hough said

But there was some indication, he said, that the ANC had "to some extent lost control over people on the ground" and was not in a position to direct its targeting any more

Acts of terrorism and sabotage could only be linked directly with the ANC, he said, when they claimed responsibility or when ANC members were found guilty in court



Mr Clive Clucas



Mr Linas Mare

Tutu responds to Ellis Park bomb with offer

CAPE TOWN — Archbishop Desmond Tutu responded to the Ellis Park bombing by offering to try to bring together the Government, the ANC and the PAC in a negotiated settlement of the country's crisis (11A) STW 41718V

In a statement conveying the Anglican Church's sympathies to the victims of the blast, he asked: "For how long are we in South Africa going to continue sitting under the threat of violence from this or that side, thrown into a state of shock by the horror of each new attack and counter-attack?"

He said everyone in South Africa, black and white, wanted to be able to live without the constant fear of violence.

"I deplore the bombing at Ellis Park Stadium and on behalf of the Church of the Province I extend our deepest sympathies to the victims of the explosion, the relatives of those who died and those who were injured," his statement read.

"No matter how draconian the Government makes its security laws, it will not bring peace to our country for as long as it fails to address the central issue of our crisis — political power sharing. Until the authorities agree to negotiate power sharing with authentic leaders, this dreadful carnage will not end.

"Although I, personally, make the offer to bring the Government, the PAC and the ANC together, I am sure that all other church leaders would join me in this call," — Sapa.

Plea for gesture in reply to blast

Staff Reporters

Opposition parties on the political Left today strongly appealed to the Government to create an atmosphere for negotiations about the country's political future instead of violently hitting back at the African National Congress after Saturday's Ellis Park bombing.

But the Conservative Party urged prompt retaliation. CP spokesman on defence Mr Moolman Mentsz welcomed possible Government counter-action against the ANC. "We hope the Government will act strongly against the ANC. The ANC should be killed at its origin, even if it is in London or Lusaka," he said.

Mr Cohn Eghn, leader of the PFP, today appealed to the Government to release Nelson Mandela as an indication of its seriousness about negotiation politics.

"If there is a genuine desire to talk, one of the best signals would be to release Nelson Mandela. That would be a significant gesture not only to the ANC, but to moderate leaders like Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi," Mr Eghn said.

Dr Dens Worrall, leader of the Independent Party, called on the Government to release Mandela as a gesture of its seriousness about negotiations.

However, "that should not take place in a vacuum", he said. "A process of realistic, workable negotiations should urgently be entered into, because that is the only way in which violence can be stopped."

In Johannesburg today, one of the 12 Ellis Park bomb blast victims still in the Johannesburg Hospital, was in a critical condition.

Mr Phillip Johnson is in the intensive care unit with severe head injuries. Mr Gordon Eddy and Mr Roger Hagerty, who each had a leg amputated after the blast, are stable and satisfactory.

The nine other victims are in a satisfactory condition. They are Mr Casper Lombard of Roodepoort, Mr Jose Pais of Ellis Park, Graham Theck (16) who went into surgery yesterday to have his wounds cleaned, Mr Stevenson Rudd of Triomf, Mr Koos van der Merwe of Windhoek, Kevin Weller (15) of Bedfordview, and his father Mr B Weller who went into theatre yesterday, Mrs Gezina Ferreira (28) and Michael Hansen (16).

The acting superintendent of Johannesburg Hospital, Dr A Flax, said Mr Henne Pietersen of Roodepoort was admitted overnight on Saturday for concussion and has since been discharged.

Ms Alina Monoto and Ms H Monoto were transferred to Hillbrow Hospital and discharged yesterday.

Also in the Johannesburg Hospital is a victim of last week's amusement arcade blast, Mrs Michelle Ebrahim, and Mrs Rozanna Grobbelaar, injured in the recent Roodepoort blast.

Ellis Park bombing arguably the most terroristic act yet committed in SA

Blast highlights dilemmas

Star 4/17/88

119

By Gerald L'Ange

Editor, The Star's Africa News Service

The Ellis Park bomb blast dramatically emphasises the painful dilemmas facing the principal actors in the South African drama

The dilemmas confront the South African Government, the African National Congress, the Frontline states and the Western powers, and they are both multiplying and becoming more complex as the international fight against apartheid intensifies

The Ellis Park bombing poses a dilemma for the moderates in the ANC leadership, who include the president Mr Oliver Tambo, and other members of the "old guard" in the absence of any other likely culprit the ANC will be widely blamed for the bombing, regardless of the recent statement by its executive that it still follows a policy of not attacking "soft" targets

The executive's statement was prompted by assertions by ANC military leaders that whites must be made to suffer violence in order to "shake them out of their complacency"

The detonation of the bomb amid crowds streaming out of a rugby match will make it difficult for anybody, whether they are in the ANC or not, to depict the bombing as anything other than an act of naked terrorism, aimed not at military, police or other Government targets but at white civilians

This bomb blast in fact, is arguably the most terroristic act yet committed in South Africa. It highlights the ANC executive's dilemma of not being able to oppose such bombings without antagonising the radical blacks in South Africa who are an important part of its constituency, yet of jeopardising its bid for the support of white South Africans and the international community if it is seen to be supporting the bombings

Retaliation against ANC possible

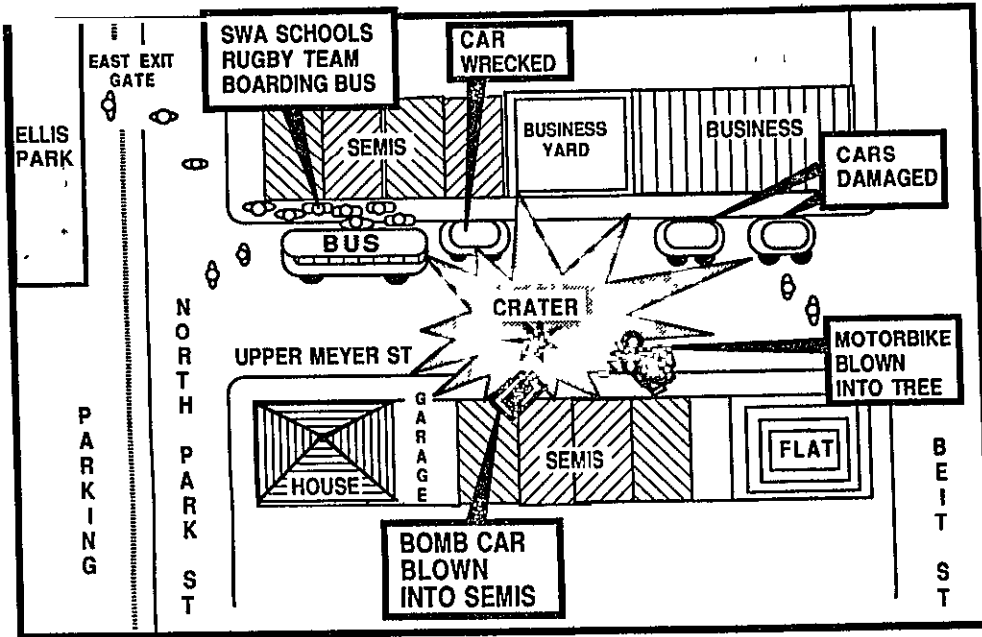
Because of its blatantly terroristic nature, the Ellis Park blast might increase pressure on the South African Government from rightwingers to strike in retaliation at ANC bases in neighbouring or other African countries

It will be argued that the explosives for the Ellis Park bombing, as with all the others that have killed or wounded civilians recently, must have come from or through one of the neighbouring states

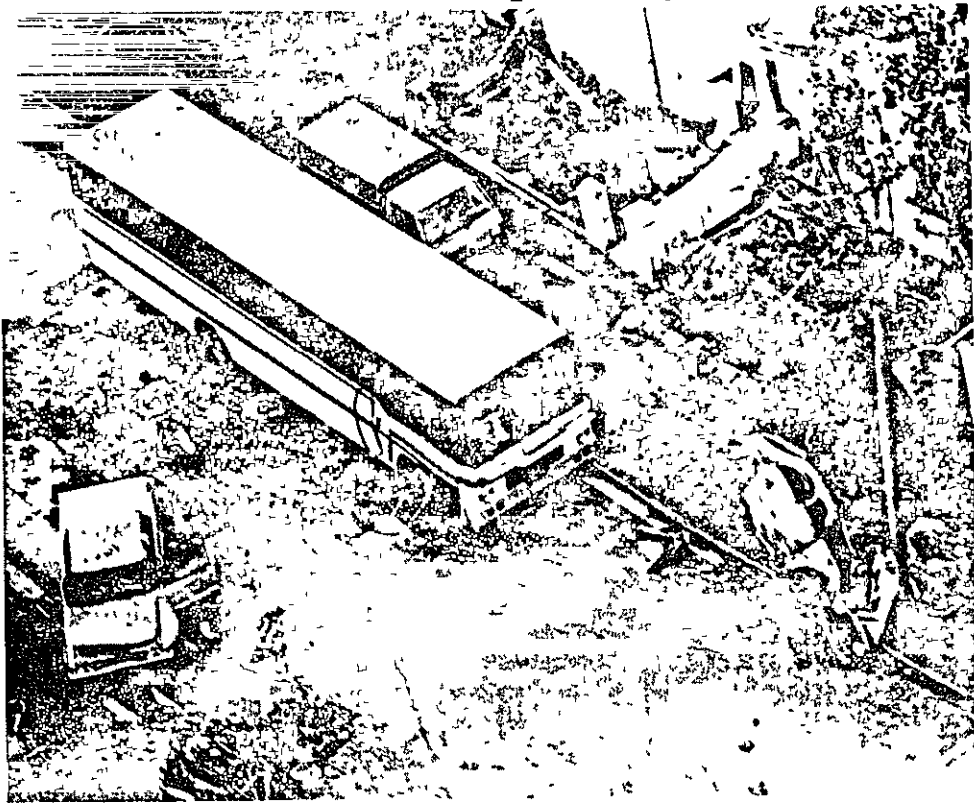
The Government's dilemma is that if it does launch such strikes it will pay a penalty in increased international censure. It would risk diplomatic retaliation from the Western countries, some of whom are believed to be ready to take action such as expelling South African military attaches or withdrawing some of their own diplomats if the SADF makes another major cross border strike

It would also strengthen the hand of those working to tighten sanctions on South Africa in the US Congress and might jeopardise the Angola Namibia peace talks

For the Frontline states the dilemma is that if they take steps to avoid military or economic retaliation from SA, such as by cracking down harder on ANC military activities they risk being accused of weakening the international fight against apartheid



Ellis Park car bomb is possibly SA's largest



An aerial view of the Ellis Park car-bomb scene. The devastation wreaked by the blast, possibly the largest to date in South Africa, can clearly be seen.

Tutu condemns Ellis Park blast, offers to host peace talks

Staff Reporter *AKW 4/7/88*

ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu today condemned the Ellis Park bomb blast and expressed sympathy for the victims and the relatives of the dead and injured

He also offered to do whatever he could to bring the Government, the African National Congress and the Pan-Africanist Congress together to negotiate a settlement of the country's crisis.

"All South Africans, black and white, want to be able to live without the constant fear of being victims of violence, whether it is violence from the Government or those opposed to it," Archbishop Tutu said

"I deplore the bombing at Ellis Park and on behalf of the Church of the Province I extend our deepest sympathies to the victims of the explosion, the relatives of those who died and those who were injured

"For how long are we in South Africa going to continue sitting under the threat of violence from this or that side, thrown into a state of shock by the horror of each new attack and counter-attack?"

Archbishop Tutu said no matter how draconian the Government made its security laws, it would not bring peace to South Africa as long as it failed to address the central issue of the crisis — political power-sharing

He said until the authorities agreed to sit down and negotiate real power-sharing with the authentic leaders of the people, the "dreadful carnage" would not end

Archbishop Tutu said although he made the offer to bring the Government, the ANC and the PAC together personally, he was sure all other church leaders would join him in his call.

OPPOSITION CONCERN

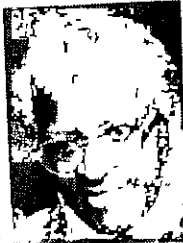
Opposition parties on the political left today strongly appealed to the Government to create an atmosphere for negotiations about the country's political future instead of violently hitting back at the African National Congress after the bombing

Both the Progressive Federal Party and the Independent Party have expressed concern about Government sources' predictions of retaliatory measures against the ANC.

PFP leader Mr Colin Eglin appealed to the Government to release Nelson Mandela as an indication of its seriousness to enter into negotiations

"If there is a genuine desire to talk, one of the best signals would be to release Nelson Mandela. That would be a significant gesture not only to the ANC, but to moderate leaders like Captain Mangosuthu Buthelezi," Mr Eglin said

Conservative Party spokesman on defence, Mr Moolman Mentz, welcomed possible Government counter-actions against the ANC



Archbishop
Desmond Tutu

Vaal residents plea to PW

~~some~~ *some* *from 4/7/83* (12A)
VAAL Triangle residents, community organisations and trade unions yesterday made an impassionate plea to the State President, Mr P W Botha, to scrap apartheid, release all political detainees and reprieve the "Sharpeville Six."

The plea was made at a prayer meeting attended by hundreds of people at Boipatong Township, Vanderbijlpark.

The residents also appealed to Mr Botha to release the 19 people facing charges relating to the 1984 Vaal unrest. The trial is being heard at the Pretoria Supreme Court.

Singing

The meeting, characterised by the singing of hymns, heard local priest, the Rev Jonas Ntshingila, say the Vaal had "bathed in blood in the fight for liberation since 1960 and after the 1984 unrest."

Mr Ntshingila said as some of the people bowed their heads in tears. "We pray to God to soften the heart of our President to reprieve the 'Six' "

Speakers also appealed for an end to rent evictions. A resident, Mr S Mabote, called on the Government to grant reprieve to the 19 trialists "so that they can participate in the decision-making process of the country "

Kolisang

Also present were members of the Vaal Residents' Representative Party, led by councillor, Mr Samuel Kolisang.

The meeting took place after statements by Lekoa mayor, Mr Esau Mahlatsi, that he would not intervene in the case of the "Six" because he would be betraying the memory of his former colleague, Mr Jacob Dlamini

Mandela marchers spark mixed feelings

Star 4/7/84
The Star Bureau

(119) (12) LONDON — A band of 24 people taking part in a "Nelson Mandela freedom march" from Glasgow to London are finding that not all towns along the way support their cause.

In Hebden Bridge, Yorkshire, which has a clog factory and an Indonesian orchestra which played the marchers in, citizens voted against an official reception.

Congleton, another Yorkshire town which the march reached this weekend, has also been hostile. But Todmorden, famous for the radical Victorian mill-owners, the Fieldens, was friendly.

"Welcome to Tod," said Mr Michael Steed, a Liberal town councillor, ushering the band into the town hall while a Labour colleague poured tea.

The marchers expect to reach London on July 17, the day before Mandela's 70th birthday. On the following day, they will take part in a rally in Hyde Park organised by the Anti-Apartheid Movement.

Case 71015 4/7/88

'Whole of SA needs Mandela's release'

119

ULUNDI — Thousands of black delegates to Inkatha's annual general conference roared approval here at the weekend when Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said the whole of South Africa needed the release of Mr Nelson Mandela

The former ANC leader was a greater threat to white society in jail than he could ever be out of it, the KwaZulu Chief Minister told the conference in his presidential address

"It is not only the black struggle that would benefit," he said "Whites would benefit equally by the black unity which the release of political prisoners would produce. Black South Africans would then be able to come together to demonstrate to the whole world that we in this country are quite capable of reaching political settlements and bringing about the kind of changes which the whole world wants"

Chief Buthelezi warned that the ANC leadership outside the country did not want to liberate but to conquer — Sapa

25-year armed struggle has failed — Inkatha

ULUNDI — The ANC's armed struggle had not succeeded in over 25 years and had no prospects of succeeding, the annual general conference of Inkatha said.

Re-affirming its support yesterday for Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's policies of non-violence, the conference said violence could only lead to a no-win situation for all parties.

Where change had occurred, it had been because economic realities had been supported by peaceful tactics, the conference said. It called on all Inkatha members not to get side-tracked from the movement's struggle

5125 417/88
to end apartheid by allowing themselves to be drawn into violent confrontations. (11/11) (11/11)

Inkatha was committed to the principle of black unity in the face of apartheid, the conference said. Blacks responsible for disunity were "doing the Government's dirty work" and "buying time for apartheid".

It called for recognition that black unity could only be achieved through acceptance of a multi-strategy approach, in which every organisation opposed apartheid as it saw fit under its particular circumstances. — Sapa.

Mothopeng discharged

THE jailed president of the Pan Africanist Congress, Mr Zephania Mothopeng, who was admitted to a Johannesburg clinic after falling ill on June 29, is back at prison after being discharged on Friday.

His wife, Mrs Urbania Mothopeng, and relatives visited Mr Mothopeng at the Johannesburg Prison yesterday.

his son John said (11A) He said Mr Mothopeng had recovered and was in good shape yesterday.

Mr John Mothopeng said the family was still not aware of the nature of his father's illness because they had not seen his doctor yet. He was discharged from the Florence Nightingale Clinic.

Tutu offers to mediate

Sowetan 4/2/88

11A

ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu responded yesterday to the Ellis Park bombing by offering to try to bring together the Government and the ANC and PAC in a negotiated settlement of the country's crisis.

In a statement conveying the Anglican Church's sympathies to the victims of the blast, he asked, "For how long are we in South Africa going to continue sitting under the threat of violence from this or that side, thrown into a state of shock by the horror of each new attack and counter-attack?"

He said that everyone in South Africa, black or white, wanted to be able to live without the constant fear of being the victims of violence. Only negotiations on true political power shaping would bring this about.

"I deplore the bombing at Ellis Park

SOWETAN Reporter

Stadium and on behalf of the Church of the Province I extend our deepest sympathies to the victims of the explosion — the relatives of those who died and those who were injured.

"No matter how draconian the Government makes its security laws, it will not bring peace to our country for as long as it fails to address the central issue of our crisis — political negotiate real power sharing with the authentic leaders of our people, this dreadful carnage will not end.

"All South Africans, black and white, want to be able to live without the constant fear of being the victims of violence,



ARCHBISHOP Tutu.

whether it is violence from the Government or from those opposed to it

"To that end, I would like to do whatever lies in my power to bring together the Government and the ANC and PAC

"Although I make this offer personally, I am sure that all other church leaders would join me in this call."

Silence from govt on Tutu mediation offer

GMT Times
5/7/88
11A
1988

Political Staff

THE office of the State President yesterday declined to comment on an offer by Archbishop Desmond Tutu to act as a mediator between the government and the ANC and PAC

Offering his condolences and sympathies on behalf of the Anglican Church to the families of those killed and those injured as a result of the explosion at Ellis Park, the archbishop said he deplored the act

He asked: "How long are we in South Africa going to continue sitting under the threat of violence from this or that side, thrown into a state of shock by the horror of each new attack or counter-attack."

Archbishop Tutu said that no matter how draconian the government made its security laws "it will not bring peace to our country for as long as it fails to address the central issue of our crisis — political power-sharing"

Sapa reports that the president of the the Transvaal Rugby Football Union, Dr Louis Luyt, soundly condemned "the dastardly act" of those responsible for the car-bomb attack

Ellis Park had been made available to all forms of sport and to all races which made the car-bombing even more deplorable, he said in a statement

11 13

PAC chief leaves ^{NAF} hospital

star 5/17/86
Jailed black nationalist leader Zephoma Mothopeng has left a Johannesburg clinic and returned to prison, his wife said yesterday

Mothopeng (74) is president of the outlawed Pan-African Congress, which opposes white rule and the rival ANC

He was tried behind closed doors and sentenced in 1977 to 15 years in jail — Sapa-
Reuter

Bail hearing postponed ^(11A)

By Helen Grange

The second bail application for Mr Ivan Wilfred Ballakistan (47), vice-chairman of the Eden Park Management Committee who is being held in connection with the death of Labour Party MP Mr Peter Jacobs, was postponed to July 7 in the Alberton Magistrate's Court yesterday.

Mr Ballakistan's first

bail application was turned down early last month on the grounds that he could interfere with State witnesses.

5

The alleged murder of Mr Jacobs (43), who was shot dead in front of the Eden Park Methodist Church in May, followed four complaints by him to the police regarding burglaries and the de-

struction of his car by fire, according to earlier evidence.

VITAL WITNESS

Mr Jacobs was a vital witness in the investigation into the alleged murder of Mr Frans Danster, a member of the Eden Park Coloured Management Committee, who was also shot dead in his house on April 6 1986.

Earlier evidence showed that Mr Danster was shot with a 9 mm pistol, the same type of gun Mr Ballakistan had a firearm licence for.

It was also alleged Mr Ballakistan threatened other members of the Eden Park Management Committee who knew of corruption regarding housing in the area.

HONOUR FOR SISULUS

MORE than 400 people attended a function in Lenasia on Friday night organised by *The Indicator* newspaper which named the Sisulu family as their newsmaker of the year for 1987/88.

The award was accepted by Mrs Zodwa Sisulu, wife of detained *New Nation* newspaper editor, Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu, on behalf of the family. The acceptance speech was made by Mrs Sheila Sisulu, the wife of

Sowetan 5/7/88
Zwelakhe's brother, Lungi

The editor of *The Indicator*, Mr Ameen Akhalwaya, paid tribute to the Sisulu family as "remarkable and also as a symbol of many who had paid the price for the fight for justice

"I have always maintained that Zwelakhe Sisulu was going to be the president or prime minister of this country one day. The Government knows it too, that is

why it keeps him in jail," Mr Akhalwaya said

Other guest speakers included the Reverend Buti Tlhagale of the Education Opportunity Council, Civil Rights lawyer Pricilla Jana, the Deputy Editor of the *Sowetan*, Mr Joe Thloloe and former general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, Dr Beyers Naude.

The Indicator was also awarded the 1988

Human Rights Award jointly with four organisations involved in assisting homeless squatters in the Lenasia area.

The four organisations are the religious group Ananda Marga Universal Relief Team, Dr A B Asvat, Azapo health secretary, Mrs Soraya Hassim of the Islamic Relief Agency and the Witwatersrand Network for the Homeless

Man pleads not guilty to PAC terrorism charges

512 57 7180
By Ayesha Ismail (117)

A Bophuthatswana man pleaded not guilty in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court yesterday to charges of terrorism and membership of the banned Pan Africanist Congress (PAC)

Mr Jack Themba Phikwane (32) is alleged to have gone outside the country illegally to join the PAC and received military training in 1983 from the the organisation or its military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA) The training is said to have been at Dukwe Camp in Botswana

In March 1987 he is alleged to have brought into South Africa two Scorpion machine-guns, 90 rounds of 7.65 ammunition, a stick-grenade and two M52 hand grenades

Alleged PAC man in court

AN alleged Libyan-trained Pan African Congress (PAC) member pleaded not guilty to charges of terrorism in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court yesterday

The State alleges Themba Jack Phikwane, 32, of Hartswater, was a member of the banned PAC and its military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA) from May 1983 to April 5, 1987, and that he identified with the aims and objectives of the organisation, namely to overthrow government

The State alleges Phikwane received political training under the PAC at Dukwe camp in Botswana from May 1983 to February 1986 and underwent

EDYTH BULBRING
military training under the PAC or the APLA in Libya's Benghazi camp between February and August 1986

It is alleged Phikwane entered SA illegally in December 1986 with the intention of carrying out the aims and objectives of the banned PAC and its military wing and that he recruited people in SA for the PAC and sent them to Zimbabwe and Botswana for training

The State alleges he brought weapons into the country with the intention of using them to carry out the aims of the PAC

The case will continue today

Murdered man had order to protect family

MAGAS 6/7/88 HA
The Argus Correspondent

MARITZBURG — Mr Ernest Mandla Mthembu, 35, who died after being blasted with a shotgun at his home on Monday night, had obtained a Supreme Court temporary interdict restraining certain people from killing or assaulting him.

He was also a key witness in a Supreme Court case here

Mr Mthembu, his father, Mr Johannes Mthembu, and three of his brothers, one of whom was also killed, were granted an urgent interdict restraining Mr Jerome Mncwabe, Mr Sichizo Zuma and Mr Thulani Ngcobo from killing or assaulting them

A hearing set down for August 1 was to ascertain whether Mr Zuma was in contempt of the ruling restraining him from killing or assaulting members of the Mthembu family.

Father, son^{NA} remembered

THE Raboroko family of Sharpeville will unveil two tombstones of relatives at a ceremony to be held at the Evaton Cemetery on Sunday at 7am.

The ceremony will be in memory of Mr Joel Aaron Raboroko (54), who was one of the people wounded during the 1960 Sharpeville shooting *Soweto*

His late son, Solomon Raboroko, will also be remembered *6/7/66*

announced scheme.

Scores had to be con- offices.

Editor in hospital

SOWETAN Reporter

THE detained editor of *New Nation*, Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu has been admitted to a Johannesburg hospital apparently suffering from depression.

His lawyer, Mrs Pricilla Jana, said she visited him in hospital yesterday and saw that he was suffering from depression.

"He has also lost weight," Mrs Jana said.

His wife, Zodwa has also been to see him in hospital.

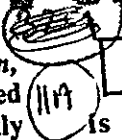
Mr Sisulu was detained under the emergency laws in December 1986 and has applied unsuccessfully to the Rand Supreme Court to be released. The case

is being taken on appeal to Bloemfontein.

According to the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Sisulu is being detained because of his activities in relation to the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC), but in papers handed to court, Mr Sisulu has denied that his connections with the NECC were as the police understood them.

The Prisons Service has referred all inquiries to the police who have pointed out they do not comment on emergency detentions.

Sowetan 6/7/88





Joseph and Beauty Mtshali, Herbert's parents

Baffled by ANC kid's actions

From MONO BADELA

JOHANNESBURG. - The Soweto Students Congress (Sosco) is investigating the claims of Herbert Nkosana Mtshali, the 15-year-old who claimed last week that he was a trained African National Congress guerilla.

Mtshali's confession was the "talk of the town" in Soweto at the weekend and the revelations about his alleged ANC activities came as a surprise to his parents and baffled youths in the area

Mtshali, appearing before an international press conference at the Protea police station in Soweto, assembled an AK-47 automatic rifle. He said his mission was to sabotage power stations and to recruit new members

A spokesperson for Sosco this week said Mtshali was under

investigation

"We are completely baffled He is something of a mystery to us. We are investigating his movements before he left the country.

"We are not sure whether he did receive training in Angola, or if he's being used by the police. We shall certainly know these facts soon."

His parents were also perplexed. "He is a quiet, obedient child," his parents, Joseph and Beauty Mtshali, said.

They said the events of the past week came as a "surprise".

They had not been aware that he had left the country although at one time he had disappeared for some time

"We love him very much and we'll pray for him everyday," they said

The police maintained that he was a "trained terrorist".

Mtshali was presented to the media in an unprecedented move after Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok announced his capture last week.

Vlok said the ANC had embarked on "a campaign of child revolution."

Mtshali, unfazed by the presence of the TV cameras and dozens of journalists, stripped an AK-47 rifle in just over a minute.

He trained with about 25 other recruits and had been 14 when he joined the ANC of his "own free will"

He "changed his mind" about the ANC after his arrest

Now he would have to join the police for his own protection, he said.

"I don't think I will be safe in Soweto from ANC members I was a freedom fighter, but now I'm nothing," he said

CATC Comp 7/7/88

Key witness in Natal 'warlord' trial killed

MARITZBURG — A key witness, who was to have given evidence in the Supreme Court here against an Inkatha member and alleged warlord, has been shot and killed at his Imbali home.

According to a police spokesman for Natal, Capt Pieter Kitching, Mr Ernest Mandla Mthembu, 35, was shot when a mob attacked his home on Monday night and began throwing stones. — Sapa

Shot councillor to be buried on Saturday

Staff Reporter

A COMMUNITY councillor who was shot dead in her Langa home will be buried on Saturday.

Miss Nobuntu Siboto, 64, was shot twice on Sunday by a man wearing a balaclava and a tracksuit. His identity is not known.

Her sister Nomntu said the shooting happened about 7pm after Miss Siboto answered a knock at the door.

"A man entered the house and spoke a few words before

he fired two shots at my sister."

A neighbour responded to a call for help but could not get in because the door was locked. A four-year old child threw the key to her.

Miss Siboto served on Cape Town Community Council from 1979 to 1983, representing Langa. Last year she rejoined.

Born in Ndabeni, she was awarded a teacher's diploma at Lovedale College but did not practise.

She is survived by two children and four grandchildren.

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2/7/88

IPA constitutional committee. He is chairman of the Housing and Community Development Committee, vice-chairman of the Local Government, Library, and Museum Services and committee member of the Regional Services Council.

Born

Mr Mavuso was born in Pongolo, Natal. He attended school in Ermelo. In 1945 he settled in Alexandra township, near Johannesburg.

When he arrived in Alexandra, he joined the ANC and was in its youth league. In the early 50's he was elected secretary of the Alexandra branch of the youth league.

While serving in the ANC, Mr Mavuso was once charged with treason because of his involvement in the "liberation struggle". He was later acquitted. After leaving the ANC, he became a businessman and also joined Inkatha. Two years ago he was appointed to the TPA.

And now this.

Nelson Mandela concert on at Valley

By VICTOR 11/15
METSOAMERE

7/8/78
50
50

A MAMMOTH concert to mark the 70th birthday of jailed African National Congress leader, Nelson Mandela, is scheduled for the Fun Valley Pleasure Resort on July 17 from 9,30am to 5,30pm.

Top music acts including Bayete, Yvonne Chaka Chaka, Ray Phiri and Stimela, Lucky Dube, Chicco, Siphos, "Hotstix" Mabuse, Mercy Pakela, Umoja, Jazz Pioneers, Pat Shange, Step Ahead and Lindi Fassie — will perform at the Mandela 70th Birthday Concert For Peace. Proceeds from the concert will go to charity.

A number of charity organisations are to benefit from the concert, organised by the Mandela 70 Committee.

Giant concert to honour Mandela

CALL TENTS
7/17/88

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Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — Mr Nelson Mandela's 70th birthday will be celebrated with a giant "Concert for Peace" at Fun Valley outside Johannesburg on July 17 with all proceeds going to charity

The all-day concert, announced here yesterday, is to include top performers Stimela, Siphho Hotstix Mabuse and the African Jazz Pioneers

A spokesman for the Mandela 70 committee, formed to organize the event, said the celebration would honour a great man who had stood the test of time

He said they hoped Mandela's birthday would be observed as a day of peace representing the peaceful struggle.

Legal adviser and committee member Mr Krish Naidoo said that if any attempts were made to ban the concert, the committee would seriously consider legal action

'Rather see him at home'

The event would be a peaceful concert with all proceeds going to charity, and a security firm had been employed to ensure public safety, he said.

A police spokesman said they had heard nothing of the event

Mr Mandela's daughter Zinzi, who is to visit her father in Pollsmoor Prison with other family members on July 18, his actual birthday, said she would rather see him at home where he belonged

Speaking at a press conference, she said the proposed visit was a political move, and she would not pat the government on the back for the gesture

Mrs Winnie Mandela was also present at the conference

About 12 members of the Mandela family will leave for Cape Town on the day of the concert, to spend six hours with him in Pollsmoor Prison, starting at 9am on July 18

The concert organizers said they expect about 25 000 people to attend. The Black Taxi Association will make taxis available to transport people to the event, they said

Mr Mandela's birthday will be observed nationally with concerts, sports events and church services, they said

Civilian target claims are denied by ANC

LUSAKA — The ANC said yesterday that its military strategy in the fight to topple the South African Government did not include indiscriminate attacks on civilians.

It denied allegations by South Africa that it is failing to discriminate between civilian, military and Government targets.

The organisation said

there had not been a change in its policy.

The ANC considered as legitimate targets all military installations and personnel, symbols of government such as law courts, government buildings and police stations and economic targets such as railway stations and power stations.

The car-bomb which exploded outside Ellis Park rugby stadium in Johannesburg on Saturday — killing two people and injuring about 35 — drew widespread condemnation, including criticism from leading black and white supporters of the ANC.

REPORT SOUGHT

Asked to explain this — and 27 other bomb attacks in South African cities this year in which civilians have been killed and injured — the ANC said "How can we answer that?"

But it added "We can understand why this is happening" It did not elaborate.

Western diplomats said the discrepancy between the stated policy and the attacks suggested a lack of co-ordination between the Lusaka-based senior ANC leadership and units operating in South Africa.

The ANC said it had asked for a report on the attacks to determine if all had been aimed at legitimate targets. Reuter.

Charter up for ^(11A) discussion

^{SIN 11108}
The Freedom Charter will be discussed at a two-day seminar hosted by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa) in Cape Town.

Starting on July 15, the conference will attempt to expose white South Africans to the charter, and to provide a clearer picture on how the document will affect a post-apartheid South Africa socially, politically and economically.

The charter's contents will be debated by prominent speakers including Idasa directors Dr Alex Boraine and Dr Frederick van Zyl Slabbert, trade unionist Mr Cyril Ramaphosa and church leader Dr Beyers Naude.

Other speakers include Professor Hermann Gilhooe of the University of Cape Town's political studies department, community leader Dr Nthato Motlana and Mr Wynand Malan, leader of the National Democratic Movement.



Mourners carrying the coffin of Ntsiki Cotoza, one of the alleged ANC members, shot dead last month

Strict security at ANC burials

7-13/78
 South
 11A

DURBAN — Relatives of nine Natal ANC insurgents killed near the Swaziland border early last month have questioned the official version on the deaths

One mother alleged discrepancies between photographs of her son's body and the actual body she had seen.

Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok said on June 16 that the nine - six men and three women had been shot near Piet Retief on the Swaziland border

The group travelling in two vehicles, had been intercepted at road blocks. They opened fire on the police who returned the fire, he said.

This week the police public relations division said they had nothing to add to the Minister's statement.

The police said: "We wish to point out, however, that inquests are held into all unnatural deaths. If any person has any information which may be of evidential value, such person should furnish the police with an affidavit so that it may form part of the inquest proceedings."

School teacher

Seven of the nine - Surendra Lenny Naidu, 24, of Chatsworth, Ms Makhosi Nyoka, 27, of KwaMashu, Jabulani Sibisi, 21, of KwaMashu, Joseph Boxer Mthembu, 29 of Chesterville, Ms Nonsikeleto Cotoza, 21, of Lamontville, Sifiso Nxumalo, 24, of Chesterville, and Ms Lindiwe Mthembu, 19, of KwaMashu - were all buried under the strictest of police security last Saturday and Sunday.

The remaining two - Nkosinathi Bruce Thenjwayo, 24, of Imbali township, Pietermaritzburg, and Emmanuel Bongani Gasa, 25, are expected to be buried as soon as legal formalities have been completed.

The mother of Sifiso Nxumalo,



The Cotoza family outside their home before Ntsiki, second from right, was shot dead

Mrs Ollina Nxumalo, 57, a school teacher in Chesterville, said:

"The way my son was killed shows there is something seriously wrong. He had a big hole on his forehead, gaping wounds on his body and several other bullet wounds."

"We were shown his photograph which was obviously taken after he was killed. In the photograph he was seated in a kombi - already dead and half naked."

"The photo contrasts with the condition we found him at the mortuary with all those wounds and head injuries."

"They refused to show us the scene where the incident took place, refused to give us his clothes saying they had already burned them and they also refused to give us the money in his possession saying it was ANC

money and they were going to confiscate it."

"We have not been given all the details about the incident", said Mrs Nxumalo.

Her son, the eldest of four children, was in standard 10 when he left the country.

Mrs Theresa Mthembu, 52, mother of Joseph Mthembu said: "In the photograph they showed us he was in a pool of blood but yet there were no signs of blood in the kombi they are alleged to have been in."

Mrs Zizile Cotoza, mother of Nonsikeleto Cotoza, aged 21, said her daughter's body had wounds on her side and breast.

"She also had a gaping wound on her forehead", she said.

Mr Leo Naidoo, the father of Lenny Naidoo, said: "He is no longer with us but he died for something he believed in" he said.

Most of the parents said they were also concerned at the timing of the announcement on the deaths of their children. The death certificates were dated June 12 but yet the Minister only made his announcement four days later. They also heard that the incident took place on June 12.

In spite of the stringent security measures at all the funerals, thousands of people in KwaMashu, Chesterville, Lamontville and Chatsworth paid tribute to the dead men and women.

Police constantly warned crowds to move away as the funerals were only restricted to 200 people. — PRESS TRUST OF SA

Why Lenny skipped

DURBAN - Friends and neighbours of Surendra "Lenny" Naidu are still pondering what drove the 22-year-old community worker to leave home to join the ANC

Lenny died with eight others in the hail of bullets in a shoot out on the Swaziland border earlier this month

He did voluntary community work among the underprivileged in Chatsworth, Durban's biggest Indian township, until June 1986. Then he left the country to join the ANC

Close friends and students called him Lenny - his nickname

To teachers and pupils at Chatsworth Secondary School where he matriculated as a brilliant student with outstanding results, he was known as Surendra.

This week neighbours in Fame Drive, Bayview, the street where Lenny spent his boyhood, described him as a dedicated community worker

He left his humble, council-built home in June 1986 telling his parents that he was going overseas on a scholarship

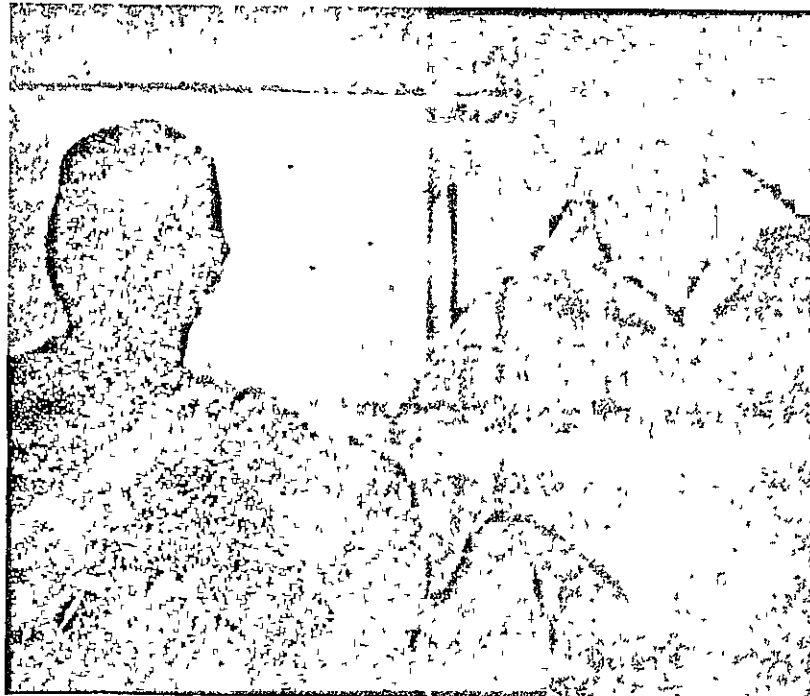
Last weekend his bullet-ridden body was brought home in a sealed coffin. At the funeral service and burial an enlarged coloured photograph of Lenny taken when he was a teenager was stuck on his white coffin.

Swazi border

Lenny Naidu was 22 when he met his death with eight other alleged ANC members on the Swaziland border on June 8

And as a baffled community tried to figure out circumstances surrounding the death of a young man who a few years ago was seen delivering food hampers to the unemployed and organising sports events, true friends and relatives are asking what went wrong

"Lenny was a vegetarian and an ab-



Lenny with his parents Leo and Lela. The picture was taken at his father's 50th birthday party

olutely calm person. Some of his friends heard that he had undergone training in political theory but his death in a shoot out does not match his personality and the Lenny Naidu we know," a friend said.

He added that the surroundings and atmosphere in which Lenny lived and worked in as a voluntarily worker fired Lenny in his youth to do something more meaningful

(Chatsworth is a drab picture of dormitory type homes which house almost 250 000 working class people)

Said another friend "Lenny was a socialist person who always put

others first. I recall during lectures that he will always be the last person to take handouts"

Lenny became active in community and extra-parliamentary politics at the University of Durban-Westville

He was a final-year BA student when he mysteriously skipped the country. Before he left, he came face to face with poverty, unemployment, and the widespread abuse of alcohol among the youth when he joined Helping Hands a community-cum-sports group

He became secretary of Helping Hands and later secretary of the

Bayview Residents Association.

This changed Lenny Naidu's life and turned him into a campaigner for the community but after a few years he could not longer take the depressed scenario in Chatsworth

According to a relative, Lenny headed for Harare and later Botswana. It is understood he was sent to Cuba for military training and returned to Lusaka sometime last year. During the time he was away he did not contact his parents or friends

His death on the border stunned Bayview, a passive community which buried him in an undraped coffin at the Mobeni Heights ceme-

tery

Amid strong police presence on the eve of his funeral thousands of pamphlets were mysteriously distributed in the township

Lenny's activities as a community worker were listed on the pamphlet.

His grief stricken parents Leo and Lela Naidu received an anonymous telephone call a week after the shoot out. They then travelled to Piet Retief and identified their son's body

Mr Naidu said his son's body was riddled with bullet wounds and a pathologist in Johannesburg declined to conduct a post mortem because the body was badly decomposed.

We are not angry and do not feel bitter about what Lenny has done when his life changed dramatically. He told us he was going on a scholarship and that is the last time we saw him alive almost two years ago," Mr Naidu said

He had to wait for almost a week to obtain clearance to organise the funeral, he said

One speaker

Last Friday he received permission from the authorities to go ahead with the funeral arrangement but severe restrictions were imposed

Only 200 people were allowed to attend the funeral service but 300 mourners crammed the Arupta Kazhanam Hall in Bayview

Scores of people milled around the hall. Only one speaker, a priest, a Mr Phillip - was allowed to conduct both services in the hall and at the burial at the nearby cemetery

Lenny was buried according to Hindu rights, the funeral service lasting 90 minutes

Lenny is the second Indian to die under these circumstances. In 1979 Krish Rabital of Merebank, near Durban, died in a hail of bullets when an SADF team raided ANC homes in Matola near Maputo. Rabital left the country in 1977

South 7-13/1788

FROM PAGE 1

"happy birthday" message for Mandela.

At the same time, balloons will be released by schoolchildren in different parts of the Western Cape. Special programmes will be held at UWC and the University of Cape Town.

A petition has been launched to call for the release of Mandela and all other prisoners.

Most of the Western Cape events are being organised by the Mandela Birthday Celebrations Committee, made up of a wide range of organisations.

Planning of the celebrations was being hampered by State of Emergency regulations and police intimidation, according to Advocate Dullah Omar.

Omar said a meeting to discuss the celebrations had to be called off on Wednesday night after security policemen took the names and addresses of all present.

Winnie Mandela

"In spite of this, our people are determined to ensure that Mandela will be remembered on his birthday.

"There will be central events and smaller events all over. If people are not able to celebrate in halls, they will meet in their houses," Omar said.

Former treason trialist Aubrey Mokoena announced the "Concert for Peace" at a packed press conference in Johannesburg.

"We must honour this man who has stood the test of time."

The press conference was attended by Mandela's wife, Winnie, and her daughter, Zinzi, Irene Mkwazi and June Mlangeni, whose husbands are serving life sentences on Robben Island.

Other speakers included Cosatu's publicity secretary Frank Memjies and president of the Postal and Telecommunication Workers Association (Potwa), Vusi Khumalo.

Winnie Mandela said it was her family's tradition to stay home and fast on July 18.

Mandela birthday fever

reached beyond London to the smaller cities, towns, villages and hamlets of England.

And its the small gestures that make the most dramatic impact — a giant two-metre in diameter birthday cake borne through the streets of York as part of a local parade; a moving tribute by 100 Manchester schoolchildren who sang a carefully rehearsed rendition of Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika.

The anthem's Manchester debut was at a reception held to honour the Nelson Mandela Freedom marchers who are marching almost 1 000 kms across England, from Glasgow to London, to highlight the Freedom by 70 campaign.

Labour Party MP

At the reception the marchers, who have covered about 640 kms and have more than a week to go, were welcomed by the Lord Mayor of the city and the international officer of the National Union of Mineworkers.

About 300 local residents turned out to welcome the 25 marchers one for each year of Mandela's incarceration — who include three former SA political prisoners Alan Brookes, now an office bearer in the Anti-Apartheid Movement, Indres Naidoo, who spent time on Robben Island with Mandela, and Eino Ekandjo, once imprisoned as a member of Swapo.

The Manchester reception marked the close of two and a half weeks of anti-apartheid activity organised by the Manchester city council. Visitors to the tribute included black Labour Party MP, Bernie Grant, and Donald Woods who introduced the screening of the Steve Biko movie, Cry Freedom.

Visitors toured stalls and exhibitions displaying the products of Anti-Apartheid Enterprises, a co-operative that produces solidarity clothing, foodstuffs, ornaments, and so on. Local bands organised a concert to raise money

for the AAM.

On display was six by five metre birthday card with 10 000 signatures, demanding the release of Mandela and the remaining Rivonia trialists. It will be delivered to the home of British Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher, on the birthday.

This kind of welcome has greeted the Mandela freedom marchers all along the route. At most overnight stops they are given an official reception.

The marchers are greeted at different points by celebrities, and also local AAM and trade union members, students, workers, housewives. They bring their children in prams, their dogs on leads.

As the band of marchers, all sporting Free Mandela T-shirts and holding high their banner, walk up hills and down dales, traffic hoots approval.

All along the route, in the towns and villages they pass, local bands often lead their way into town and Mandela posters line the trees, windows and store fronts.

Anti-apartheid activities have been arranged at venues along the route to coincide with the marchers' arrival.

Hyde Park rally

The march ends on July 17, at a giant rally at Hyde Park. Organisers expect tens of thousands of supporters to join in the last leg of the march through central London.

Organisers spearheading the UK-wide festivities report that the Free Mandela By 70 campaign is taking off world-wide.

More than 120 000 birthday cards, greetings, letters, poems and gifts have been collected in Holland. The 200 000-circulation Amsterdam daily newspaper ran a full-page advertisement calling on the Dutch people to send in their birthday greetings.

In West Germany the birthday will be celebrated with a music festival and in Dublin, Ireland, the massive Olympia Stadium will feature some of Ireland's biggest music names

Five top UDF activists are back home

Five top members of the United Democratic Front and some of its key affiliates in the Western Cape are back home without being charged after spending as long as two years in detention.

They include Mr Trevor Manuel, detained in August 1986, who is secretary of the UDF Western Cape region.

Mr Manuel, like others, has been served with restriction orders.

Also back home are:

- Mr Ebrahim Rasool, secretary of the outspoken Muslim organisation, the Call of Islam, and a regional executive member of the UDF.
- Mr Mzonke Jacobs, president of the Cape Youth Congress at the time of his detention in August 1986.

- Miss Hilda Ndude and Mr Mountain Qumbela, also executive members of the UDF Western Cape region.

Reuter reports that Mr Manuel was driven out of the Victor Verster prison in Paarl, near Cape Town, clutching his two-year-old son Govan, who was only two months old when his father was detained.

In other regions of the country, many UDF office bearers remain behind bars.

The national secretary, Mr Popo Molefe, and publicity secretary, Mr Terror Lekota, have spent three years behind bars — consistently refused bail in the "Delmas" treason trial.

DON Mattered grew up in Sophiatown, spent his adolescence living on a knife-edge in the township and saw his home and the homes of his friends and neighbours razed to the ground in a fit of apartheid madness in the 1950s

The harshness with which the Group Areas Act was implemented under the National Party Government, the destruction of established communities and the resistance to forced removals, opened his eyes to the world of politics

The State took notice of his subsequent activities and he was banned and house-arrested for more than eight years between 1973 and 1982 by the then Minister of Justice, Mr Jimmy Kruger

Mr Kruger said at the time that Mr Mattered "was a threat to State security"

The banning cut him off from society and it became an offence for him to speak to more than one person at a time

During that time he compiled the first part of his autobiography *Memory Is The Weapon* which was published early this year. It was acclaimed for the creative way he chronicled the early part of his life in Sophiatown

He also compiled a book of poetry, *Azania Love Song*, which sold thousands of copies

Mr Mattered's emergence as one of the country's most significant and militant poets was underlined this year when he appeared on the programmes of almost every important political and trade union gathering to inspire participants with his readings

Among his recent public appearances were the June 16 commemoration at Regina Mundi in Soweto and the Media Workers' Association of South Africa rally on June 26 during which he

POET OF THE LIBERATION MOVEMENT

Plea for unity of all the people

119

addressed the theme of black unity

He has also been interviewed by international publications, radio and television stations and the BBC broadcast a 25-minute documentary on him

Mr Mattered has also been invited to several countries abroad to present his works, has had his poetry translated into French and received the Steve Biko prize in Sweden in 1986 for *Azania Love Song*

Mr Mattered said he saw "poets in Azania as fighters on the frontline,

DON Mattered has emerged as one of the country's most significant and militant poets. MICHAEL TISSONG spoke to him at his home in Eldorado Park, Johannesburg

using their pens as AK-47s

"The difference between us and other poets is that we are in the trenches. There are those who write about people's suffering from safe vantage points. We suffer with the people and write about it

"It is probably because of this expression of suffering that the *Voice Of The Drum* and *The Protea Is Not A Flower* were banned in the 1970s

Roots

He said he was involved in cultural aspect of the struggle "because no revolutionary movement without cultural roots can survive in this country

"We have to speak out. Repression in South Africa is hardening the attitudes of the black youth towards white people. And it is from this repression that we gain our strength

"It is this repression of black people that brings us together in Black Consciousness

"Because, how do you run away from your blackness when it is your blackness that gets you shot, it is your blackness that prevents you from living in a certain area because whites are living there

"It is your blackness that prevents you from attending the school or university of your choice

"You do not hear that 10 white children were killed. Right now who is suffering? The black people



MR DON Mattered.

"Why? Because of their blackness. Because of the fact that they want to be free. Whoever wants to run away from that is a fool"

He said the attitude of confrontation and the conquering of the concept of fear in June 1976 "is an example of how Black Consciousness moved from theory to action

"June '76 showed that people could insurrect against the system of

apartheid. And it was not the African National Congress that did that or the Pan Africanist Congress. June '76 came as a result of the Black Consciousness movement

"I am not saying that there are no whites who have shown a genuine commitment to freedom. But the struggle is not about good whites"

Mr Mattered said he was aware of criticisms that politically he was "everything to everybody"

"My roots are in Black Consciousness. But I believe that liberation will not be achieved by the Black Consciousness movement or the PAC or the ANC going it alone

"We have to have unity of all the oppressed people if we are to achieve liberation. The unity of the oppressed is more important to me than struggling under a particular banner."

STUDENT LEADER GOES TO HOSPITAL

Treated for chest pains

THE former president of the Azanian Students Organisation, Mr. Tiego Moseneke, who is held under the emergency regulations, has been admitted to the Johannesburg Hospital.

A spokesman for his family yesterday confirmed that Mr Moseneke, a B Proc student at the University of the Witwatersrand was treated for chest pains. He was admitted to the hospital last week, according to his family.

Mr Moseneke is the third political leader to be admitted to hospital in Johannesburg during the past two weeks. The others are jailed PAC president, Mr Zeph Mothopeng (74), who was discharged from hospital last week. Mr Mothopeng is serving a 15 year prison sentence and is being held at

SOWETAN
Reporter

Diepkloof prison.

The other is Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu, editor of *New Nation*, who has been held under emergency regulation for almost two years. He was admitted to the Johannesburg Hospital this week suffering from depression.

A spokesman for the Moseneke family said they were given permission by the authorities to visit him at the hospital. "I saw him on Wednesday," the spokesman said.

EMC 10/15 8/7/86 114 10/10/86

Inkatha member in court after man's death

MARITZBURG. — An Inkatha member, Mr Emmanuel Thulani Ngcobo, 28, arrested on Wednesday in connection with the killing of an Imbali man who was shot dead earlier this week, was granted bail of R500 yesterday when he made a second appearance in the Magistrate's Court here.

The slain man, Mr Ernest Mandla Mthembu, 35, was an applicant in a civil action in the Supreme Court in which he and other members of his family obtained a temporary restraining order against Mr Ngcobo and two other Inkatha members. The matter was set down for oral evidence next month.

In terms of the Supreme Court order, Mr Ngcobo, Mr Sichizo Zuma and Mr Jerome Mncwabe were interdicted from killing or assaulting five members of the Mthembu family.

Mr Ngcobo was granted R500 bail when he appeared before magistrate Mr F W Strydom, and he was ordered to report weekly to a Maritzburg police station.

The state did not oppose the bail application and recommended that bail be set at R500, on the instructions of the Attorney-General.

No charges were put to Mr Ngcobo and the trial was adjourned until August 4 for further investigation. — Sapa-Reuter

Curry warns Council: Play ball with CMCs

AK645
8/7/88
11A 283

By ANTHONY DOMAN
Municipal Reporter

PLAY ball with coloured management committees or suffer the consequences, Local Government Minister Mr David Curry has said in a stern warning to the "obstructionist" Cape Town City Council.

Mr Curry, Minister of Local Government, Housing and Agriculture in the House of Representatives, earlier threatened to cut off coloured housing funds to the council unless the committees were in charge of planning and control.

Acting Town Clerk Mr Gys Hofmeyr wrote to Mr Curry asking him to clarify this and to correct "any misunderstanding or incorrect impression".

The council had tried its best to provide housing and had even gone beyond the guidelines set by the Government, Mr Hofmeyr said.

Management committees had been consulted "at all relevant times"

It was inaccurate to label the council "obstructionist" because it had fulfilled and even exceeded its legal obligations towards management committees

"The days of seeing the management committees only in an advisory capacity are past," Mr Curry replied in a letter to be tabled at a meeting of the Kensington Management Committee.

"Until direct representation on local government level becomes a reality, the transfer of final decision-making powers to management committees is the name of the game"

He proposed a joint council-committee working group. But the council would ultimately have to take a back seat to the committees.

"I must bring home to you in no uncertain terms the importance of transferring final decision-making powers ... regarding certain matters that affect the interest and welfare of their community," he wrote

The committees shared the council's sentiments about an open, non-racial municipal franchise, he said. But "the needs of the coloured community are so great that participation in present local government structures is necessary to address and alleviate those tremendous needs"

Although the council itself opposed the present local government system, it nevertheless continued working as a whites-only body.

The committees were meant to advise the local authority on its community's needs. However, the local council still had overriding authority and "in practice these committees have never operated entirely satisfactorily".

● Several committees have already been allowed to perform administrative functions and others even take part in full council meetings.

'BAG OF POTATOES' HAD ARMS

A WITNESS in a PAC terrorism trial said her uncle gave her a bag containing arms and ammunition and told her that they were potatoes.

By SONTI MASEKO

Mrs Martha Monnkgoro was giving evidence in the trial of Mr Themba Jack Phikwane (32) of Bophuthatswana charged with terrorism and membership of the banned PAC. He has pleaded not guilty to both charges and is appearing in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court.

The prosecutor, Mr J A van der Merwe, asked Mrs Monnkgoro why she was given the arms and she said Mr Phikwane had asked her to keep the arms for him. She told the court that she gave the arms to her sister who went to hide them.

Three other witnesses who were all relatives of the accused were called to give evidence for the State. They said they all last saw Mr Phikwane in 1983 until he came to visit them in April last year.

Another witness, Mr Elias Mkele said Mr Phikwane came to visit him on March 31 last year. They went out for drinks in a bakkie owned by Town Talk Furnishers where Mr Mkele was employed.

Two days later he was called by the assistant manager of the shop, Mr Daniel Lucas Hartman, who told him that he had discovered a gun and two magazines between the seats of the car he had been driving.

He denied knowledge of the weapons but told the manager that the last person he drove with in the car was his uncle. He said when the police were called they told him to find his uncle and that if he failed he himself would be arrested.

MP's death: second application for bail

By Anna Louw
East Rand Bureau

A second bail application by Mr Ivan Wilfred Ballekistan (47), who is being held in connection with the death of Labour Party MP Mr Peter Jacobs, was made in the Alberton Magistrates Court yesterday

The magistrate, Mr J J Erlank, refused the first application on June 2 on the grounds of possible interference with witnesses

An appeal was lodged by the defence in the Rand Supreme Court against the dismissal of the application

The appeal was turned down on June 28

Yesterday, the magistrate requested a copy of the judge's ruling on the appeal and said he wanted to study it when considering this application

The case was postponed to August 8 when another application for bail will be heard.

At the last hearing Mr Erlank said the murder of Mr Jacobs (43), who was gunned down at close range in his car in front of the Eden Park Methodist Church, was not a family murder but affected an entire community

At that hearing Detective Constable Jacobus Uckerman said he was investigating the murder of Mr Frans Danster, who was gunned down in his house in Eden Park on April 6 1986

He said although the murder weapon was never found, it was discovered that Mr Danster had been shot with a 9 mm pistol.

VITAL WITNESS

Constable Uckerman said Mr Jacobs was a vital witness in the Danster case and his death was a blow to the investigation

The court earlier heard that Mr Ballekistan was known as "Poison Ivan" in Eden Park

He will be held at the Benoni police cells until the hearing

Tambo's driver shot dead (11A)

8-14-78 w/mail

●From PAGE 1

two men had loaded the generator into Makgene's car, Msibi began to help roll up the shutter. Next thing he was dead.

"It happened like lightning," said Makgene. "I could hardly see the culprit when he disappeared in the dark. I cannot tell if he was masked or not."

Makgene rushed to inform Msibi's parents and returned to find his friend bleeding from the head.

Msibi's mother, Edna Gigaba, said her son had no enemies except the police who had detained him twice after his release from custody in 1986.

Msibi had been abducted outside an Mbabane school in June 1986 and placed in a South African prison as an Emergency detainee. The abduction took place in full view of a group of women who screamed when they saw Msibi being taken away by 10 men wearing plainclothes.

The men, who were travelling in three cars, handcuffed and gagged Msibi and placed him in leg irons before taking him across the border.

He was eventually released after his family lawyers accused the South African police of abducting Msibi and threatened court action to have him released. It emerged that he had been Tambo's personal bodyguard.

After his release from custody, Msibi was detained twice. His lawyers met with senior security police officers and he was not detained again.

Msibi will be buried next Sunday from his parents' Pimville home.

He is survived by his parents, two younger brothers and a sister, as well as a wife in Swaziland and a two-year-old son, Thabiso.

VERSION ONE: The African National Congress is a bloodthirsty group of terrorists, bent on taking power by force, regardless of the cost.

Evidence cited for this version includes bomb blasts, such as the one at Ellis Park last week, aimed at killing civilians and the recent words of ANC military leader Chris Han, in an interview published in the *Weekly Mail*. "We are prepared to see a wasteland if that is the price of our freedom."

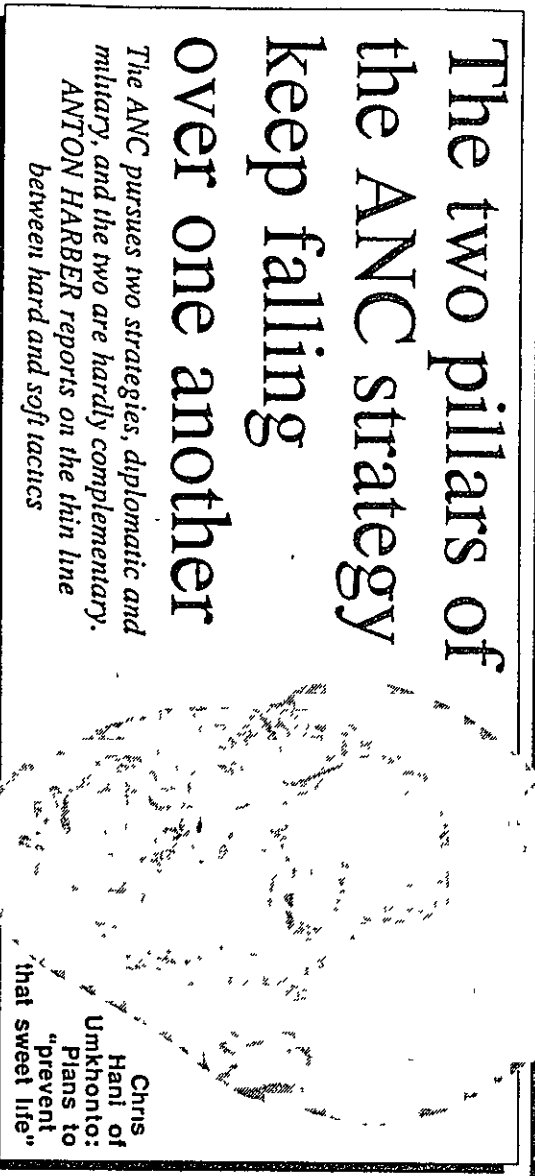
VERSION TWO: The ANC is led by international diplomats who wear Saville Row suits rather than military fatigues. They carry carefully prepared speeches for international conferences rather than AK-47s. They are reluctant fighters, schooled in the passive resistance politics of the 1950s.

Which of these represents the true ANC? Many observers have suggested that the ANC has shifted from the latter version to the former, with militant "Young Lions" pushing aside the older, more conservative leadership and overriding their long-standing reluctance to hit soft civilian targets.

Is this the case? Have there been radical shifts in ANC strategy? Did the Ellis Park and other recent bombs signal that the ANC military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) is resorting to terror?

Both descriptions of the ANC given above are ridiculous caricatures. Nevertheless, they represent important strands within the organisation.

On the one side, the ANC's central leadership consists of seasoned diplomats who have made enormous gains during the last decade. ANC leader Oliver Tambo has, in the last two years, met senior representatives of the American, British and West German governments. The organisation has opened up offices all over the world — from Kenya to Australia — and achieved international recognition not dreamed of 10 years ago. On the other, there are the "Young



The two pillars of the ANC strategy keep falling over one another

The ANC pursues two strategies, diplomatic and military, and the two are hardly complementary.
ANTON HARBUR reports on the thin line between hard and soft tactics

Lions", a generation of more militant, hardened youth eager for more direct military action and impatient of sitting in training camps in frontline states. It would be a mistake to see this as a division in the ANC — that would be an exaggeration. However, these are two strands which run side-by-side in the organisation and there is some tension between them.

It is not just a question of young versus old, it is the fact that the ANC recognises both the military and the diplomatic as important "pillars of the struggle" — and the two don't always complement each other.

There is consensus in Lusaka on the need for the ANC to step up military action. The ANC's view is that the guerrilla activities of the early 1980s — from the spectacular attacks on Kooberg and Sasol to the many, smaller limpet mine explosions at government buildings — were a key part in the build-up of political activism and resistance that led to the 1985 unrest.

However, there is also consensus that the ANC's diplomatic achievements are not to be sneered at. The problem is that military success can carry diplomatic costs. MK attacks are severely criticised by the

major Western governments. There is little doubt that the ANC's diplomatic acceptability in London, Washington and Bonn would soar if it abandoned armed struggle. So, on the one hand, the ANC leadership has to respond to an internal political demand for more dramatic action and for a stepping up of attacks against the government, on the other hand, it has to bear in mind that such action may undercut its diplomatic gains. ANC leaders would dispute this view they would argue that their diplomatic achievements grew out of their "successes" within the country. Without the bombs, they would have little to show for their struggle, and the international world would not be interested.

Chris Han, of Umkhonto: Plans to "prevent" that sweet life.

ed on the National Executive Committee and speculation that the ANC may have to bear this pressure in mind when the time comes to replace Tambo at the head.

Recent appointments in the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, point to the rise of the "Young Lions". Neither the new chief-of-staff, Chris Han, nor the new political commissar, Steve Tshwete, are young, but they do represent those pushing for more direct military action.

In his recent *Weekly Mail* interview, Han gave important pointers to where he was taking his soldiers. "Their (white) life is good. They go to their cinemas, they go to their braavies, they go to their five-star hotels. That's why they are supporting the system. It guarantees a happy life for them, a sweet life. Part of our campaign is to prevent that sweet life," he said.

One effect of the State of Emergency has been to put the notion of "People's War" on the back burner. Tambo announced in 1987 that the phase of "armed propaganda" had been replaced by the phase of "People's War". This implied a major change in military strategy from iso-

lated but spectacular military attacks, aimed at making mainly propaganda gains, to the building of political-military structures to guide the instruction implied by "People's War". The latest bombs represent a return to armed propaganda, and Han himself said this. "The (recent) bombs were to tell the whites we can creep and crawl next to you. Be careful, we are developing and we will be able to do something big within your areas."

"It is a position of armed propaganda — demonstrating to our people that we are still around and, to white people, that they are going to live in insecurity as long as Botha is there." Does this point to more soft targets? Recent bombs point to this. Only this week, however, an ANC representative denied that policy had changed. "Our policy is still to avoid civilian deaths," he said in reply to questions put to him by the *WM*.

His phrasing, however, is the key to understanding ANC attitude. It is not policy to aim specifically for civilians. However, whereas the ANC in its early days went out of its way to avoid civilian deaths, it now accepts some as inevitable.

One also has to understand how the ANC defines "soft targets". It certainly does not include all civilians. The ANC sees as legitimate targets people who serve in the military and state machinery and "collaborators".

For example, border farmers are generally seen as civilians. The ANC, however, argues that because they serve in local commandos and are an important part of the border security system, they are targets.

And rugby spectators? The ANC won't comment on the bomb itself, but repeat that there is no change in the policy of avoiding civilian deaths.

One can only presume that the two strands within the ANC are running side by side. Which will be dominant is difficult to know — given the level of censorship and the reticence of the ANC.

London pupils' paper causes political storm

(11A) (12) —The Star Bureau 5/24 8/17/88

LONDON — A primary school project in which youngsters called for an end to racism and demanded freedom for Nelson Mandela has been attacked as political indoctrination.

Ten-year-olds at Oakington Manor Primary School in the north London left-wing borough of Brent produced an eight-page "newspaper" about jobs. Critics say it was riddled with anti-racist jargon, spelling mistakes and grammatical errors.

One article states "No Racism in Jobs", adding "Free Nelson Mandela".

One mother claimed the class of 30 — most of them Asian — were told what to write.

"My daughter wrote one of the passages and she was told what to put. She came home ashamed to be white."

Local Conservative councillor Mr Leslie Winters said: "This is no more than political indoctrination. Quite apart from the appalling spelling, children of 10 just can't think like this."

However, school governors' chairman Councillor Nat Jackson said. "I see nothing offensive about this."

Now it's a Mandela concert in Jo'burg

1/1A

By VUSI GUNENE

THE birthday of jailed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela will be celebrated by thousands of people with a "Concert for Peace" at Sun Valley near Johannesburg next week

Mandela will celebrate his birthday on July 18 behind bars in Pollsmoor Prison despite repeated calls for his release from the international community and inside the country

At a news conference this week to outline plans for the concert, the "Mandela 70 Committee" elected to organise the concert, described Mandela as "a symbol of unity and dedicated leadership"

The conference was attended by the families of Robben Island "lifers" and by members of various embassies

Aubrey Mokoena of the "Mandela 70 committee" said the progressive movement should not let Mandela's birthday pass unmarked

"Despite diminishing legal space in the country, Mandela remains a leader who stood the test of time," he said "He has throughout his life committed himself to the restoration of human rights"

Messages of support were received from Irene Mkwai, recently married to Wilton Mkwai who is serving a life sentence; June Mlangeni, wife of Andrew Mlangeni, Lulu Gwala, daughter of Harry Gwala, imprisoned in Pietermaritzburg; and Vusi Khumalo, president of the Post and Telecommunications Workers' Association, and Cosatu information officer Frank Meintjies.

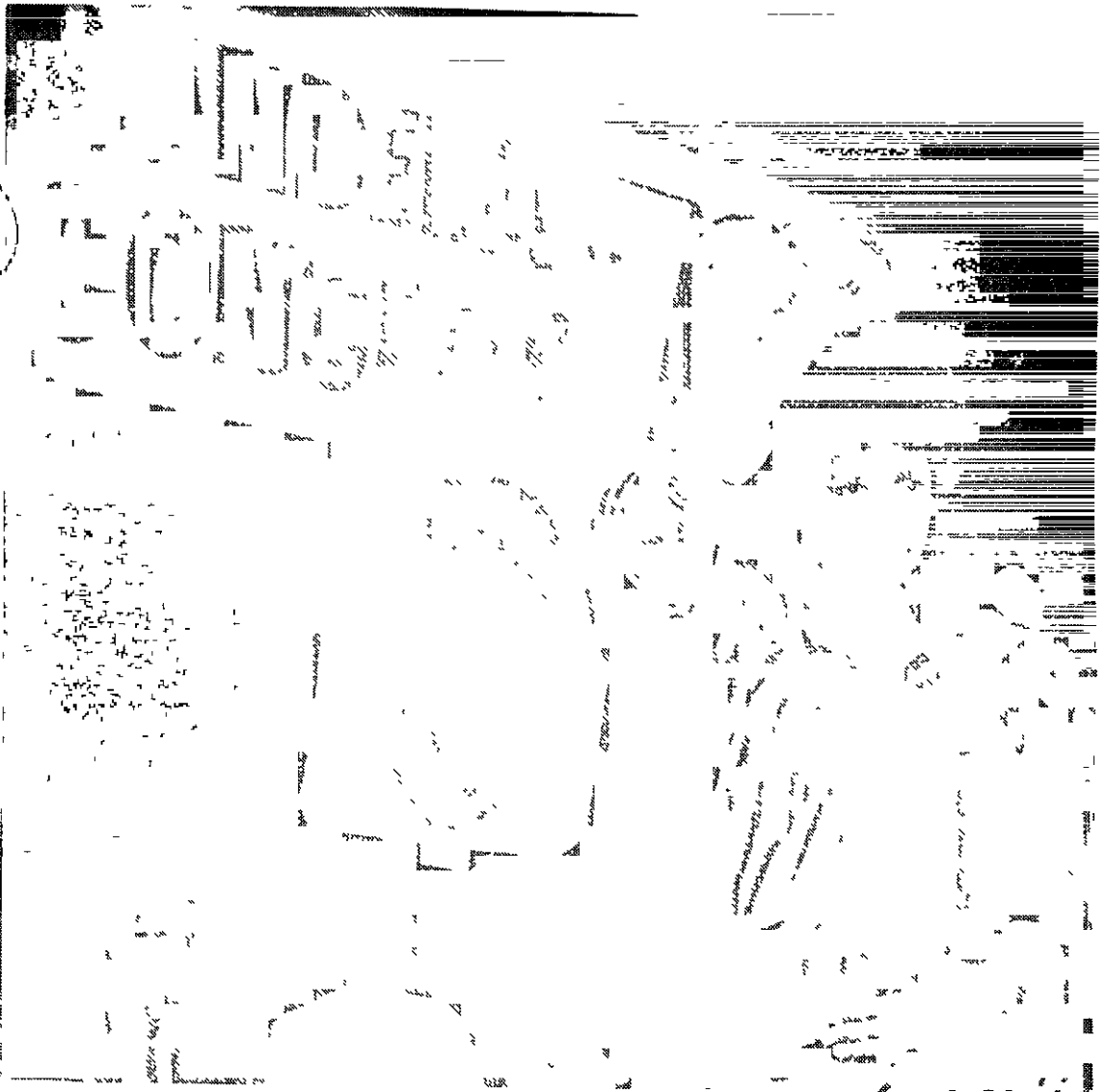
Rebecca Kotane, wife of the late general secretary of the South African Communist Party, Moses Kotane, also attended the conference.

The committee said they expected about 25 000 people at the concert.

Mandela has been separated from his wife, Winnie, and his family for almost 26 years

He became the leader of the ANC in the early 1950s but spent most of his time either restricted or underground.

On June 12 1964 Mandela was sentenced to life imprisonment.



Freedom songs — Winnie Mandela announces a "Concert for Peace" to celebrate the 70th birthday of jailed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela

Picture: WENDY SCHWEGMANN, Reuter

And Mbeki turns 78... rather quietly

AS plans get underway for a large-scale celebration of Nelson Mandela's birthday his one-time cell mate, Govan Archibald Mvunyelina Mbeki, today celebrates his 78th birthday.

A self-proclaimed member of the African National Congress and the South African Communist Party, Mbeki will spend the day at his home in New Brighton, Port Elizabeth, under severe restrictions.

Two months after his release from prison in November, he was restricted to his New Brighton home and has been refused travel documents.

Mbeki spent 23 years on Robben Island following his conviction in 1964 on charges of sabotage. He had been sentenced to life imprisonment.

Mbeki, son of a chief, was born in Nqamakwe district, Transkei. He attended mission schools and worked as a messenger and a newsboy before entering Fort Hare University.

While still a student, he rose to a prominent position in the ANC Youth League. He completed his BA degree in 1937.

Mbeki worked as a school teacher for years but his political views cost him his job. He then gained a BEcon in social studies through the University of South Africa.

He became involved in business and later edited the *Territorial Magazine* from 1938 to 1944. In 1939 he wrote *Transkei in the Making*.

In 1944 he helped draft the ANC document, "African Claims" and was also editor of the influential left-wing newspaper, *New Age*.

Mbeki became one of the most important ANC figures in the Eastern Cape and was one of the planners of the Congress of the People in 1955.

When the first State of Emergency was declared in 1960, he spent five months in detention.

He joined the SACP in 1961 and was the ANC delegate at its conference in Lobatse, Botswana, in 1962.

8-14/17/88 - w/meal

RADICAL

The growth of Pan Africanism could signify

Star

A SMALL, seemingly insignificant change in the way unionised black workers are starting to greet one another may herald a major ideological shift

A growing number of workers now exchange salutations by raising their hands and extending an open palm instead of a clenched fist, observes Mr Sam Mabe, vice president of the Media Workers Association of South Africa

The open palm, as distinct from the clenched fist symbol of black power or, before that, the thumbs-up salute of the outlawed African National Congress, is the fraternal sign of the prohibited Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC)

It does not follow that men who use the open palm form of greeting today are underground agents of the PAC. It does mean, however, that they sympathise with the Africanist ideology espoused by the PAC

Africanism predates the formation of the PAC in 1959. It traces its roots back to the formation of the ANC Youth League in 1943 and to the political theorising of Anton Lembede and A P Mda

Today it is espoused by two organisations which operate openly within the law: Azanian National Youth Unity (Azanyu) and the South African Black Municipal and Allied Workers Union

Mr Mabe, it may be objected, is not an objective observer, given his prominence in a union which champions a fundamental tenet of Africanism: black leadership

But there are independent indicators of renewed interest in, and — at the least — a modest resurgence of, Africanism

There is a strong surge of sentiment in favour of Africanism, remarks a known sympathiser of the United Democratic Front (UDF) during a conversation in Soweto. His appraisal is important because the UDF represents a competing ideological tradition that of the Freedom Charter

But the UDF sympathiser adds an important corollary. The growth in Africanism is still visceral, it exists largely at the gut level of emotion. Whether it can be translated into a viable political force, depends on whether its protagonists can muster the necessary organisational skills

Another pointer to the growth in Africanist sentiment is the poll conducted by the *Sowetan* last year. It asked its readers to nominate leaders of their choice as a parallel and rival exercise to the whites-only general election. Leaders in the Africanist and black consciousness camp drew more than 1430 votes against just over 350 for the Charterists

The *Sowetan* is seen by some observers as pro-Africanist, meaning that the majority of its readers may share that outlook. But, even if that is so, the poll cannot be dismissed as irrelevant

Africanism is, of course, a complex compound of philosophical and political notions. But its key distinguishing element can be identified succinctly: it sees the struggle in South Africa as primarily a struggle against colonialism and for "national liberation and self-determination" of the indigenous people

The colonists are the white settlers and the indigenes are the black aboriginals, a definition which includes the coloured people but excludes the Indian

The struggle between the National Party Government and the ANC for the hearts and minds of the people is concealing the stealthy advance of much more radical political thinking. While a growing number of whites are adopting the idea of white exclusivity as the only solution for their future, blacks are turning towards their own counterpart of this: Pan Africanism. Many political observers believe that after the Government and the ANC have sorted out their differences, only then will South Africa's real — between the advocates of these two ideologies. PATRICK LAWRENCE, in the first part of this two-part series looked at white exclusivity. This week he analyses the thinking of the Pan Africanists.

minority except for its working class

The PAC was formally founded on April 6 1959, the anniversary of the landing in the Cape of Jan van Riebeeck. The date is not coincidental. It was chosen to juxtapose the PAC as a counter-force to colonialism

The fact that whites have been in South Africa for nearly 335 years — Van Riebeeck landed on April 6 1652 — does not, in the Africanist view, mean that the situation is not a colonial one

It means, explains an Azanyu spokesman, "we have a special form of colonialism, settler colonialism," a colonialism in which the colonising power is established in the colonised ter-

ritory instead of being located in a distant motherland

African nationalism is the essential programme and motor force of Africanism. South Africa's indigenous people — native blacks and coloureds — are its shock troops

Because, in the words of the PAC's founding president, the charismatic Robert Sobukwe, they are the "only people who, because of their material position, can be interested in the complete overhaul of the present structure of society" But, co-existing with a narrow biological definition of Africanism which restricts membership to South Africa's "indigenous peo-

ple," is an ideological definition. An African is anyone who, to quote Sobukwe again, "owes his only loyalty to Africa and who is prepared to accept the democratic rule of an African majority"

Whites can, by a positive act of identification with the indigenous majority, thus become Africans in the second ideological sense. But, without taking that giant psychological step, they remain settlers from the Africanist perspective

Two further hallmarks of Africanism must be mentioned: dislike and suspicion of white liberals and leftists and rejection of the concept of multiracialism

Africanists charge the Afri-

Continued

ROBERT SOBUKWE . . . founding president of the PAC, he portrayed the assimilationist aspect of Africanism. "Here is a tree rooted in African soil, nourished with waters from the rivers of Africa. Come and sit under its shade and become, with us, the leaves of the same branch and the branches of the same tree."

TRENDS II

9/7/87

a major shift in black ideological thinking

1/A



STEVE BIKO . . . founder of the black consciousness movement, he identified with a profoundly Africanist sentiment: South Africa belongs to "black people and to them alone" and whites can live here only on terms laid down by blacks, just as blacks have to live in Europe on terms dictated by Europeans.

can National Congress's African leaders of allowing "minority groups" to hijack the movement and to use it as a vehicle for "foreign ideologies", instead of preserving it as a chariot for African nationalism. Sobukwe spoke of "left wing or right wing groups of the minorities (meaning, presumably, communists and liberals) who arrogantly appropriate to themselves the right to plan and think for Africans". His attitude echoed in Africanist circles today. Africanists are sharply critical of the Freedom Charter, a document accepted by both the ANC and the UDF. The fiercest criticism is directed at the Freedom Charter's recognition

of the existence of "national groups". Africanists see that as a form of "multiracialism", which they define as "racialism multiplied". Africanism's counter credo is non-racism. It aims, not at protection of minorities, but at their assimilation as individuals into the African nation. In that sense Africanism, rather than the more accommodating ANC tradition, is the ultimate foil to white supremacism or — which is not necessarily the same thing — white separatism.

Sobukwe portrayed the assimilationist aspect of Africanism in gentle, luring imagery

"Here is a tree rooted in African soil, nourished with waters from the rivers of Africa. Come and sit under its shade and become, with us, the leaves of the same branch and the branches of the same tree."

But Africanism can show a harsher face, if it is forced to fester as an underground movement or is honed by the bitterness of enforced exile.

Outlawing the PAC in April 1960 gave rise to the secret Poqo — meaning "pure" — movement. It espoused naked terror as a method of achieving its ends. Its social programme was brutally simple. It was, to quote ANC expert Dr Tom Lodge, "destruction of the present order and its replacement by an inver-

sion in which white would be black and black would be white.

Similar uncompromising attitudes may be maturing in the camps of the PAC army the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla). Its recruits are reported to chant a chilling slogan: "One settler one bullet."

Apla appears to be playing a minor struggle in the "armed struggle" to overthrow the existing order. The main burden is carried by fighters of the ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Several scores claimed by the PAC are questioned both by police and independent observers. They include the assassination of Brigadier Andrew Molohe, the man held responsible by black activists for the "Winterveld massacre" of March 1986, and the "scorpion" attacks on security forces in Alexandra in 1986-87.

Of the roughly 530 insurgents captured or killed by South African security forces last year, only 85 — less than a fifth — were identified as PAC men.

The accused in most security trials are ANC men. A significant exception is the appearance of seven alleged PAC men on charges of terrorism and furthering the aims of the PAC.

The trial is noteworthy for two reasons. One of the accused, Mr Enoch Zulu, is a veteran whose political career allegedly goes back to the early days of the PAC and Poqo, two of his co-accused, Achmad Assiem and Yusuf Patel, are alleged to have been members of a pro-PAC Muslim organisation, Qibla.

Qibla, according to Dr Lodge, was formed by Imam Hadja Haron, a Muslim leader who sought converts among known PAC men in townships around Cape Town. He was detained by police in May 1969. He died in prison "of natural causes" in September 1969. The Muslim or Qibla connection is important because it has given the PAC a bridgehead into South Africa's Muslim community and helped to forge ties between Libya and its unpredictable leader, Colonel Muammar Gaddafi.

But the relative weakness of the PAC on the military front is not an accurate measure of its ideological appeal. Its underlying sentiment that South Africa is essentially the black man's country strikes a resonant chord in the black community.

The founder of black consciousness, Steve Biko, who was admired by many liberals, identified with a profoundly Africanist sentiment. It is that South Africa belongs to "black people and to them alone" and that whites can only live here on terms laid down by blacks, just as blacks have to live in Europe on terms dictated by Europeans.

Coincidentally — or perhaps not so coincidentally — Biko's brother, Kaya, was jailed as a high school pupil for two years for being a member of Poqo.

WHOMEVER planted the Ellis Park bomb is clearly of the opinion that the South African Government has thus far been too lenient in its repression and that whatever reservoirs of racial goodwill remain are altogether excessive.

Chris Hani, the Latin scholar who currently heads Umkhonto We Sizwe, may or may not have been behind the outrage. Either way, he might do well to consider *ratonnade*. He may find the word, if he has not already done so, in Alistar Horne's history of the Algerian conflict, *A Savage War of Peace*.

Translated from the French, it literally means "rat-hunt". In Algeria, it was used to describe the mindless butchery of innocent Moslems by vengeance-seeking French settlers.

The National Liberation Front (FLN), Algeria's ANC, actively en-



couraged *ratonnade* as well as its more organised form, *rattassage*. The latter — literally "raking

over" — referred to murderous military sweeps through Moslem communities, and should put Hani in mind of Tacitus's immortal phrase "They make a desert and call it peace."

The FLN's goal was clear. To use the enemy to wipe out the middle ground and turn the entire indigenous population — or however much of it survived — against the colonists.

The front deliberately sought to sidetrack the dangerously reformist colonial administration into all-out repression and thus "alienate the masses" into general insurrection.

In an interview with the New York Times last month, Hani said that while he regretted the death of white civilians, he hoped that

Simon Barber and the Algerian Lesson for the ANC

Washington Diary

their mutilation in the random violence of bomb blasts might cause them to rethink the status quo.

Functionally, there does not seem to be much difference between this and the FLN declaration that preceded their massacres. The tone is perhaps a little more pious, and thus insidious.

Hani must ask himself whether he genuinely wishes to have the situation proceed to *ratonnade* and *rattassage*, as, if there are more Ellis Parks, it inexorably might.

Attempting to blow up white civilians, and especially Afrikaners, at one of their cultural

holiest of holies — a rugby match — seems an extremely dangerous step in that direction.

Indeed, it could even be argued that the planter of the bomb had visions of an even more lethal counter

Now it may well be that this is not part of Hani's game plan, and the Ellis Park blast was the work of forces even more radical. If so, it would behoove the ANC to say so and make its position clear.

Thus far, the Lusaka salon seems to have understood that there is a vast difference between the South African and Algerian conflicts. Principally that the for-

mer is not a colonial war and there are no colonists who could, when the going gets too bestial, simply pack up and leave.

Nor is there a Charles de Gaulle sitting in the relative comfort of his metropolitan capital who can unilaterally call the whole show off.

Surely even Hani knows that the present combatants are symbiotically linked and are going to have to live together come what may.

Think of it another way. I would argue that for the armed struggle to be successful — ie, to put Hani and his colleagues into power — it would likely have to emulate the FLN's tactics complete with deliberately induced *ratonnade* and *rattassage*.

It would have to be that extreme to create the kind of mass, suicidal hatred that might force the present Government into swift and unconditional surrender.

Hani believes that the people he aspires to liberate can stand such suffering. He quotes a black who lost a leg to a land mine in the Eastern Transvaal, "I am sorry that I lost a leg but I know that the action was not intended for me."

The mine may not have been so intended. But whoever laid it may well have intended the amputee to die in another way — as the victim of a *ratonnade*.



Winnie Mandela

WAMAMOTO TH WAMUDELA GETTERBRATION FOR SA

(IA) C/P 107/88

Defence team go to Chief Justice with petition for reprieve of Six

CP Correspondent

AS the fate of the Sharpeville Six hangs in the balance, the Chief Justice will go before they are hanged. Lawyers representing them are working feverishly to secure their reprieve. In their concerted attempts to save the Six from the gallows the defence team on Monday filed a lengthy petition with the Chief Justice. They have also vowed to take the matter up with the State President - should their efforts to secure a reprieve fail.

The Six were sentenced to death for the murder of the deputy mayor of the Vyal township of Lekwa, Jacob Dlamini during the Vyal unrest in September 1984. In a surprise move following the sentence, the defence team applied to

Rabie on Monday

"We now have to await a reply on whether or not the Chief Justice will grant us leave to appeal. There are not time limits for that - he could take a number of days or weeks. Dlam said. Normally," he added, it takes a long time, but in this particular case he might consider the matter as one of urgency."

Dlam indicated, however, that should the defence team not have an answer from the Chief Justice by July 19, when the Six are to be executed, this would mean the defence team will again be going back to court. On the other hand, should leave to appeal be granted the defence team will have to go to the Appeal Court in Bloemfontein - again to present the

By SELLO SERIBE and KLAAS MOUTLOUNG

NELSON Mandela's name and spirit will loom large for the thousands of people expected to attend a mammoth concert near Johannesburg on Sunday, July 17, to celebrate the African National Congress leader's 70th birthday. The following day about 1 600km away at Pollsmoor Prison in the Cape, Mandela's wife Winnie and their children will celebrate the birthday with a six-hour visit to the man whose name has become a worldwide symbol of black resistance to apartheid in South Africa.

At a Press conference at Johannesburg's Market Theatre this week the Mandela 70 Committee announced plans for the mammoth concert to be held at the Fun Valley pleasure resort outside Soweto from 8.30am to 5.30pm.

The committee said in a statement the occasion should not be seen only as a celebration but should also be a re-dedication by the people of South Africa to the realisation of Nelson Mandela's vision of a free South Africa which he spelled out at the Rivonia Trial. It was at this trial in 1963-64 that Mandela and other prominent African nationalist leaders such as Walter Stultz, were sentenced to life imprisonment. The committee has already received messages of

Huge crowds due at birthday festival

"As a peace loving and democratic people, we have decided to arrange a concert to say 'Let's not let Mandela's birthday go unmarked' the committee said. At the Press conference Winnie Mandela expressed



Sally Motlana shows TV personality Lunga Williams how easy it is to knit a square.

Pic Evans Embowment

at birthday festival

The committee said in a statement the occasion should not be seen only as a celebration, but should also be a re-dedication by the people of South Africa to the realisation of Nelson Mandela's vision of a free South Africa, which he spelt out at the Rivonia Trial

It was at this trial in 1963-64 that Mandela and other prominent African nationalist leaders such as Walter Sisulu, were sentenced to life imprisonment

The committee has already received messages of support from France and other countries for the venture, said committee member Frank Meintjies

Proceeds from the concert will be donated to a number of charity organisations

Five of the organisations that have been earmarked to receive the concert proceeds are the Mpho and Mphonyana Trust Fund, the National Environmental Awareness Council in Dobsonville, Jiswa Centre and SOS, both in Lenasia, and the Orlando Children's Home in Soweto Others will be named later

Some of the country's most popular groups and performers will grace the occasion, which ranks as one of the most ambitious and important cultural events ever held in this country

Stimela, Lucky Dube, Mercy Pakela, Yvonne Chaka-Chaka, Chicco, Kamazu, Spho "Hotsticks" Mabushe, Linda Fassie Bayethe, Umoja, The African Jazz Pioneers, Vusi Masuku, and Chimorra are some of those already committed to the concert

The Press conference was also attended by wives and family members of jailed ANC members

Among those present were Irene Mkwazi, June Mlungeni, Lulu Gwala - daughter of Harry Gwala, Ameen Cujee - a relative of Ahmed Kathrada - and one of the Mandela daughters, ZINZI

Albertina Sisulu, wife of Walter, was unable to attend because of a government restriction order placed on her.

The committee's statement said that despite numerous calls from within and outside South Africa for the release of Mandela and the other life prisoners at Pollsmoor, the "SA government has continued to imprison him"

The committee added that Mandela's rejection of State President PW Botha's offer of a conditional release was vindicated by the circumstances of Govan Mbeki, who will be celebrating his 78th birthday today

"As a peace-loving and democratic people, we have decided to arrange a concert to say 'Let's not let Mandela's birthday go unmarked,'" the committee said

At the Press conference Winnie Mandela expressed her family's gratitude to the committee for celebrating her husband's birthday while the country is under a state of emergency

Commenting on the six-hour birthday visit to Nelson granted to the Mandela family by the government, ZINZI said the family did "not wish to put the government on the back" for allowing the visit

The committee said other events had also been organised in the Western and Eastern Cape, Border, Natal and the Free State

Taxi's p

CP Correspondent
THE continuing harassment of taxi drivers took a new turn this week when passengers on their way to Johannesburg from Natal were "hijacked" by being forced out of their taxis and into a waiting bus

In the wake of the incident, a taxi driver operating between Maritzburg and Johannesburg is to lay

Umtata order on

CP Correspondent
FIVE prisoners in a Transkei made horrific claims of gross beating and sexual abuse.

In an application to the Umtata Supreme Court the five said they were in a grossly overcrowded cell for five months without proper clothing and adequate food.

They have asked for a Supreme Court order to stop the alleged irregularities.

Their urgent application came from Umtata's Wellington Prison. It was filed with Transkei's Minister of Justice and the Commissioner of Prisons.

According to Shadrack Nongolo, one of the prisoners, he is serving a 17-year sentence for robbery - his cell measures about five metres and often houses 120 prisoners.

He and eight prisoners sleep on the floor of the toilet. Arguments, physical and sexual abuse and indecent assaults are common in the cell, he said.

He said that on January 28 two prisoners died after assaults by other prisoners. The fight began

25

Brazil grants 'ANC fighter' asylum

By WIM VAN VOLSEM
Rio de Janeiro

A BLACK man who claims to be a South African ANC fighter on the run was this week unexpectedly granted political asylum in Brazil.

Abule Magasi, 27, had arrived in Salvador da Bahia as a stowaway on the Cyprus-registered freighter Gorvias. He says he sneaked on to the ship in Port Elizabeth after escaping from prison in Botswana, despite a massive manhunt for him after a shootout with security forces in the north-western Transvaal three months ago.

Although Magasi had no papers or documents on him — he arrived destitute and with only the clothes he was wearing — Brazilian authorities have accepted him as a political refugee.

His case was processed in record time this week under strong pressure from local black activist groups who had taken up his cause.

Grumbles

The decision, taken by acting president Ulysses Guimarães, has caused grumbles within the justice department.

It wanted an investigation of Magasi's claims that he had been "politically persecuted".

But the acting president overruled all procedures and virtually instructed both the justice and foreign affairs departments to approve the application, which was done in less than three days.

Magasi was detained for several days after his arrival in Salvador da Bahia.

He told local authorities he was an ANC guerrilla who had been wounded in a gun battle between eight ANC fighters and SA troops after having carried out an "ANC mission".

Despite being hit by machinegun fire in the foot, he and "one other" companion were able to get away and



ABULE MAGASI
Torture claim

cross the border into Botswana.

There he was arrested, however, and detained in an army base, where he claims he was tortured "by South Africans".

He showed lacerations and marks on his body as well as his partly cut off left ear.

"Security there was weak and we were able to hoax our guards and escape," he said.

After a few days in the bush he and a few companions worked their way down to Port Elizabeth where they stowed away on the Gorvias.

Refused

In an interview with the Sunday Times, Magasi was only prepared to say that if he had been sent back to SA he would certainly be hanged in Pretoria.

Magasi said he joined the ANC at the age of 19. His father, Sakoma Magisa, was an ANC "commander" who had died in a skirmish with SA forces two years ago.

Last Sunday he was carried high on a loudspeaker truck during the traditional Bahia state day parade and presented as "an example of the suffering of millions of black South Africans".

Political asylum is usually very hard to obtain in Brazil. Recently refugees from dictator Augusto Pinochet's Chile were sent back home and Haiti's former chief of political police was refused asylum.

Activists released

TEN Black Consciousness activists, who were released on Friday after spending two years in detention, were served with restriction orders.

The conditions of their release prohibit them from taking part in any activities of the Azanian Youth Organisation or the Azanian Students Movement.

The orders further restrict them to the magisterial district of Westonaria.

The youths, all from Bekkersdal, in the West Rand, are: Mr George Zama (24); Mr Dumile Sithole (23), Mr Spencer Montoedi (34), Mr Pule Khumalo (20), Mr Themba Damane (19), Mr Phillip Mthembu (20), Mr Sello Modisane (29), Mr Leonard Phillimon (23), Mr Glad Mofokeng (21) and Mr Oupa Magwaza (22).

According to a spokesman for the Azanian Students Movement, the orders also restrict the youths to their homes between 8pm and 4am.

11/8
11/7/68
Southern

SPECULATION OVER FIRST BLACK MP TO BE APPOINTED

Sowetan 11/7/88

(11A)

[Handwritten signature]

PROFESSOR Abram Nkabinde, rector of the University of Zululand, is one of two people around whom speculation is building that they could become South Africa's first appointed African Cabinet Ministers

The other man named is Transvaal MEC Mr John Mavuso, vice-chairman of the Constitutional Committee of the Transvaal Provincial Administration

Professor Nkabinde, rector since 1977, has previously been offered an ambassador's post, but declined on the grounds that he was not a voter

He was at the weekend in Durban and unavailable for comment, according to a colleague

However, the colleague said Professor Nkabinde was preparing a circular to his staff

saying he had no intention of leaving the university

Mr Mavuso, a former ANC member and later a top Inkatha member, has said that the National Party administration was genuine in its efforts to find solutions to the problems of South Africa

The Bill enabling the appointment of the African Cabinet Minister has been delayed in the

House of Representatives

It is known that the Natal Provincial Administration would like to appoint an African MEC, but has not yet. One of the reasons for the delay is that Inkatha and KwaZulu government is opposed to the idea

Inkatha is also opposed to appointed African members of the South African Cabinet

LP set for defiance of 'ungodly' bills

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE Labour Party and the government are headed for yet another showdown over the Group Areas Act

The leader of the Labour Party, Mr Allan Hendrickse, told a regional conference of his party at Robertson at the weekend that if three controversial new group areas bills became law the party would support bodies that defied them.

The proposed legislation provides for a major tightening up of the Group Areas Act, the creation of open areas administered as "own affairs", and franchise arrangements for those living in officially sanctioned mixed areas

Mr Hendrickse, whose party controls the Ministers Council in the House of Representatives, vowed that the party would refuse to administer those group areas laws which the government wanted to make an "own affair"

"We will not administer our own oppression," he told the conference

Mr Hendrickse reiterated his party's refusal to pass the three sets of proposed amendments to the Group Areas Act, describing them as "ungodly"

He acknowledged that the govern-

ment could bypass opposition to the measures by the majority of MPs in the House of Representatives by forcing the bills through Parliament via the Nationalist-dominated President's Council

In such an event, the party would still refuse to implement the laws, he said

Government ministers have in recent weeks indicated their awareness of Labour Party plans to fight new group areas legislation but none has been willing to be drawn on government plans, if any, to overcome the party's objections

Meanwhile, there have been indications that a number of parties will resort to various technicalities in a bid to delay the passage of the controversial group areas amendments

The government is determined to have the amendments passed into law during the second short session of Parliament slated to run for the last week of August and the first week of September

Nationalist MPs are adamant that the tougher group areas measures are needed before the municipal elections in October in order to fight off the electoral threat to the government from the far right.

However, opposition parties hope to delay the passage of legislation until after the short session — an effective delay until next year

'Black leaders will not take part'

skv
1177 By Esmaré van der Merwe, ~~(scribble)~~
Political Reporter (117)

The "tattered image" of the proposed National Council would be further undermined by the Government's latest constitutional plans to involve blacks in "own affairs" political structures, Progressive Federal Party spokesman Mr Peter Soal said today.

Proposed legislation providing for legislative and executive councils for blacks outside the self-governing areas was published for comment in the Government Gazette last week.

The Extension of Political Participation Act provided for legislative authority over matters such as education, welfare, local government and community development.

Mr Soal said the National Council's task would be to find structures for the inclusion of blacks in political processes. That task would be overruled by the latest proposals for regionalised structures.

"The Government will simply not get genuine black leaders to participate in these dummy structures."

"This yet again amounts to efforts to co-opt people into the apartheid system, because an entrenchment of own affairs is nothing more than the continuation of apartheid."

The alternative to the Government's proposals was to bring "everybody into a central legislature which should be worked out by all the leaders of all the political groupings of the country", Mr Soal said.

MANDELA CONCERT NOW IN BALANCE

Sowetan 11/7/85

1117

THE staging of the Mandela Concert for Peace hung in the balance at the weekend following the detention in Cape Town of activists connected with the venture.

Weekend reports linked the nine detainees with the concert being planned as a birthday party for jailed African National Congress (ANC) leader, Nelson Mandela. The nine, who include a journalist, a teacher, a photo journalist and various office bearers of the restricted United Democratic Front, were detained on Friday.

Relatives were quoted as saying the nine were being held under emergency regulations.

Their detention, which came after the

release last week of other UDF leaders, was widely seen as a prelude to the banning of the concert. Release Mandela Committee spokesman, Mr Aubrey Mokoena, said at the launch of the concert that he did not "think" that the Government would ban the concert.

The nine detainees are Mr Jonathan Shapiro, a cartoonist; Mr Bulelani Ngcuka, a lawyer; journalist Rehana Rossouw; Mrs Veronica Simmers; Mr Omar Badsha, a photo journalist; Mr Saleem Mowzer, a high school teacher; Mr Zolile Malindi, UDF Western Cape president; Mr Nabs Wessels, of the Dependants Conference and Monde Belfour of the KTC peace committee.

SITTING through a performance by Mirriam Makeba in London recently brought a flood of thoughts racing through the mind Mirriam, having left South Africa over 20 years ago sounded more of the real South Africa than the many 'made in Soweto Americans' that fill the silver screens of South Africa

As she sang Hugh Masekela's everlasting lament 'I have been such a long time gone' she came close to tears as she spoke of the great divide — the Limpopo River that bars her from home

Her show coming two days after a reveling visit to a Princeton College project of South African exiles in London, revealed the contradictions of our society and the apparent anguish of exile

Fighting

While at home people clamour to take their children to multiracial schools which are nothing but white schools where people try to be more British than the British those exiles spread out in the diaspora are fighting to reverse the trend

The reason is simple to understand Finding themselves a minority in a white society where their children learn and speak only English with its history of the glorious and conquering Empire black parents are faced with children who grow up with an inferiority complex about Africa

The children are taught white values at schools and yet are not accepted within the wider society Facing this rejection without a cultural fallback position creates frustration and alienation

To deal with these problems and to prepare the children for the eventual return to South Africa when freedom has been achieved, a group of South African exiles in London have formed the South

African Cultural and Education Project (SACLIP)

The aims of SACEP formed in January 1987 under the chairmanship of soft-spoken Natal-born Mr Abel Siphika are simply to teach their children African languages South African culture dance geography and its history

The project is the nucleus to the revival of the spirit to maintain guard and develop African cultural awareness among the exile South African community in London so as to serve as a foundation to national unity progress and prosperity It is strictly non-political

Volunteer

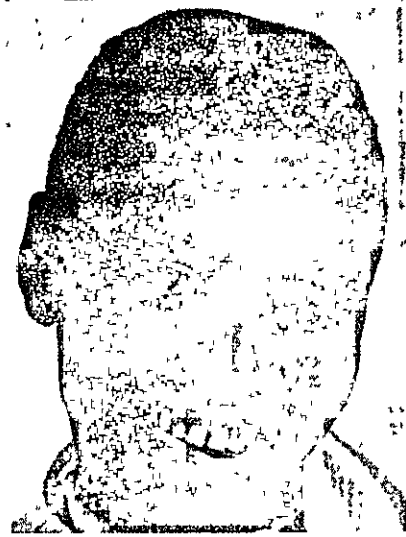
Classes in Zulu Sotho and Xhosa are held every Saturday at the Princeton College where the Camden Borough has offered its facilities free of charge It is a great effort as many of the children and their parents have to travel long distances to attend

Classes are conducted by volunteer parents some of whom are professional teachers The children are grouped according to their ages with reading and pronunciation as the main priority In addition the children are taught songs and African musical instruments and folk dance

But as Mr Siphika said The project has brought on a new spirit The children who have been isolated all the time have suddenly discover-

FLOOD OF THOUGHTS RACING THROUGH THE MIND

FOCUS



MIRRIAM Makeba

WHILE some blacks in South Africa seem to be rejecting their culture, exiled blacks are doing all they can to retain their roots MATHATHA TSFUDU, who recently spent a week in London reports

ed that they have a rich past and a home faraway and relatives nearby Their closeness to the other children has drawn the parents together and today it is a reality that people like me who have been in London for 20 years and had known other South Africans without bothering to visit one another now find ourselves exchanging addresses

Proud

Speaking to some of the children was revealing They were proud to be learning their own languages and songs and were very inquisitive about South Africa The classroom setting is informal and while the children's proficiency in the languages is far from good the parents are ecstatic as these represent a development

A small girl of about three sang a song in Sotho for me which left me open mouthed As she sang *Uthang ishipi ya Uthang ishipi ya*

Ila bana evang sekalame the clapping of hands from the elder children was indicative of how important the things we take for granted here are to those far away from home

The project needs elementary books in all African languages

spoken in South Africa To this end the Media Workers Association of South Africa at Room 314 Third Floor Lekton House 5 Wanderers Street Johannesburg (011) 27-6072 has offered its facilities to receive books and to ensure that they reach London

The big idea right now however is a trip that SACLIP is planning to Africa Arrangements are being made for a tour of Zimbabwe and Botswana

Meat

Having lived here and attended school where everything blacks inferior they were very surprised the other day when I told them that the meat they ate in London came from Botswana Mr Siphika said

Mr Siphika and the other committee members who include Mr Tommy Mohajane Mr Abel Nobandula Mrs Rosemary Dube and Mr Barney Mokgatla are sacrificing many other things to ensure the success of this all important programme

The much-needed books from us here would be our way of saying, as Mirriam said in her song, *Aluta Continua Victory is certain*



The Media Council

THE South African Media Council is an independent body established to deal with various matters affecting media reporting and comment

One of the council's functions is to receive and act upon complaints from members of the public who have not been able to get satisfaction by approaching a newspaper or other news

media directly Complaints must relate to published editorial matter and should be lodged within 10 days of publication But late complaints may be accepted if good reasons can be advanced

The address is The Conciliator/Registrar SA Media Council, P O Box 5222, Cape Town 8000 Telephone (021) 46 7317 Inquiries are welcomed

Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Joe Tholoe Sub-editing headlines and posters by Sydney Mathaku All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West Johannesburg

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• Write to the Editor at PO Box 6663 Johannesburg 2000 Nom-de-plumes can be used, but full names and addresses should be supplied or the letter will not be published

MANDELA BIRTHDAY CELEBRATIONS MEMORIES OF SOME WHO LIVED WITH HIM AS A SUCCESSFUL FIGHTER

How we said 'Happy Birthday' in prison

WE always celebrated Nelson Mandela's birthday on Robben Island with a special meal "Comrade Madhuba", as he is affectionately called by inmates, attached importance not only to his own birthday but to everybody's, including his jailers'.

Although Mandela has been transferred from Robben Island, his birthday will probably be celebrated in Pollsmoor Prison on Monday by his fellow prisoners according to the same traditions we followed on the Island.

As a prisoner on the Island, I joined in the celebrations for Mandela's 63rd and 64th birthdays before he was transferred to Pollsmoor in 1983.

His 64th birthday was typical. He began the day as he did every day, he made his bed, tidied his 2 1/2 m B-section cell and reached for his sleeping tops.

Unlike the situation in other prisons, B-section's single cells did not have toilets but were on the bucket system. Thus the opening of the cell was not the beginning of celebration but the start of an onerous routine, carrying an excrement bucket to the section bathroom.

It wasn't a cheering way to start a birthday. But he exchanged greetings with everybody wishing him a happy birthday as he made his way to the section bathroom, his skipping rope under his arm.

While inmates stood in a single file in the large bathroom, waiting to dispose of the contents of their buckets, a fellow inmate in charge of organ-

ising birthday celebrations formally announced the birthday of the leader of the African National Congress, inviting everyone to a lunch later that day specially arranged for his birthday.

After the announcement, wearing his generous smile, the big-hearted Madhuba quipped about his birthday as fellow prisoners filed past to shake his hand, saying "Happy birthday, Comrade Madhuba".

Then he dashed to the section's courtyard, placed his bucket against the wall for airing all day and began his physical training.

Clad in prison-issued shorts, green shirt and tennis shoes he bought from his personal cash, Mandela ran several times around the courtyard to warm up for a grueling 40 minutes of physical training.

How will Mandela celebrate this birthday? Perhaps the way he celebrated some previous ones in prison, like the two which were attended by journalist THAMI MKHWANAZI who spent 7 years on the Island

He was joined in the running by other ANC leaders, including grey-haired Raymond Mhlaba, Govan Mbeki and Walter Sisulu, whereas after he did a diversity of exercises, which included press-ups and squatting. In-between the exercises he skipped and shadow-boxed, during prison days, while a lawyer, boxing had been one of his occupations.

Indeed Mandela was a fitness fanatic, no wonder his birthday will be marked tomorrow with soccer matches. The Mandela Eleven football team is scheduled to play against the Delmas 11 (named after the Delmas trial). Losers of the match will be fielded against the Total Onslaught (a soccer team of media workers).

After exercise, the tall, flat-bellied Madhuba dashed to the bathroom for a shower, where fellow inmates teased him about his "getting old".

The ANC leader is known to be tending a garden of vegetables in pots at Pollsmoor. Garden- ing was a pastime he followed on the Island. When he no longer went out of his section with the quarry spades, he started a vegetable garden, growing tomatoes, melon, green beans and chillis.

Most likely the first thing Mandela would do after his early morning exercise at Pollsmoor Prison is to water his garden.

On the Island on his birthday, Mandela was exempted from his duties in the *phaka* (dishing-up) span or in helping to clean the section. He spent the remainder of the morning chatting and advising inmates on various matters, be they political or personal.

Madhuba remained adamant about carrying out his span work duties as well as tutoring or advising on revolutionary theory, even on his birthday.

He had a problem with chess, which was his favourite. Few inmates liked to play chess with him. He was notorious for his "chameleon moves". He took a long time before moving a piece. Every move was carefully calculated. This could be attributed to his planning skills. Madhuba was reputed for engaging in the lengthy planning of everything he did.

Meanwhile the welfare committee, which arranged and kept a list of every inmate's birthday, was at work preparing the special lunch, made largely of canned foods contributed by inmates for the occasion.

Madhuba himself made the biggest contribution. Months before his birthday he bought a variety of goodies from the prison's tuckshop. Since purchases were limited to a certain amount, he accumulated these items over a long period.

The purpose of purchasing more groceries than individual inmates in his section could possibly consume was to ensure that some of the "necessities" reached inmates at all other sections in the maximum prison. Although security was tight, and prisoners were not allowed to send anything to other sections, Mandela always succeeded in beating the regulation.

At noon on Mandela's 64th birthday, we filed to the section's dining hall and took our seats on rows of benches opposite steel dishes stacked with bits of tinned fish, macaroni, baked beans, Viennas and other tinned "delicacies" — an Island birthday feast, with jelly and custard for pudding. An assortment of sweet biscuits served

as the "cake". Following his ordinary custom, Mandela sat next to Mhlaba on the bench among his fellow inmates.

There were no formalities except a brief remark about Mandela having reached the particular age in unpleasant prison conditions.

Political prisoners attached importance to an inmate's 60th birthday. They believed reaching 60 in the drab confines and hardships experienced by inmates in prison was a remarkable feat.

During the celebration of Mandela's 63rd birthday he told me his 60th had been one of the biggest moments of his prison years.

From Centre Pages

Birthdays on Robben Island

oto PAGE 19



Govan Mbeki — fellow Island prisoner

Handwritten notes: (11A) Mhla, Pankla

SDW 12/7/84 11A

Bomber named

POLICE have identified the man they claim was responsible for planting the bomb which exploded outside the Sterland Cinema complex in Pretoria in April this year as ANC member, Odirele Meshack Mapoja

Mr Mapoja, killed by the blast, was the only casualty. The bomb, a limpet mine, apparently exploded in his hands

Gory colour photographs of Mr Mapoja's mutilated body which were published on the front page of a Sunday newspaper, caused controversy

Krugersdorp

The alleged bomber, in his early thirties, was from Krugersdorp. He allegedly left South Africa for training in Angola and returned in 1985

He was wanted by the police for questioning in connection with the murder of a Bophuthatswana policeman, a detective W/O Ramagodi — Sapa

Bomber who blew himself up is named

Pretoria Correspondent

The man who police have said was responsible for the limpet mine explosion outside the Sterland-cinema complex in Pretoria in April has been identified as Mr Odirele Meshack Mapoja, a member of the ANC

Mr Mapoja was blown up shortly after allegedly planting the mine outside the cinema complex in Arcadia as hundreds of people were leaving the complex and others were queuing for tickets.

He was the only casualty of the blast when the mine apparently exploded in his hand

Intelligence sources said the successful identification of Mr Mapoja had led to the arrest of several other ANC operatives

Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok recently announced the arrest of 23 ANC members. He said the incidents for which the ANC suspects had been arrested included the Sterland explosion

WANTED BY POLICE

An intelligence source said successful follow-up action after the Sterland blast had prevented terror actions last month

Mr Mapoja, from Krugersdorp, was in his early 30s. Intelligence sources said he left SA before 1985 for training in Angola and returned in 1985.

During that period he was wanted by the police for questioning in connection with the murder of a Bophuthatswanan police officer, a Detective Warrant-Officer Ramagodi

Mr Mapoja left SA again for further training in Angola after the killing of Mr Ramagodi

An intelligence source described Mr Mapoja as a trained terrorist and dismissed the theory that he was a poorly trained "kamikaze terrorist"

Mr Mapoja crossed into South Africa from Botswana this year shortly before being blown up

Dukakis in pledge of tougher SA action

BY ALEXANDER HIGGINS
of Associated Press

Democratic presidential contender
Mr Michael Dukakis would abandon
the Reagan Bush policy on
southern Africa

WASHINGTON — Mr Michael Dukakis says he would partly abandon President Ronald Reagan's policy toward southern Africa by being "tough" on South Africa and ending US support for Unita

Vice President George Bush says sanctions have not worked against South Africa and he would seek to win freedom for African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela, imprisoned since 1964

Southern Africa is one of the foreign issues on which Democrat Dukakis differs most strongly from Republican Bush, who would continue Reagan's policy of remaining "engaged" and thus exercising some influence on South Africa

In positions emerging from statements made during the campaign Mr Bush would go along with sanctions enacted by the US Congress against South Africa, but would not recommend additional sanctions

LIFT BAN ON ANC

Mr Dukakis, however, wants additional measures against Pretoria. South Africa does not end its state of emergency, release political prisoners, unban the ANC and negotiate the repeal of apartheid laws

"I would be very tough," Mr Dukakis said, adding that he "very strongly" supports pending legislation to toughen sanctions

He agreed with the Rev Jesse Jackson, his strongest challenger during the primaries, to include language in the party's platform declaring South Africa "a terrorist state"

Under United States' law, such a designation would severely limit, if not end, trade and diplomatic ties between Washington and Pretoria

Party platforms are less binding in American politics than a candidate's personal position, but the inclusion was as symbolic a step for Mr Dukakis to a stronger position on South Africa

'TIME TO CHANGE'

Mr Dukakis favours disinvestment, but opposes a complete diplomatic break with Pretoria

Mr Bush thinks differently "Our goal is clear the complete ending of apartheid. But to achieve that goal, I believe we must stay engaged"

"We have tried economic sanctions and we have tried disinvestment, and they haven't worked"

"Disinvestment has already hurt black workers — the very people we are seeking to assist"

He said he would work actively to cause South Africa to free Nelson Mandela without conditions

At the same time, Mr Bush said, he would encourage the ANC leader to "renounce violence and walk in the path of non-violence trod by Gandhi and Martin Luther King"

"I will encourage an immediate dialogue between the government of South Africa and Mandela and other responsible black leaders, including Chief Buthelezi of the Zulus, Bishop Tutu and other religious leaders as well," Mr Bush said

One point of accord is Mozambique, where both sides agree with present Reagan administration policy of backing the government, not the MNR rebels — Associated Press

Kinnock: ANC violence in SA 'unproductive'

LUSAKA. — British opposition leader Mr Neil Kinnock said yesterday he believes the use of violence by the African National Congress in South Africa was understandable but unproductive

The Labour Party chief told a news conference in Lusaka after meeting ANC leaders that the issue of violence highlighted the need for world-wide mandatory economic sanctions against South Africa as the best non-violent way of ending apartheid

"The ANC is very well aware of the hostility that I and my party have for the use of violence for political ends," he said

After being pressed to comment on a spate of bomb attacks in South Africa on civilian targets in the past two weeks, he added: "The issue of the path of violence remains in my view unproductive"

Mr Kinnock said attacks on civilians were regrettable but said they should be understood in the context of a situation where the South African government was itself using violence against civilians to stamp out all opposition to its white minority rule.

The Labour leader was speaking at the end of a four-day visit to Zambia, first stop of a 10-day tour of Southern Africa. He is also visiting Botswana, Mozambique and Zimbabwe

Mr Kinnock argued that if effective sanctions were imposed they would reduce the need for violence as a way of ending apartheid

He repeated criticism of Mrs Margaret Thatcher for her refusal to impose mandatory sanctions against Pretoria. She has argued that they would damage the economic livelihood of the black population.

Mr Kinnock referred to two bomb attacks in Johannesburg in the past two weeks, one at a rugby ground and another at a hockey clubhouse, and said it was "not beyond the realms of possibility" they were carried out by white South African extreme right-wingers in a bid to discredit the ANC — Sapa-Reuter

Tutu to address Hyde Park rally

LONDON — Archbishop Desmond Tutu will be the main speaker at a rally in London's Hyde Park this Sunday which the Anti-Apartheid Movement is organising to call for the release of Nelson Mandela

The AAM, which is publicising the rally as "the largest anti-apartheid event to be staged in London", said other speakers would include Swapo secretary-general Mr Andimba Toivo Ja Toivo, British film director Sir Richard Attenborough and AAM president Archbishop Trevor Huddleston

Before the rally there will be a march through



Anti-apartheid campaigner Archbishop Tutu.

London led by 25 "Nelson Mandela freedom marchers" who will have completed a 1 000 km campaign hike across Britain

Archbishop Tutu is in Britain for the Anglican Church's Lambeth Conference which starts this weekend in Canterbury

— Sapa

Pupils' boycott of Soweto schools ends tomorrow

By Zenaide Vendeiro, *SW*
Education Reporter 12/21

The seven-day school stayaway in Soweto, called by the Soweto Students' Congress (Sosco) to protest against the detention of about 200 pupils in the township, ends, as scheduled, tomorrow

Yesterday, no pupils turned up at 49 of the 60 high schools in Soweto. Four schools reported attendance below 80 percent and only seven operated normally

At a press conference held yesterday Sosco said it had been "embarrassed" by a call made at the weekend by the National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu) and the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA) for pupils to return to school

In a statement issued jointly after a meeting in Harare, Nactu and the BCMA expressed concern at the number of school boycotts taking place and urged pupils to return to school and "work vigorously to acquire knowledge and skill"

"Our goal in engaging in the libera-

tion struggle is to run the country and we can only run it if we have the personnel to do so," a BCMA spokesman said, adding that professional, academic and technical skills were needed

Sosco president Mr Khotso Chikane yesterday said his congress had not expected a national organisation such as Nactu to issue "such a discouraging statement" and said it apparently did not understand the plight of students

He also referred in a statement to newspaper editorials which said the black community would again be the poorer for the use of the class boycott weapon, that it was breeding a generation of illiterates and that there were better ways for pupils to express their anger than through "self-flagellation"

Mr Chikane said it was Sosco's view that it would be a futile to respond to "such reactionary statements" It could only say that pupils wanted to learn but were being deprived of the opportunity

"The fact that students are picked up on their way to school shows that"

(11A) bloody
12/7/88

ANC violence 'unproductive'

LUSAKA — The ANC use of violence in SA was understandable but unproductive, British opposition leader Neil Kinnock said yesterday.

After meeting ANC leaders the Labour Party chief said the issue of violence highlighted the need for worldwide mandatory economic sanctions against SA as the best non-violent way of ending apartheid.

"The ANC is very well aware of the hostility that I and my party have for the use of violence for political ends," he said.

"The issue of the path of violence remains in my view unproductive," he added. He was being pressed to comment on a spate of bomb attacks in SA on civilian targets in the past two weeks.

Kinnock said attacks on civilians were regrettable but should be understood in the context of a situation where the SA government was itself using violence against civilians to stamp out all opposition to white minority rule.

"Where there is a complete absence of opportunity for civil and political expression, there will be elements who will seek to pursue other measures," he said.

Kinnock argued if effective sanctions

were imposed, they would reduce the need for violence as a way of ending apartheid.

Kinnock was speaking at the end of a four-day visit to Zambia, first stop of a 10-day tour of southern African Frontline states. He is also visiting Botswana, Mozambique and Zimbabwe.

He repeated criticism of Britain's Conservative Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher for her refusal to impose mandatory sanctions against Pretoria. She has argued they would damage the economic livelihood of the black population.

It is reported from London that Conservative Party lawmakers and officials accused Kinnock of breaking British political convention by criticising Thatcher while abroad.

The Labour Party retorted that Kinnock's attack on Thatcher's refusal to impose tough sanctions was just another instance of his regular criticism of her.

"This shows Kinnock, who has opted out of effective leadership of the Labour Party for the delights of foreign travel, has lost all grip on political reality," said Home Office Minister John Patten.

— Sapa-Reuter-AP

Sanctions best way, says Labour leader

Kinnock: Violence in SA is not productive

LUSAKA — British Opposition leader Mr Neil Kinnock said yesterday that he believed the use of violence by the African National Congress (ANC) in South Africa was understandable but unproductive.

The Labour Party chief told a news conference in Lusaka after meeting ANC leaders that the issue of violence highlighted the need for world-wide mandatory economic sanctions against South Africa as the best non-violent way of ending apartheid.

"The issue of the path of violence remains in my view unproductive," he added. He was commenting on a spate of bomb attacks in South Africa on

civilian targets in the past two weeks

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Mr Kinnock repeated criticism of Britain's conservative Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher for her refusal to impose mandatory sanctions against Pretoria. She has argued that sanctions would damage the economic livelihood of the black population

Mr Kinnock referred to two bomb attacks in Johannesburg, one at a rugby ground and another at a hockey clubhouse, in the past two weeks and said it was possible they were carried out by white South African extreme right-wingers in a bid to discredit the ANC — Sapa-Reuter.

Mwasa three: SAP replies

Three Media Workers' Association of SA (Mwasa) members reportedly detained last Friday are not being held under security legislation, the Police, Public Relations Division in Pretoria said yesterday.

Replying to a Sapa query on a Mwasa statement that Mr Solomon Moloisane, Mr Simon Matau and Mr Obed Moholoane had been detained when they went to collect their pay from Perskor in Pretoria, the SAP said that according to their records none of the three is being held under security legislation. — Sapa

9/2/88
12/7/88

(1243)

SAP

11A

SAP

'Govt should take up Tutu's offer'

By Tim Cohen

11A

12/7/88
Archbishop Desmond Tutu's offer to help bring the Government and the African National Congress together to negotiate a settlement should be "accepted with open arms", independent MP for Claremont Mr Jan van Eck said in Johannesburg last night.

Mr van Eck was speaking at the launch of the End Conscription Campaign's "Know Your Rights" booklet, aimed at informing conscripts of their rights while serving in the SADF.

The venue of the function was moved after a fire bomb, which did not explode, was thrown at the front entrance of the Dawson's Hotel on Sunday night where the event was scheduled to take place.

An unidentified man with a British accent phoned the hotel yesterday and warned that there would be "more of the same" if the hotel allowed the function to continue, a hotel spokesman said.

Mr van Eck said there were four reasons why the Government should take up Archbishop Tutu's offer, which was made after the Ellis Park blast.

- Such a meeting might reduce the number of young South Africans who died in raids and blasts
- The South African conflict was primarily a civil war between a minority regime and an oppressed majority and as such could only be resolved by negotiation
- Archbishop Tutu has the kind of standing which would ensure consideration of the proposed negotiations.
- The offer may be the last to come from a credible black leader.

ECC spokesman, Mr Alistair Teeling-Smith, said the "Know Your Rights" booklet was a sincere attempt to assist conscripts. The book would be available at a variety of bookshops.

Ministers to discuss tightening sanctions

OTTAWA — Canada said yesterday that a committee of Foreign Ministers of eight Commonwealth countries, dedicated to speeding racial reform in South Africa, will meet in Toronto on August 2-3

The Commonwealth Committee of Foreign Ministers on Southern Africa, created at the meeting of Commonwealth leaders last October, will examine the application of sanctions "with a view to tightening and intensifying measures," a statement by Canada's Department of External Affairs said. Sapa-Reuter

Ex-Tambo bodyguard was needed for trial

By Jo-Anne Collinge

A former bodyguard of African National Congress leader Mr Oliver Tambo, who was shot dead in Soweto last week, was likely to have given evidence in defence of Mr Ebrahim Ismail Ebrahim, allegedly the highest ranking ANC member to stand in the dock since the Rivonia Trial

The legal defence team in the Ebrahim trial "was shocked and stunned" at the killing of Mr Sidney

Jabulani Msibi (31), said attorney Mr Chris Waters

He pointed out Mr Msibi had been the only man known to them in South Africa whose personal experience put him in a position to dispute evidence given by State witnesses

Mr Msibi ended up living in Soweto again after being kidnapped from Swaziland in July 1986 and detained by the South African police until No-

vember that year

He was shot dead in Pimville on Tuesday night while he was helping a friend close his shop. He was certified dead on arrival at Baragwanath Hospital

In recent weeks he assisted lawyers who are defending three alleged ANC men — Mr Ebrahim, Mr Simon Dladla and Mr Acton Mandla Maseko, who face charges of treason

They are alleged to have been involved in the placing of landmines in the southeastern Transvaal in 1986

Mr Watters said part of the State's case was that Mr Ebrahim was chairman of the Swaziland-based body which controlled all ANC operations in the Transvaal and Natal from 1984

Mr Watters said Mr Msibi's testimony had been sought especially in relation to this allegation

English RFU sidesteps SA man

The Star Bureau

LONDON — The English Rugby Football Union has avoided the potentially embarrassing situation of having an SA-born president in the year it helps host the World Cup

Mr Danie Serfontein, a Newcastle dentist who has lived in England since 1964, was due to take over the RFU in the 1991/92 season

However, former England lock forward Mr Peter Yarranton will now get the job

Mr Serfontein said yesterday he had agreed to the change and was not disappointed as "I can't afford the time that would be required to help run the World Cup"

South Africa will almost certainly be excluded from the World Cup, as it was in New Zealand and Australia in 1987

Mr Serfontein has represented Northumberland on the RFU committee since 1972

The RFU presidency is normally passed on every two years

Jan 12 1988

Permission needed for Mandela day

(1A) By Jo-Anne Collinge

The Johannesburg organisers of a mass concert in celebration of the 70th birthday of Nelson Mandela have struck a problem — they have been warned by the police that any such outdoor gathering will be construed as an infringement of the Internal Security Act

An attorney who represents the Mandela 70 Committee said police had visited him yesterday to inform him of this

"We will be making an application to the Chief Magistrate of Johannesburg later today for permission to hold such a gathering," he said

The concert is scheduled to be held at the Fun Valley resort south of Johannesburg on Sunday — the day before Mandela's birthday

It's time to stop the crying

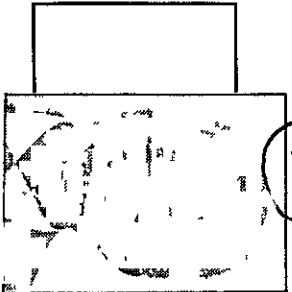
I was reflecting the other day on what caused the change in the focus of my approach to the South African problem. Quite a number of disparate factors.

I have spent all my life under the whip and lash of National Party rule. I am 48, which means that every white election since 1948 when the Nats first came to power, saw me going through throes of anger, fear and despair. I have lived through 1960, as a young student, through 1976 as a young adult, into the start of my middle age in the terrible trials and tribulations of the 80s. If anything, this experience has shaped me into a wiser, perhaps a better man.

Travels abroad

Part of the thinking was caused by my travels abroad, particularly the last trip to Britain. It was there that I heard the poignant cry from black south African exiles about our paralysis back home. They said they were sick and tired of our protest politics, and our united breast-beating. They said there must be something we could do apart from reacting with hopeless viciousness to the slings of apartheid.

I am obviously quite aware of the sacrifices that we in the country have made. I am aware of the violence that has been visited on us for so many years. I am aware that we have almost an entire generation of children brutalised



11A
Stars 12/11/78
11A
This is the regular column of Sowetan editor **AGGREY KLAASTE**. It appeared in his newspaper yesterday.

by an inhuman **System**. I can even understand why we have been so angry, so irrationally political in the struggle. But triumph sometimes comes from pain.

So perhaps a bit of reflection tells me it is important for us to stop the one continual cry, and act. To my utmost delight there are men and women out there just eager to help in nation building.

What came forcibly back to my memory is the usual question from foreigners about our leaders. Always I have been asked 'Where are your leaders?' As if we lived on Mars or something. And always the rather shamefaced answer has been, they are in jail, in exile or in detention.

How was I to know that there are so many blacks with leadership potential waiting patiently in the wings for the right moment? Today I know.

I have, since raising my idea, come across black chartered accountants, black scientists, the usual number of black medics and even

a few black advocates. Men of sterling character and wonderful credentials in their disciplines, who have been silent.

Because of our paranoia over apartheid and the transfer of power our notion of leadership (as my young colleague Sam Mabe has shown) has been limited to the political arena. And a few courageous clerics.

There are black leaders a-plenty who can do the type of thing we should have started in 1976. And my God, we did try. We tried with the Committee of Ten. We became somewhat reckless by daring the **System** and we were locked up. We tried various parents associations. Again we unwisely, though understandably, flew angry political flags.

The **System** again acted against us. We have had our political organisations ground into silence by draconian laws. We must try something else.

Although we are still sore, still very angry at the Government, we will try and temper that emotion with commonsense.

The commonsense is we must let all South Africans, black and white, know that their future lies with us blacks.

It is our responsibility to save this country. We will do for our country just as much as the Americans, black, white, yellow and what have you do for America, and so forth.

Finally part of the change was brought about by my reading that wonderful corpus by the Nigerian social historian, Chinwenzu. The man told me that my roots were as dazzling as the white man's. He told me to walk tall and exploit some of the values that are native only to my African soul.

Savage stock

I remembered very well when I was a university student at Wits, how the white youngsters used to taunt us about our lack of cultural heritage, a civilisation, if you wish. Like them we blacks believed we were from savage stock. We are underdogs from the days of antiquity.

Well, Chinwenzu told me we were nothing of the sort. He told me after five terrible years of pillage and rape by the white slavers and colonialists, we were still alive and kicking.

It was this writer who revealed a history I had never even dreamed existed that we come from a strong, vital and beautiful civilisation that was destroyed by people who were non-black.

It's time to stop the crying

Star 12/14/88

1/18

I was reflecting the other day on what caused the change in the focus of my approach to the South African problem. Quite a number of disparate factors.

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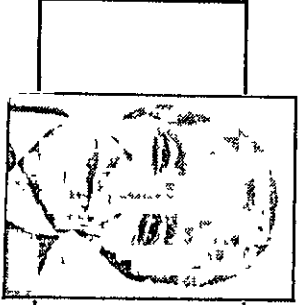
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Bodyguard downed

119
A FORMER body guard of African National Congress leader, Oliver Tambo, who was gunned down by unknown assailants in Soweto last week, was to have given evidence in defence of Mr Ebrahim Ismail Ebrahim, allegedly the highest ranking ANC member to stand in the dock since the Rivonia trial.

The legal defence team in the Ebrahim trial "was shocked and stunned" at the killing of Mr Sidney Jabulani Msibi (31), said attorney, Mr Chris Watters. Sowetan 12/7/78

JOYCE Mokhesi, sister of one of the "Sharpeville Six", describes her feelings on seeing his accuser, and on the social consequences of execution by either judges or mob

Save my brother's betrayer

Sowetan 12/7/88

'MY brother has been on death row since December 1985. It is a separate block within Pretoria Central Jail. People arrive in vans. They leave in coffins. Until they are hanged, they spend most of each day in solitary confinement, lone witnesses to the steady progression of death.

More than 300 people have been executed since my brother Francis arrived.

Waiting for your brother's execution, and hoping that calls for clemency will be successful, is a punishing experience. Really, I do not wish anyone to have a relative on death row. I find thoughts of Francis suddenly overwhelm me with tears — in the street while cooking, at lonely airports waiting for the next plane to take me to another Western country or in my sleep.

But last Friday night there was Joseph Manete on television in England, one of the two key State witnesses who testified against the Sharpeville Six. And he was explaining what the lawyers have long suspected, namely that the South African Police had forced him to tell lies.

Responsible

I had never really thought what it would be like to meet someone directly responsible for putting my brother on death row. I had assumed that my heart would be dead to the person that I would feel a cold indifference to whether he lived or died. No so.

When I saw Joseph Manete on television last Friday, only one thought went through my mind:

Mokhesi's sister pleads for Manete's life



This man must not die. My feelings are normally private. That they cannot be in this matter is an example of how the violence inflicted on us Africans by the South African State corrupts our society, even as it stirs people to revolt.

I saw that Manete had not escaped punishment either. I shall not forget the sight of this man, his voice flat, his spirit smashed. A person who said that justice had impelled him to speak the truth, and who looked so dead to the world that I could see he would risk anything to ease his guilt and recover his self respect.

He carried the pain of crushing shame, which Judas must surely have felt. Of course, Manete is not a Judas.

betrayed out of love for money, Manete bore false testimony out of fear. Many of our young people do the same, they get caught up in larger forces, they sign statements they do not mean if they try to retract them they face long years in prison. At each step down this road, the risks of telling the truth become greater.

Impelled

The spirit of justice has now impelled Manete to take the biggest risk of all. Those who advised him to appear on television bear a heavy responsibility for his safety.

The security forces will not be pleased with him. They may find some opportunity to demonstrate their feelings. But the risk comes also from my people. Informers and those who become State witnesses in political trials are often necklaced if they are ever identified later.

Shortly before the Six were due to hang last March, my brother reached the point where he no longer felt the need to plead for his life. If President Botha wanted to kill him, then he was prepared to be a martyr for justice. If President Botha wanted to spare the Six, he was happy to live too.

But while my brother was adjusting to the prospect of his execution, Manete must surely have



Miss JOYCE Mokhesi, sister of Francis Mokhesi, who is on death row

realised that if the Six died, he would not be able to repent for his sins.

Watching him on television, I understood why Judas would have believed, however wrongly that he was hateful to Christ. The thought clarified my own feelings too.

My whole family is angry with Joseph Manete. He had the opportunity at the trial not to tell lies. He did not take it. Another State witness, Johannes Mongale, was braver and retracted his evidence at the start of his cross examination.

Manete is now in the position where he is rejected by his own people and by the State he sought to appease. But although I am angry with Manete, I do not hate him. My feelings would

not be important, if our society were not being consumed by violence.

Necklacing is the most horrible way to die. As bad as the whispering rumours that a particular person is an informer. Terrible mistakes are made. Old scores are settled. All killing is wrong.

Consequences

Even when real informers are killed the consequences are entirely bad, both for his killers and for society. For this sort of killing encourages our people to feel their lives are cheap — just as cheap in fact as the system tells us we are. Such killings take away our humanity, they make people believe that compared with their victims they are perfect.

In fact injustice makes victims of us all. Worst of all, these murders turn us into the narrow minded selfish and prejudiced demons who support the system that oppresses us.

We cannot gain our freedom or build a fair society on such foundations. It is for this reason that I have to state clearly. Although Manete is an informer and a State witness I want to see him live.

• The Independent News Service London



Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Joe Thlooe. Sub-editing headlines and posters by Sydney Mathaku. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.

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Major victory for Sonn in teacher politics

mcus 12/7/88

By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN, Education Reporter

THE recent annual congress of the Cape Teachers' Professional Association adopted some watershed resolutions which have helped to unite a fragmented community, says the CTPA president, Mr Franklin Sonn.

At the congress the 22 000-strong teachers' association adopted the Freedom Charter as a bill of rights, instructed its executive to explore the possibility of forming a trade union to be affiliated to the Congress of South African Trade Unions and adopted the principle of non-racialism in sport.

These decisions catapulted the organisation into the arena of extra-parliamentary politics and ended its "conservative" image.

They represented a major victory for Mr Sonn in the world of teacher politics. The CTPA had been under pressure from "progressive" organisations since 1985 when the more militant Western Cape Teachers' Union (Wectu) was formed.

Talks with ANC

But like a skilled in-fighter, he moved in, meeting the African National Congress in New York two years ago and setting in motion talks on teacher unity after meeting an ANC executive member, Mr Thabo Mbeki, in Dakar last year.

He has outmanoeuvred Wectu, earned the CTPA credibility and made it difficult for Wectu to ignore talking to his association about teacher unity. This will probably be one of the major items on the agenda when Wectu holds its annual meeting in Cape Town this month.

Passing the milestone resolutions also marked the end of the generous coverage the CTPA had received from the SABC in the past. No SABC representative attended the week-long congress.

Mr Sonn and his association are also likely to receive flak from the Labour Party for entering the political arena.

Proof of the CTPA's acceptance by community organisations was symbolised by the presence of activists such as Dr Allan Boesak, University of the Western Cape rector Professor Jakes Gerwel and United Democratic Front chairman Mr Dullah Omar at the opening of the conference.

A message of support was sent by the then detained UDF secretary, Mr Trevor Manuel.

"The symbolism of all this should not be lost. We are a community organisation and have joined arms with others," Mr Sonn said.

"One has the impression that the 1988 conference has unified a fragmented community, a community which a decade ago was not ready to adopt the Freedom Charter."

"The presence of leaders of the calibre of Dr Boesak, Mr Omar and messages of support from the South African Students' Congress and the University of the Western Cape SRC epitomised how united the community has become."

Community unity was a "delicate flower" which had to be handled with care, he said. "I am a believer, a Christian who believes we



shall overcome apartheid and replace it with democracy."

While opening the congress, Dr Boesak urged teachers to accept the Freedom Charter and come "home".

Now that it was home, the CTPA would have "ongoing discussions at the highest and grassroots level with other organisations in the movement for democracy", Mr Sonn said.

In adopting the Freedom Charter "so comfortably", the CTPA showed that the "conservative" tag was unjustified.

He said the watershed decision was necessary "to show people that we are not as conservative as our detractors claim. It was unfair to call us conservative. But the name stuck. It is that old story of giving a dog a bad name all over again."

He added "The fact that our members could adopt the Freedom Charter as a bill of rights so comfortably is the clearest proof that the conservative label was unfair." The leadership of the association was ready to adopt the document three years ago.

"The leadership has always been a few steps ahead of members. We cherish democracy and discussed the document thoroughly with members and branches before adopting it."

Slow process

"We were not forced into adopting the charter. We took the decision out of our own accord. It was a slow process, but that is real democracy in action."

CTPA critics conveniently forgot that the organisation protested "like a lone voice in the wilderness" against State oppression in the late '70s, he said.

"Not many community organisations survived the Vorster purges. We did, and we spoke out against it. Yet our critics have persisted in calling us conservative."

The CTPA had never responded to criticism levelled at it because of its apparent conservatism.

"We do not believe in mudslinging. We were disturbed when the Western Cape Teachers' Union was formed, but we did not go on the offensive after individual members of the organisation publicly attacked us. We are sad that there is a split in teaching ranks, but Wectu has a democratic right to exist."

Mr Sonn has been president of the CTPA for 13 years. A charismatic leader, he is immensely popular with members and has been unanimously returned to office each year.

An attempted coup against his leadership was defeated in the early '80s. He is likely to remain in office until he decides to step down, which is unlikely in the near future.

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Nactu calls for worker unity in SA

By Mike Siluma
Labour Reporter

217188
The National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu) and the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) have, after a one-day meeting in Harare, called for unity in the labour movement

A joint communique released in Johannesburg yesterday said the call was made after a meeting last week between a Nactu delegation, led by its president Mr James Mndaweni, and a BCM delegation headed by its chairman Mr Mosibudi Mangena

The two organisations had agreed that "division within the liberation organisations and the labour movement was a luxury the oppressed and exploited masses of Azania couldn't afford"

"Both organisations agreed to work tirelessly towards unity of the oppressed"

Nactu and BCM also called for continued opposition to the Labour Relations Amendment Bill, even if it is promulgated. They also urged "all students and pupils to return to school, to remain in school and to work vigorously to acquire knowledge"

It was agreed that workers had a dominant role to play in the liberation struggle and in the control of the economy

Addressing

problems

of black

education



5/27/74
1/13/74

A NUMBER of interesting things have been happening in education over the past few days and many more are lined up for the next few days. I was delighted on arrival from Harare on Sunday to hear that some parents and teachers had met at Funda Centre to discuss the education crisis and that some school principals had formed a committee to address the problems of education.

tions Our concern is that they are not doing enough because there are many people who are for one reason or another, not involved

We want to stimulate those into doing something even within the constraints of apartheid. We just want to break the culture of silence among our people by creating a forum for more constructive debate on education.

We must remember that the Government will not easily change the system of education because our concept of education is totally opposed to that of the Government.

We are not therefore, suggesting that we give up the fight. We suggest that while the fight for a complete overhaul of the system goes on, we should be doing something that will make education just good enough to sustain us.

We believe that our effort will conscientise people into adopting constructive ways and means of changing our education system.

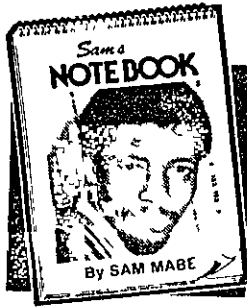
Right now, we boycott schools and condemn Bantu Education for training us to be drawers of water and hewers of wood. But we have not spelt out exactly what we want as an alternative.

Change

We need to change our perceptions of what education is and what is to be expected of educated people in our community. The perception that to be educated means being a professional with a string of university degrees has to be outgrown because it makes many people who cannot go to university feel inferior and that they are useless and have no contribution to make towards nation-building.

We have no plumbers, carpenters or electricians in the townships. But there is a high rate of unemployment and very few of the youngsters who roam the streets will be too keen to learn those skills they look down upon.

Shouldn't we do something about this for a better future for our children?



What was even most delighting was that pupils were also at that meeting and they pledged their co-operation and support for what their parents and teachers were doing.

Another meeting of parents was held somewhere in Orlando East on Sunday where the rebuilding of Orlando High School, was discussed.

In Harare, the National Council of Trade Unions met with the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania and among other things, they discussed education.

They did not mince their words in condemning school boycotts. I was told the PAC and the ANC are also opposed to school boycotts and would encourage any effort to get every child into the classroom.

We should remember that if and when liberation comes, many whites are going to leave the country and we will not be able to take their jobs unless we are educated and skilled.

Like it happened in most African countries, we will have to recruit

skilled personnel from overseas at exorbitant salaries. But even if whites don't leave, the new government will inherit all sorts of problems we might only be able to solve if we are educated.

Take unemployment in the black community as an example. If the new government does not wave a magic wand to provide jobs, there will be trouble in the townships.

Start now

We must start now to reduce our dependence on whites for employment. We must instead, learn to create jobs ourselves and this can only be possible if we increase our knowledge and skills by using the slightest available opportunity to learn.

On Saturday, there will be two other meetings to discuss education in Soweto. One will be by parent members of parent-teachers associations in Diepkloof and the other one, will be a brainstorming session with selected personalities in the field of education.

We are not going to engage in any form of flag-waving, neither do we intend forming a political organisation, or compete with or to replace existing groups that are also working towards the resolution of the education crisis.

We know there are many such organisa-

Mandela concert: Approval asked

Cape Times 13/7/88

(111) (2) (220)

JOHANNESBURG. Police headquarters said yesterday that a planned outdoor concert in honor of Mr Nelson Mandela's 70th birthday will be illegal unless court approval is obtained.

Police visited Mr Krish Naidoo, an attorney representing the concert organizers, on Monday to tell him that such an outdoor gathering will be construed as an infringement of the Internal Security Act.

Mr Naidoo said an application had been sent to the Chief Magistrate of Johannesburg seeking permission to hold the event, scheduled for Sunday at a recreation area near Soweto, and that he expected a ruling by tomorrow.

Mr Mandela, who will turn 70 on Monday, has been jailed since 1962, a year after he went underground to lead the guerilla wing of the outlawed African National Congress.

Several of South Africa's top black musicians are scheduled to perform before an expected 25 000 people at the "Concert for Peace".

A smaller concert and other festivities are planned in the Cape Town area this weekend in conjunction with Mr Mandela's birthday. Several activists helping to organize those events were detained last week.

From Lusaka it is reported that the African National Congress yesterday conferred its highest honour, inaugurated in 1955, on Mr Mandela and four other ANC members sentenced with him to life imprisonment in 1964.

The award, known as Isithwalandwe/Searankoe in a local language, was in recognition of the five leaders' role in the fight against apartheid — Sapa-AP

Peace show hits snag

POLICE headquarters said that a planned outdoor concert in honour of Nelson Mandela's 70th birthday will be illegal unless court approval is obtained.

Krish Naidoo, an attorney representing the concert organisers, said an application had been sent to a magistrate seeking permission to hold the event, scheduled for Sunday at Fun Valley. Naidoo said he expected a ruling by Thursday.

Under the Government's security legislation, most outdoor gatherings are illegal unless authorised by a magistrate for gatherings with anti-government overtones often denied.

Mandela, who will turn 70 on Monday, has been jailed since 1962, a year after he went underground to lead the guerilla wing of the outlawed African National Congress. He is serving a life sentence at Cape Town's Pollsmoor Prison for sabotage and conspiracy to topple the white-minority government.

Several of South Africa's top black musicians are scheduled to perform before an expected 25,000 people at the "Concert for Peace" and other festivities in the Cape Town area this weekend in conjunction with Mandela's birthday. Several activists helping to organise those events were detained last week.

Mandela is widely considered the pre-eminent leader among blacks. — Sapa-AP

ANC honours five

LUSAKA — ^{Sowetan 14/7/54} The national executive committee of the African National Congress has bestowed five prominent political prisoners with the highest honour that the South African exiled movement can confer in recognition of their active role in the fight against apartheid.

The ANC executive committee said in a statement in Lusaka yesterday that Nelson Mandela, Raymond Mhlaba, Ahmed Kathrada, Elias Motsoaledi and Andrew Mlangeni had been conferred with the Isithwalangwe/Seaparankoe Award for their role in the struggle for liberation in South Africa.

The statement said that the organisation decided to invest the five men, serving life sentences at Pollsmoor Prison and on Robben Island prison, with the award to mark the 25th anniversary of the arrest of some prominent ANC leaders, an event which led to the Rivonia trial at which Nelson Mandela and his colleagues were sentenced to life imprisonment on June 12, 1964.

The awards have also been conferred on the five men to mark the forthcoming 70th birthday of Nelson Mandela which falls on July 18.

"The national executive committee of the African National Congress salutes them and will not rest until they have been released and are free to play their rightful role in a liberated and peaceful South Africa," said the statement.

The first Isithwalangwe/Seaparankoe Award was made in June 1955 at the "Congress of the People" which adopted the Freedom Charter.

Other holders of the award are Bishop Trevor Huddleston, Yusuf Dadoo, Moses Kotane, Ambrose Reeves, Litan Ngoyi, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki and Helen Joseph — *Africa News Organisation*

Chit-Tin
14/7/88

(11A)

Bodyguard was state witness, say police

PRETORIA — Police yesterday reacted to press reports about the killing of a former bodyguard of ANC leader Mr Oliver Tambo by unidentified assailants in Soweto last week.

The Sowetan reported on Tuesday that Mr Sidney Jabulani Msibi, 31, who was shot dead on July 5 in Soweto, was to have given evidence in the defence of Mr Ebrahim Ismail Ebrahim.

Police said the report did not place the incident in the "correct perspective" as Mr Msibi "gave evidence for the state in a case against Mokgabudi and others".

Mr Ebrahim, who along with two others is facing charges of treason and terrorism at Bethal, is allegedly the highest-ranking ANC member to have been tried since the trial of the ANC leadership in the Rivonia case in the 1960s.

The Sowetan reported that a member of Mr Ebrahim's defence team, Mr Chris Watters, was "shocked and stunned" at the killing of Mr Msibi.

Mokgabudi was sentenced to 14 years' imprisonment for terrorism.

The state also intended calling Mr Msibi as a witness in the case against Mr Ebrahim.

"The impression which the Sowetan apparently wishes to create, that Mr Msibi was murdered because he would have given evidence for the defence in the trial of Mr Ebrahim, definitely does not place this incident in the correct perspective," the statement said — Sapa

Residents to combat gang warfare in townships

AK645 14/7/71



CONCERNED Guguletu and New Crossroads residents, caught in the crossfire of gang warfare, have vowed to stamp out the spiralling violence.

In Section Four, Guguletu, a committee of 18 has been set up to combat marauding gangs. And in New Crossroads, groups of about 15 knife-wielding parents and youths patrol the streets every night in an effort to keep the peace.

The patrols started this week after the disruption of classes in schools on Friday when a pupil was stabbed at Andile Higher Primary School.

The gang allegedly responsible for much of the violence is the much-feared Nyanga-based Ntsaras.

Its recent activities allegedly include two fatal stabbings — one

outside St Mary's School in Nyanga on July 8 and the other near the Good Hope Centre after the Brenda Fassie concert on Saturday.

The convenor of the Section Four committee, Mr Ndumise Matimse, said his group would discuss the gang violence with other committees in the townships.

"We will plan a uniform approach. Recently our committee passed several resolutions aimed at ending the conflict," he said. "The community whole-heartedly accepted the proposals."

These include prohibiting youths from congregating on street corners after 8pm, referring all disputes to parents for arbitration and prohibiting youths from carrying weapons.

Mr Matimse said the committees planned to tell "the authorities" about the resolutions. "After that

**By VUYO BAVUMA
Staff Reporter**

they will be implemented immediately. The people are tired of this violence."

Youths in Section Four recounted the roots of the conflict.

One said "In March the Ntsaras asked us to assist them in a clash against a gang called Amafelandawoye" (Amafelandawoye, which means "those who will die together" is based in Section One, Guguletu).

"We refused and since then we have been attacked sporadically by the Ntsaras. Recently Vuyane Sandla, a Sizamile pupil, was stabbed in the back on his way to school." Another youth said they decided to "retaliate to protect ourselves."

Some pupils have changed schools because they have to pass the "hostile territory" of the Ntsaras on their way to classes.

Ntsaras members are mostly young school drop-outs. Some are pupils by day but join the gangs at night. They carry weapons such as pangas and stilettos. Their activities are alleged to include random muggings and stabbings.

Members of other gangs in Guguletu said they responded to the violence by forming their own "territory" gangs.

Members of "Ama-Adderley", a Section Three-based group, said they decided to protect their neighbourhood from attacks by the Ntsaras.

"The Ntsaras came from Nyanga and caused havoc in our area. They robbed people and sometimes

stabbed them," said a youth. "Local youths were blamed for these acts. Because of this we decided to take action."

He said their members became more resolute after Ntsaras allegedly fatally stabbed a colleague, Mzwandile Ceku, of NY 132, last year.

"Recently they killed two of our colleagues, Bruce and Mthwana, of NY 130," the youth alleged. "This has been the pattern of the clashes. We never go out to attack the Ntsaras in Nyanga. We merely defend ourselves."

One high school pupil moved to Port Elizabeth after youths with knives and pangas raided his home. "I left my family as I feared for my life," he said.

Police said they were monitoring the situation and would take action if necessary.

als) and pain killers.

Decision Ste. 1477/88 tonight on Mandela venue (11A)

Organisers of the "Concert for Peace", planned to mark Nelson Mandela's 70th birthday, will decide tonight whether to switch to an indoor venue to comply with provisions which outlaw outdoor gatherings

They have applied to the chief magistrate of Johannesburg for permission to go ahead at the outdoor venue originally scheduled for the all-day Sunday concert — the Fun Valley resort south of Johannesburg

The lawyer for the organising committee, Mr Krish Naidoo, said a telex had also been sent to the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee.

If the magistrate's decision was not available by tonight, or if permission to gather outdoors was refused, the committee would convene tonight to decide on an indoor venue, Mr Naidoo said

When plans for the concert were announced last week, Mr Naidoo said special precautions, including the hire of a private security firm, had been taken to prevent any possible threat to public order.

He said he did not expect the event to be banned.



Many Britons recognise Mandela

(1109) Some Jan 1971
LONDON—Imprisoned African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela can be identified by 77 percent of the British public, according to a survey carried out by the leading pollster firm, Gallup.

The poll was commissioned by the Anti-Apartheid Movement to mark Mandela's 70th birthday on July 18.

Of those who knew Mandela, 70 percent backed calls for his release, while 10 percent were opposed to it.

Mandela: ^(EX 11A) Police raid ^{CAP Tink 14/78} organizers

POLICE yesterday raided the Cape Town offices of organizations planning music and sports events at the weekend to mark jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela's 70th birthday.

Documents and posters apparently related to the planned festivities were seized in the raids on, among others, the SA Council of Churches offices.

The raids came after the president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, Dr Allan Boesak, announced plans for a cultural festival to be staged at the University of the Western Cape.

A "freedom run" relay race on Saturday from Pollsmoor Prison — where Mr Mandela has been held for the past six years — to the NY49 sports stadium in Guguletu was also announced.

The raids had created the impression that the police "were looking for documents and posters that they could submit to a magistrate as part of their argument for having the Mandela birthday celebrations banned", the SACC said.

Mr Mandela turns 70 on Monday, but most of the celebrations are planned for the weekend.

'We will celebrate'

Speaking at a Cape Town press conference, Dr Boesak said that "in spite of all the intimidation, in spite of the obvious fear of the government, our decision is clear — we will celebrate".

"If we cannot come together in our streets and halls, we will celebrate in our homes and churches, but we will make sure Mandela's birthday does not go by unnoticed."

Police last week detained 13 people associated with the UWC function.

The jailed leader's wife, Mrs Winnie Mandela, is expected to make an appearance at UWC on Monday.

According to the SACC, police also raided the offices of the Cape Youth Congress, the UDF and the Cape Areas Housing Action Committee.

An attorney for these organizations, Mr Essa Moosa, confirmed these raids and two other raids at Allies Press and Esquire Press — Staff Reporters and Own Correspondents with UPI and Sapa

● '70% want Mandela free' — Page 3

Mandela's footsteps

By MONO BADELA
HE is prisoner No 466/64. He has been imprisoned since August 5 1962 by the South African government and has been kept in maximum security cells at Pretoria Central, Robben Island and, since 1982, at the beige-bricked Pollsmoor Prison about 30 kilometres south of Cape Town.

He has not been seen in public for 25 years, his picture may not appear in any publication and his speeches are banned.

But as the incarceration of Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela grows in time, so his stature has grown into a colossus — a man, who according to opinion polls, is the most credible political figure in South Africa and the world's most famous political prisoner.

From behind bars, Mandela has placed the South African government in a straitjacket on his continued imprisonment and become a dominant figure in black politics. Mandela has more streets named after him than any other

person in the world, the freedom of cities and honorary degrees have been showered on him. A song dedicated to him, and calling for his release, hit the top of the pops in Britain. Heads of government from throughout the world have called for his release. Who is this man who after nearly 26 years of imprisonment refuses to accept conditional freedom?

Mandela was born a Tembu chief's son near Qunu in the Transkei on 18 July 1918. He studied at the famous Healdtown Methodist Church School. He rebelled against tribal tradition and refused to take up the chieftainship. He entered Fort Hare University for a BA degree.

Avoiding an arranged tribal marriage, Mandela came to Johannesburg where he first became a mine policeman. It was in Johannesburg that he met Walter Sisulu who assisted him in obtaining articles with a legal firm.

First black firm

Later he qualified as a lawyer and set up a practice with Oliver Tambo in Johannesburg's Fox Street as South Africa's first black legal firm.

Mandela became heavily involved in ANC activities. In 1944 he was a founder member of the ANC Youth League. He later served as national secretary.

Mandela set a brisk political pace for the ANC. As part of both ANC and the Youth

League, Mandela pushed the ANC to adopt a programme of action in 1949 which included the Defiance Campaign of 1952.

As the ANC membership grew to over 100 000 people by 1953, Mandela started arguing that the ANC should prepare for a time when it would be prevented from mobilising openly.

Mandela proposed the M-Plan in the 1950s. This was the system of cells based on membership in a single street, and headed by a cell steward.

In 1950 Mandela became the national president of the ANC Youth League and in 1952 was appointed national "Volunteer-in-Chief" of the Defiance Campaign. He travelled round the country enlisting volunteers who were prepared to break apartheid laws.

The campaign officially kicked off on June 26 1952 and Mandela and 51 others broke curfew regulations as their first act of defiance.

In December 1952, Mandela, Sisulu, JB Marks and Yusuf Dadoo were arrested and charged under the Suppression of Communism Act. He was sentenced to nine months imprisonment, suspended for two years. He was also served with a banning order prohibiting him from attending gatherings for six months and from leaving the magisterial district of Johannesburg.

The banning order was continually renewed during the next nine years. In December 1956 Mandela was among 156 political activists who were arrested and charged with high treason. Four and half years later on March 29, 1961, Mr Justice Rumpff found him not guilty.

Secret travels

In 1961 Mandela went underground and he and Sisulu secretly travelled the country organising a three-day strike. It was at this period that he remained a fugitive for 17 months and was nicked-named the "Black Pimpernel".

In early 1962, Mandela slipped out of the country and on January 11 made a surprise appearance at the Pan-African Freedom Movement Conference in Addis Ababa. In his address to the conference, Mandela justified his support for an armed struggle against the South African government.

During his six-month trip abroad he received guerilla training in Algeria, before travelling to London where he met the British opposition parties, including Labour Party leader Hugh Gaitskell.

In August 1962 he was arrested. He was charged with inciting people to strike and leaving the country without permission.

headquarters of the ANC at Liliesleaf Farm, Rivonia, were raided and Sisulu, Mbeki, Mhlabi, Kathrada, Goldberg and Bernstein were arrested. The police found documents on the manufacture of explosives, Mandela's diary of his African travels and copies of a draft memorandum entitled "Operation Mayibuye" which outlined the possible strategy of the proposed guerilla struggle.

The Rivonia Trial began on October 1963 and Mandela was brought from jail to join the other eight tried under the General Law Amendment Act (Sabotage Act) and the Suppression of Communism Act for sabotage and conspiracy to overthrow the government by revolution and by assisting an armed invasion of South Africa by foreign troops.

Mandela was charged with launching Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation), the military wing of the ANC. He and his co-accused, who included Andrew Mlangeni and Elias Motsoaledi, were also charged with mounting a sabotage strategy and promoting underground structures of the ANC after it had been outlawed in 1960.

Only Lionel "Rusty" Bernstein was found not guilty. The rest were sentenced to life imprisonment.

Statement from dock

Mandela's statement from the dock received world-wide publicity. The trial lasted eleven months and on June 12, 1964, eight of the accused including Nelson Mandela were sentenced to life imprisonment. The following night he was flown to Cape Town, en route to Robben Island.

In April 1982, he and Sisulu, Mhlabi and Kathrada were transferred to Pollsmoor Prison.

He spent his first six years digging in the island's lime quarry. In 1971 he was transferred to seaweed collection, a job he preferred because he could feel the sea and watch the ships pass by.

He was allowed to read nothing critical of the government and even copies of the Reader's Digest were censored. Letters to the family were strictly limited and only confined to domestic matters.

Conditions have apparently improved since he was moved to Pollsmoor.

According to those who have been allowed to visit Mandela in his prison cell, his daily routine starts at 3 30am with two hours of physical exercise.

He also has a radio in the cell which is restricted to FM and more recently he has been allowed to watch television. He cultivates a garden and grows vegetables such as tomatoes, broccoli, beans, cucumber and strawberries.

It's all systems go for the biggest birthday celebration in the world.

Huge concerts, political rallies, church services, sports meetings and other events are being planned for this weekend to honour the world's most famous political prisoner — Nelson Mandela — who turns 70 on Monday.

Hundreds of birthday cards are expected to be sent to Pollsmoor Prison where the African National Congress leader is serving a life sentence.

Cape Town, where he has been held for more than 25 years, will be joining the celebrations in a big way, despite the detention of several organisers last week.

Freedom run

Thousands of people are expected to come from rural areas all over the Cape to join in activities from Saturday to Monday.

A freedom run is being planned for Saturday morning from Pollsmoor Prison to Gugulethu Stadium. Groups of five athletes will run a relay to the stadium where a sports festival will be held.

A video of last month's concert in London will be screened in the main hall of the University of the Western Cape.

A cultural festival is planned for UWC on Sunday from 10am to 6pm. The lineup includes the cast of District Six — the musical, and musicians Ezra Spencer, Winston Mankunku, Robbie Jansen, Mike Perry, Smoking Brass, Tina Schouw, Ntsikane, Raakways, the Black Sufferers Reggae Band, Jean Benjamin and the Amaswazi Dance Group.

At least 10 000 people are expected to attend this event.

An interfaith service will be held at St Francis in Langa from 12 30pm to 2pm on Monday.

Special picket

The Black Sash will hold special pickets to call for his release and thousands of puppets are expected to release balloons at midday on Monday to mark the birthday.

Mandela's wife, Winnie, and other family members are expected to speak at one of the events in Cape Town on Monday after their visit to Pollsmoor Prison.

In Johannesburg, organisers of the "Concert For Peace" were awaiting



HAPPY BIRTHDAY NELSON MANDELA

HAPPY BIRTHDAY NELSON MANDELA

A PEOPLE'S LEADER FREEDOM AT 70

Dr Allan Boesak, flanked by Mr Franklin Sonn, left, and Moulana Faried Esack, announces details of the Cape Town celebrations at a press conference this week.

It's all systems

Hyde Park in London on Monday. Organisers expect tens of thousands of supporters to join in the last leg of the march through central London.

In the United States, time has been allocated at the Democratic Convention in Atlanta to discuss Mandela's imprisonment.

In Amsterdam, more than 120 000 birthday cards, greetings, letters, poems and gifts were collected. A 200 000-circulation daily newspaper ran a full-page advertisement calling for birthday greetings.

In West Germany, the birthday will be celebrated with a music festival.

In Ireland, a concert featuring some of Ireland's biggest music names will be held at the Olympia Stadium in Dublin.

Indian launch

In India, the Indian Youth Congress has chosen Mandela's birthday to launch its own country-wide campaign to free Mandela. Mobile concerts and exhibitions are already travelling through the vast continent and posters, badges and stickers are being distributed.

The European Council of Ministers, representing 11 out of 12 European Community countries, have agreed to call on its members with consulates and embassies in South Africa to mark the birthday in some public way.

Australia held a rally on June 16, and on July 18 the city of Melbourne will launch a campaign to give Mandela freedom of the city. On the Caribbean island of Guyana, there is a petition demanding Mandela's release.

Organisers in the UK say more reports are coming in daily of other birthday celebrations being organised across the world.

approval from the authorities for an outdoor concert to be held at Fun Valley, outside Soweto on Sunday. The organisers had applied to the Chief Magistrate and the Minister of Justice Kobie Coetsee for permission to hold the concert.

This follows a warning by police earlier this week that an outdoor concert would be illegal unless approved by a magistrate.

Show goes on

Committee spokesperson Aubrey Mokoena said the show would go ahead as planned.

"If permission is refused we will consider alternative indoor venues".

A secretary in the office of Johannesburg's Chief Magistrate, Mr J G Schoeman, told SOUTH on Wednesday that Schoeman was "considering" the application.

An estimated 25 000 people are expected at the concert on Sunday, which starts at 8 30am. In Durban, a "Freedom Concert" featuring some of the foremost names in South African music, will be held at the University of Durban-Westville on Saturday.

Glasgow rally

Among the performers are the African Jazz Pioneers, Sakhile and Malombo, who have just returned from successful tours to America and Europe, and Steve Newman and the Tamas, who will be making their debut in honour of the occasion.

The concert will include local acts and dance groups, like the Umizazi and Lamontville Gumboot Dancers, worker choirs and cultural groups. The concert will run from 2pm to 8pm. Buses will be arranged from several townships.

Mandela fever has also gripped the rest of the world. A march which began in Glasgow, Scotland, ends in a public rally at

EDDIE Daniels remembers the time he was ill on Robben Island.

He was lying in his cell, too weak to go outside to empty his toilet pan

One of the prisoners came to Daniels' cell, asked about his health and took his pan outside to clean it.

"I will always have this memory of this big man, Nelson Mandela. I could not believe this international figure who commanded so much respect was cleaning out my balie. He could so easily have instructed any of the other prisoners," says Daniels, imprisoned on Robben Island for 15 years from 1964 to 1979.

Daniels was a member of the Liberal Party and the Armed Resistance Movement at the time of his conviction.

One of the first people he met on Robben Island was Mandela.

"I was held in isolation for three days before I was allowed to go into the yard where we had to break down big slabs of stones.

'I saw Nelson standing in my way. He had come to welcome me.'

"Later we went to shower. I saw Nelson standing in my way. He had come to welcome me to the Island."

Before that meeting, Daniels had only heard about Mandela Today, pictures of Mandela and his wife Winnie hang in Daniels' study at his Hout Bay home

Daniels posted a homemade card to Pollsmoor Prison this week, to wish Mandela a happy 70th birthday next Monday The card carries the message "Happy birthday Dalibhunga" on one side and the words of W E Henley's poem, Invictus, on the other

"It was Nelson's favourite poem. One day we were standing outside his cell when he started reciting this poem It could have been a description of himself.

"I spent my entire imprisonment with Nelson and cannot find words to describe him My vocabulary cannot do justice to his greatness," says Daniels.

'He was revered by us and respected by the prison authorities.'

"He is a noble person. He is humble and modest but can be resolute. He was held in respect by all the prisoners and the prison authorities and revered by many of us

"He carried his heavy responsibility well and with ease.

"All prominent visitors made a point of seeing him. He was never told of their arrival but just confronted with them. He always rose to the

Eddie Daniels describes the 15 years on Robben Island he spent with Dalibhunga — a humble and modest man, yet unassuming in his greatness. Those are the words he uses in a vocabulary which, he says, is too limited to do justice to Mandela. RYLAND FISHER reports.

'The big man and my balie'

11A
Scout
14-20/78

occasion

"He was a great inspiration to us in times of stress and strain. He was always in the forefront of solving problems."

Daniels remembers an incident when he expected to be called in by the prison authorities after they had confiscated his diary.

"Some of the prisoners were upset. They feared they could be implicated.

"That morning I went to fetch my pap and returned to my cell. Nelson was sitting inside with his plate of pap He did not question me like some of the others, but gave me confidence in myself. He inspired and lifted me.

"Nelson and Walter Sisulu were like fathers to us Everyone used to call them Tata.

"When I was down, I used to put my arms around them and could feel their strength."

But, Daniels says, Mandela also had a good sense of humour

"He is quite a big person and Billy Nair is quite small.

"Nelson used to wait until Billy turned his back. Then he would pick him up and carry him around the yard. Billy would protest and kick his feet. It was a funny scene."

Nair is now a leader of the United Democratic

Front in Natal.

"Nelson also used to tell a little story about himself," says Daniels.

"One day in Johannesburg a white lady was trying to park the car. Nelson was passing and decided to help her. He guided her until she had parked her car. She got out and offered him a sixpence He declined the gift so she said: 'Oh, you don't want a sixpence, you want a shilling Now I won't give you anything'

'He has earned his respect not through heroics.'

"Nelson was rather taken aback but moved away because some white racists were now attracted to this scene."

"Nelson is that kind of man. So humble and unassuming. Yet such a tremendous leader.

"He has earned respect not through heroics, but through his daily routine and his consistency over the years. He sets an example in everything he does, even the way he walks. His leadership has always been responsible and farsighted.

"He and Walter Sisulu should be in the highest office of this country yet they are in prison, the lowest place any person can be in"

The power of education also includes...

Greetings to Nelson Mandela

14-20/7/88
11A
South

We join the millions of your compatriots in bringing you our warmest greetings and regards on your 70th Birthday. We would wish that you were here to lead this nation so desperately in need of your unifying vision and moral courage rather than that you were incarcerated in its jails, but your inspirational presence in the life and thoughts of the South African people transcends and radiates beyond the walls that hold you.

As educationists trying to work for a non-racial, democratic South Africa in which the doors of learning shall be truly opened, we find ourselves constantly inspired by your life, your ideas, your commitment, your sacrifice. As daily we deal with the crisis of apartheid education, we cannot

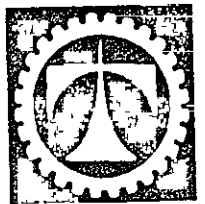
be unmindful of the thoughts and ideas you expressed more than 30 years ago on the extension of apartheid education to the area of higher learning. It is in the spirit of those writings that we still or again recognise the importance of a broad government; that the people must fight stubbornly and tenaciously and defend every democratic right that is being attacked; and that that is the route to pave the way for a peaceful and democratic South Africa.

We can bring you no gift on this day except to re-dedicate ourselves to that ideal of a democratic and free South Africa in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities, an ideal for which you have lived and worked, and for which you were prepared to die.

Jakes Gerwel,
Vice-Chancellor & Rector,
University of the
Western Cape



Franklin Sonn,
Rector,
Peninsula Technikon



11/R

**'CONGRATULATIONS
NELSON MANDELA
ON YOUR 70th BIRTHDAY.**

**WE LOOK FORWARD TO A
SOUTH AFRICA WHERE
THERE WILL BE FREEDOM
IN A NONRACIAL
DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY.'**

On behalf of the Chairman of the Dutch parliament and the other 50 000 demonstrators at the
Museumplein in Amsterdam, 11 June 1988.

Federation of Trade Unions in the Netherlands, National Council of Churches, Anti-Apartheid Movement
Netherlands, Holland Committee on Southern Africa, Kairos, Defence and Aid Fund Netherlands, Pax
Christi, National Union of Students and the Organisations for Development cooperation in the

**BREED OVERLEG TEGEN APARTHEID
(BROAD ALLIANCE AGAINST APARTHEID)**

The cost of this advertisement has been covered by donations from the demonstrators

NATIONAL UNION OF MINeworkERS



We, the mineworkers; victims of the yoke of capitalism; take this opportunity to celebrate the 70th birthday of our Honorary Life-President; Comrade Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela; a time-tested leader of the peace-loving people of our country. We had hoped against hope that he will be celebrating this occasion with us, "a free man" but that appears to be unfortunately not the case. In celebrating this important occasion we wish to dedicate the following poem to him:

YOU'RE EVERYTHING TO US

You're a father to your children,
A darling to your family,
But can cuddle none of them.
For how long shall this be?
You're a human rights lawyer,
A shield to your clients,
But can defend none of them.
For how long shall this be?
You're a comrade to your compatriots,
And devoted to the struggle for peace,
But denied the opportunity,
To help bring peace in your country.
You're a time-tested leader to the masses,
A martyr for their aspirations,
But denied the opportunity,
To articulate them freely.
You're a President of the mineworkers,
You're the hope for their future,
You're the courage in their forward march,
They're looking forward to the time you'll lead them,
In the free South Africa,
We're striving for with zeal.
You're everything to us!

HAPPY BIRTHDAY!!!!!!!

March nears end

14-20/7/88 (11A)
South

From MOIRA LEVY

LONDON. — Winnie Mandela has wired a message of congratulations to the Freedom Marchers nearing the end of their almost 960 kms, five-week cross-Britain march.

In her message, Mrs Mandela extends her thanks to the 25 marchers, one for each year of Mandela's imprisonment.

The marchers received Winnie's greetings last week as they neared the city of Birmingham. Their stop included a visit to the university where a building was named in Mandela's honour.

The marchers were led into Birmingham by Jerry Dammers of Artists Against Apartheid, and South African-born singer Ndondo Khuze, belting out the hit song, Free Nelson Mandela.

The march into Birmingham was filmed for a video for the special birthday remake of Free Nelson Mandela. The new version of the hit, initially launched in 1984 and reached the top of the charts, has just been released by Chrysalis Records to coincide with the birthday.

Cedric Mayson

At the weekend a special church service in tribute to Nelson Mandela was held in the historic English village of Coventry. It was timed to coincide with the marchers' arrival there.

One of the priests officiating was the Rev Cedric Mayson, a former South

African detainee who left the country in 1980 and has lived in exile ever since.

This week the Freedom Marchers will be joined by about 40 opposition MPs who will march with them for two hours through one of the constituencies just north of London.

The Freedom March is due to arrive on the outskirts of London on Friday. On Saturday they will attend a ceremony to formally re-name one of the main streets Nelson Mandela Close.

On Sunday tens of thousands of people from all over Britain are expected to join the last leg of the march through London suburbs.

The crowd is expected to arrive at the giant Hyde Park for a rally at 3.30 pm.

Tutu speaks

Archbishop Desmond Tutu is to be a key speaker. And the day will include a video-taped message from Winnie Mandela as well as performances from Jerry Dammers, Jonas Gangwa and actor John Matshukiza.

And Sunday's rally will not mean the end of the birthday celebrations.

On Monday, Mandela's actual birthday, a special religious service will be held in central London, led by Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, president of the AAM.

That night, Zimbabwean band, the Bundu Boys, backed by Mark Knopfler from Dire Straits, will play An African Tribute to Nelson Mandela on his 70th Birthday, organised by the AAM, at a London club.

Labour Party threatens to quit system

By Esmaré van der Merwe, Political Reporter

The Labour Party would quit the parliamentary system if the Group Areas Act was not abolished completely, its deputy leader, Mr Miley Richards, warned at the weekend

If the Act was not scrapped, he said, the National Party should resign

Mr Richards was the main speaker at the LP's Transvaal regional congress held in Potchefstroom on Saturday

In a scathing attack on the Government's proposed amendments to existing group areas legislation, he said an "ungodly and unjust" Act could not be amended.

The Government was wasting its time trying to improve the Act and "using the back door to convert group areas to an own affair"

The LP would not change its stance on group areas, he said to cheering and applause

"People often say the LP should not talk too loudly, because that will strengthen the hands of the Conservative Party. But the CP cannot take

over power. All that can happen is that the National Party can be weakened

"The LP welcomes that, because it will improve a climate for negotiations about South Africa's future," he said

Posters at the meeting carried slogans such as "Release all political prisoners", "Lift the press curbs" and "Nobody can live in a state of emergency"

A resolution was unanimously accepted whereby the LP called on the African National Congress to denounce violence in order to get the negotiation process started

In another resolution, it was decided that all LP members still serving on local relations committees should resign immediately

The LP reiterated its rejection of the regional government structures for blacks outside the self-governing areas, saying the structure of "own affairs" legislative and executive councils jeopardised the well-intended aims of the National Council

Mandela fever

CAP Trans
15/7/88
① ② ③ ④

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Free-Mandela mania reaches a fever pitch in Europe this weekend as anti-apartheid activists bring to a climax a campaign to publicize the ANC leader's continued imprisonment.

The Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, and Johannesburg's Chief Magistrate refused permission yesterday for a Johannesburg open-air concert which was to have been held tomorrow in celebration of Mr Mandela's 70th birthday, and which about 25 000 people were expected to have attended.

Another event is being planned for Cape Town, to take place tomorrow and on Sunday at the University of the Western Cape.

Mr Dullah Omar, an advocate and member of the group organizing the Cape event, said last night that preparations were going ahead, as it was an indoor gathering — unlike the banned outdoor Johannesburg concert — and was, therefore, legal.

In London on Sunday, Archbishop Desmond Tutu will address a crowd, expected to number 250 000, at Hyde Park, while in

the Netherlands, 150 000 people will send birthday greetings today to the jailed ANC leader.

The British Mandela campaign, which kicked off with a televised rock concert at Wembley Stadium, broadcast to almost one billion people worldwide, has already achieved notable successes, with an estimated 92% of British people now being familiar with who Mr Mandela is and 77% in favour of his release.

Twenty-five marchers, symbolizing the number of years Mr Mandela has spent in prison, who set off from Glasgow several weeks ago will be joined on the final leg of their march, from Finsbury Park to Hyde Park, by anti-apartheid activists and a number of Labour and Liberal MPs.

The British Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM) says tens of thousands of people in Britain have signed birthday cards to Mr Mandela. They will be delivered to the South African Embassy here.

Events will also be held this weekend in West Germany, Belgium, Norway, Ireland, Denmark and Sweden, as well as in countries spanning the globe from Australia to the US, from India to Japan.

Dutch AAM spokesman Mr Bart Luirink said more than 12 mailbags, containing 50 000 birthday cards, letters and telegrams of congratulation for Mr Mandela, will be sent to the Dutch Embassy in Pre-

toria today and then handed over to Mr Mandela's family.

The ANC mission in Moscow has received many telegrams of congratulation from Soviet people and organizations.

Mr Mandela will receive two unexpected gifts on his birthday. One is a visit from his entire family for six hours, and the other is a personal copy of Bernardo Bertolucci's epic film "The Last Emperor".

Reuter reports that international machinery was set in place to obtain a copy of the film for Mr Mandela after he expressed a desire to see it.

But a copy could not be obtained in South Africa. British director Sir Richard Attenborough intervened and a copy of the film was produced immediately.

It will be delivered today to Pollsmoor Prison, where Mr Mandela is jailed for life.

● The British Labour Party's foreign affairs spokesman, Mr Gerald Kaufman, says the South African government has barred him from personally delivering a 70th birthday message to Mr Mandela.

Mr Kaufman said he had asked to be allowed to visit Mr Mandela's prison cell, but had been turned down by the South African Ambassador to Britain, Mr Rae Killen.

The birthday message has been framed instead as a House of Commons motion on behalf of Labour's shadow cabinet.

Black leader opposed to National Council

By Kaizer Nyatumba

The Government's National Council was formulated without consultation with "key extra-parliamentary organisations" and their leaders and would therefore fail to gain support from black people, Mr E J Mabuza, Chief Minister of KaNgwane and President of Inyandza, said this week.

Mr Mabuza who, in 1986, led an Inyandza delegation to meet the African National Congress in Lusaka, said he was "opposed in principle" to the National Council because it placed emphasis on ethnicity and was formulated in a Tricameral Parliament "to which we are opposed".

NECESSARY FOR BLACK SUPPORT

In an interview with The Star, Mr Mabuza said there were basic "necessities" with which the Government would have to come to terms if it were to win black support for the council.

One of these necessities was that people had to be free to decide whether or not to participate. No genuine negotiations could take place while political prisoners continued to be imprisoned or detained and the state of emergency was still in place, Mr Mabuza said.

"If these basic necessities were addressed by the Government, there might not even be a need for the National Council," he said.

Celebrations for Mandela

AAG WS 15/7/88 (109) (109)
(Continued from page 1)

Prison authorities have given permission for Mrs Winnie Mandela and her family to visit Mr Mandela on Monday

This will be their first meeting as a family since Mr Mandela was imprisoned more than 25 years ago

Mr Moosa said Mrs Mandela, her two daughters Zinzi and Zenani and their children and members of Mr Mandela's family in Transkei were expected to visit him

The Prisons Services said "Mr Mandela's family will spend his birthday with him. The wishes of a prisoner regarding privacy are taken into account and therefore this occasion is regarded as a personal and private family affair"

No details would be released to the public and no other visitors would be accommodated, the department said

A video of last month's Mandela Birthday Concert at which pop stars Whitney Houston and

George Michael performed for 80 000 people at Wembley Stadium will be shown at the University of the Western Cape.

PERFORMANCE

The university in Bellville South will host an indoor cultural festival on Sunday. Thousands of people are expected to attend to see performances by the cast of *District Six the Musical*, musicians Robbie Jansen, Winston Mankunke, Mike Perry, pop groups and the Amaswazi dance group and choirs

On Sunday night the Cape Teachers Professional Association will hold a cultural evening in honour of Mr Mandela

Celebrations reach a peak on Monday with a church service at St Francis Catholic Church in Langa

Hundreds of balloons will be released on Monday and the Black Sash will hold two demonstrations to protest against Mr Mandela's incarceration

ANC man assisted SAP

POLICE have confirmed that a former member of the ANC killed in Soweto last week was a top ANC intelligence operative in Swaziland who had "turned" and supplied information to the police on the ANC.

Sydney Jabulani Msibi, 31, gunned down last Tuesday, was to give evidence for the state in a treason trial

(IP) *(scribble)* DANIEL SIMON *B/1009*
15/7/88
in Pretoria next week, police said yesterday

Abducted by SA agents in Swaziland in 1986, he turned, exposing security police recruited to spy for the ANC on the SAP.

Cabinet post 'smacks of tokenism'

By Zenaide Vendeiro
Professor Abram Charles Nkabinde (58), rector of the University of Zululand for the past 10 years, says the appointment of a single black member of the Cabinet smacks of "tokenism"

He was, he says, "taken aback and upset" by reports that he is one of two blacks being considered by the State President for appointment to the Cabinet.

He was opposed in principle to such an appointment being made.

FAR CRY

"It is a far cry from what black people are looking for — they want real participation and not something that looks like tokenism

"What difference would a black Cabinet member make and whose interests would he be representing? Cabinet mem-

bers must be elected and have a constituency"

He confirmed that he turned down the offer of an ambassadorship to Holland early last year because he was not a voter

"I would describe myself as a pragmatic and don't subscribe to any particular ideology, but I believe that all human beings should be accorded the right to participate in their government," he said.

"Everyone should be given the opportunity to live his life fully — politically, economically and socially"

In any event, he had no intention of entering the political arena, he said "I have been in education all my life and intend to stay in education"

He spoke of problems and difficulties in his present position — but 'moments of satisfaction and achievement'.

Emergency laws to be challenged

The Natal Indian Congress (NIC) is to challenge some of the latest emergency regulations.

A statement by NIC secretary Dr Farouk Meer said on behalf of its executive committee

"The NIC has been advised that some of the provisions of the latest emergency regulations are vulnerable to attack in a court of law," he

noted. (11A) ~~11A~~
The committee said that lawyers had been instructed to challenge several provisions, in particular.

● The prohibition against campaigning for a boycott of the municipal elections in October.

● Restrictions on the UDF, to which the NIC is affiliated

● Controls on news agen-

cies Star 15/7/88

The statement added "We believe that the cumulative effect of these regulations will be to close off all avenues of effective peaceful opposition to apartheid, and increase violent conflict in South Africa"

The matter will be heard in the Durban division of the Supreme Court on August 8 — Sapa

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THE African National Congress has confirmed it had recent, top-level contact with Inkatha, but says further talks are off until "Inkatha settles differences with the democratic movement (in South Africa)".

In a statement to the *Weekly Mail*, the ANC's Information Department in Lusaka set an official seal on some of the claims made by Inkatha Secretary-General Oscar Dhlomo in Ulundi this month — but rejected his version of events, and his interpretation of the talks

The statements emerging from both Lusaka and Ulundi suggest that whatever tentative feelers were put out, have now been withdrawn

The ANC confirmed that Publicity Director Thabo Mbeki met Dhlomo last year. But, says the ANC, "the talks were strictly informal, and were at his (Dhlomo's) request"

There was no third meeting, as Inkatha had claimed, according to the statement.

"One was during a meeting Mbeki was attending in the United States. The second was in London where both happened to be at the same time, and Mbeki asked (ANC official) Jacob Zuma to accompany him. There was no third .. Mbeki saw Dhlomo (again) at a conference in Harare, but no discussions took place"

The statement said at the discussions, "Mbeki insisted that prior to any talks with the ANC, Inkatha must first settle differences ... especially with the UDF. He referred in particular to the violence in Natal, and said that it had to be stopped."

"But as is well known Inkatha has not discussed or held any substantial talks with the UDF ... For any substantial talks to take place between Inkatha and the ANC the process has to begin with and include the democratic forces in South Africa."

Dhlomo's interpretation of the purpose and content of the talks differs markedly from the ANC's — extending to claims that a major "unity conference" was planned, and was meant to culminate with a formal endorsement by ANC leader Oliver Tambo and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

On July 2, Dhlomo told the annual general conference of Inkatha he had met Mbeki three times in Europe and America, and "agreed on a unity strategy between Inkatha and the ANC, based on a document I had prepared".

Yes, we talked to Inkatha, say ANC

11A

HB

15-21/7/88

WMail

The ANC confirms Inkatha claims that the two sides have met. But that's about the only point where the two accounts agree, reports
SHAUN JOHNSON



Thabo Mbeki

Afrapix

The strategy, he said, contained four "elements", or phases. The first phase involved informal talks "aimed at isolating areas of ideological conflict ... This phase was concluded after our three meetings"

Dhlomo said it was agreed that there were only "minor differences" between the ANC's Freedom Charter and Inkatha's Statement of Belief.

There was disagreement, he said,

on economic policy, but "I stressed we remained open to suggestions".

Similarly, Dhlomo claimed it was agreed that the two movements could "differ honourably without recriminations" with regard to armed struggle.

The kwaZulu/Natal Indaba was also raised, according to Dhlomo's version of events "The impression I was given by Mr Mbeki was that the ANC objected ... so long as it pu

ported to be a solution for the rest of the country. I explained the process were not (thus) intended ... though some observers saw them as a possible future constitutional solution."

The final element of phase one allegedly involved "condemnation of the Pietermaritzburg violence and pledge to look for a joint solution."

"I told him (Mbeki) that United Democratic Front Natal leadership

was not coming forward to talk to Inkatha. He promised the ANC would send a message encouraging (them) to participate in peace talks.

"He later sent me a message that somebody had in fact been sent to the UDF for the above purpose but the attitude of the UDF never changed until it was too late," Dhlomo said.

This was as far as matters got, he said. The second phase was to have involved a meeting including other senior officials of each movement.

The meeting, scheduled for January in London, never took place. Dhlomo says the ANC delegation cancelled on the grounds of having "transport problems" in Lusaka.

Phases three and four, the drafting of a common policy document followed by a unity conference chaired by "a prominent senior African statesman", thus fell away, said Dhlomo.

He told Inkatha delegates the process was further derailed because Umkhonto weSizwe's Chris Ham announced that Inkatha central committee members would be assassinated "I have decided to give these details so that comrades can appreciate we have left no stone unturned in our attempts to promote black unity."

In its statement, the ANC repeated its denial that Buthelezi was a target for Umkhonto guerrillas, saying "the ANC never had plans to kill Gatsha".

Azacco 3 quizzed

THREE members of the Azanian Co-ordinating Committee were this week held for questioning by the Bophuthatswana security police. *(114)* *(114)* the three were fetched from their homes early on Tuesday and Wednesday. They were released after being questioned at the Garankuwa Police Station.

They are Mr Mojalefa Vinqi, of Mabopane, Mr Tshoko Ngalo and Mr Kganare Lefoka, both of Garankuwa. A spokesman for the Bophuthatswana police headquarters in Mmabatho said only one person was questioned this week. He would not say who the person was.

An Azacco's spokesman yesterday said that

110

Honours, riots, rows — spotlight on Tutu

THE award of the Nobel Peace Prize kept Tutu's name in both international and domestic news headlines for weeks. In fact, since that day (October 15, 1984) he has rarely been far from the limelight.

On November 13 fuel was added to the media flames by his election as Bishop of Johannesburg. It was the first time that a black man had occupied this post, after the archbishopric of Cape Town the most influential position in the Anglican Church in South Africa.

Nobody doubted Tutu's ability to fill the post, few questioned his qualities as a Christian leader, but his supporters had to fight his case against fierce arguments from his opponents.

There were suggestions that his international responsibilities would lead to his spending more time outside the diocese than in it, accusations of ambition, hints that he wanted to be Bishop of Johannesburg only as a stepping stone to the top job, Archbishop of Cape Town.

As they have climbed the clerical ladder, the Tutus have had to endure many taunts about personal extravagance. In fact, becoming a bishop did not mean an increase in salary — far from it Tutu took a considerable drop, though of course there was an allowance for official duties.

Previous white bishops had their own furniture, while what little the Tutus owned was to remain in their Soweto house (they were determined to keep a base in the townships), so the diocese had to cover the expenses involved in furnishing and redecorating the bishop's official residence in Westcliff.

However, the man who should know best, the diocesan secretary, considered that Tutu was not extravagant and had not cost the diocese very much. Though the Tutus like to live comfortably and perhaps feel a certain duty towards the black community to prove that blacks can succeed and be seen to succeed, and while they have a certain casualness in their attitude to money, they give as freely as they receive.

This is the fourth of five instalments on the career of Archbishop Desmond Tutu. They have been edited from a biography of the archbishop, Tutu — Voice Of The Voiceless, by Shirley du Boulay and published by Hodder and Stoughton.

In the presidential campaign, he tried to organise a forum to draw attention to the subject.

An important debate on nuclear arms control forced the cancellation of this meeting, but it so happened that both Tutu and Dr Allan Boesak, the president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, were in the United States at the time and on October 4 a lunch was organised with the two South Africans, Senator Kennedy, Frank Ferreri, of the African-American Foundation, and Gregory Craig, Senator Kennedy's national security adviser.

Both Tutu and Boesak spoke powerfully about the position of the blacks and about how the level of deprivation was increasing both politically and economically. At the end of the lunch, when Senator Kennedy asked what he could do to help, they asked him to come to South

However, among the crowds were about 100 Azapo supporters, bearing placards, saying "Socialist Azapo v capitalist Kennedy" and "Away with CIA, Kennedy, oppression and capitalism".

Azapo had taken its stand against Kennedy before it knew of Tutu and Dr Boesak's involvement. Its members opposed, to the depths of their being, America's role in Cuba, Vietnam, Nicaragua and Grenada and, however, unjustly, regarded the senator, who at the time was standing for President, as a symbol of United States imperialism.

Further, they were convinced that he was using South Africa to help his election chances. Even though he represented the Democrats, to them he was part of the system, they felt it was impossible that a Kennedy could be welcomed by black people. Desmond Tutu has never sought a position of leader-

Only 10 days later Duduza was the scene of one of South Africa's most horrific killings.

Maki Shosana, a young woman living with her mother and five-year-old son, was suspected of collaborating with the police. At another funeral, in full view of the television cameras, a screaming crowd turned on her shouting, "Infamer!" and set her on fire.

Only July 20, 1985 — just 10 days after Tutu had rescued the alleged police informer in Duduza and on the same day that Maki Shosana was murdered — the Government declared a state of emergency in 36 magisterial districts.

Tutu, with many others,

was met by a chaotic reception of journalists, plain-clothed and uniformed police and placards reading "Tutu — no jobs, no food" and "Tutu — down with the ANC".

He was ashamed of nothing and made no denials, but such had been the attacks on him in his absence that he called a Press conference in which he stood by everything he had said. Unrepentant, he wished the "jicksprittle sycophants" of the South African Press and television would prepare whites for the inevitable, as the country was not going to be run by a minority for ever.

At the national level Bishop Tutu tried, frequently and in vain, to relate to the State President, Mr P W Botha. His reaction to the state of emergency was not only to condemn it and to delay its restrictions, but to try to bring about some sort of reconciliation, so he offered himself as a broker to start negotiations with the President.

On July 29, with the state of emergency just over a week old, with 18 blacks killed and more than 1 000 people arrested, he sent a telegram to Mr Botha asking for an urgent meeting to discuss the situation.



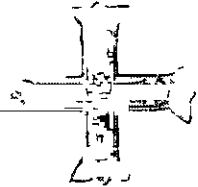
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Shops were petrol-bombed, the streets were scarred with barricades and burnt-out cars, scores of people had been injured and 22 killed, 16 them by the police (other reports put the figure much higher).

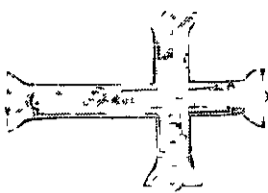
On February 18, during an executive meeting of the SACC at which Tutu was present, news came that a large crowd had assembled in the township's football stadium. A group of senior churchmen, including Mr Beyers Naudé and Dr Boesak, went to Alexandra and tried to pass through the roadblocks to speak to the people. At first they were refused entry, but Tutu, after arguing for more than an hour with the security forces, was eventually allowed through to the stadium.

He managed to diffuse the tension and bring some calm to the enraged residents. He told them not to discredit their cause by violent behaviour and promised that God saw what was happening to them.

He undertook to put three of their demands to the local police chief that the security forces should be withdrawn, that township residents



the appointment received, predictably, a mixed reaction



The black clergy were jubilant — the Johannesburg diocese was now, with its Suffragan Bishops Simeon Nkomo, based in Kwathema, and Sibusiso Ndawande on the West Rand — entirely run by African bishops. Was the era of black church leadership in the Christian community in sight?

The Roman Catholic Church and the Methodists welcomed the appointment and the Rev T M Swart, general secretary of the Baptist Union, said "This new posting can only be for the ultimate good of the Church as there are so few black church leaders in this country."

Once again the white Press was less than enthusiastic, once again there were harsh statements from right-wing religious organisations. United Christian Action declared that Tutu's appointment was a potential cause of further division and criticised the bishops for succumbing to world pressure.

In his charge, delivered at his enthronement on February 3, 1985, he sympathised with those who felt he had been "foisted on an unwilling diocese" and admitted he would have loved to have been chosen by the elective assembly. He allowed himself to indulge in a little self-justification, citing occasions where he had initiated moves towards reconciliation or congratulated Government Ministers when he felt they deserved credit.

for their generosity in matters great and small.

The way he dealt with the diocesan financial problems is typical. There were some white parishes which withdrew their diocesan quota in protest at his appointment and thus, in addition to the continuing financial hardship of the diocese, led to fears of bankruptcy.

In fact, it was a minority who acted in this way and Tutu actually left the Johannesburg diocese considerably better off than he found it, not through financial caution — in fact, staff accustomed to thrifty bishops were at first alarmed by his easy spending — but because he himself brought in so much money from his overseas travels. He is an exceptional administrator, able to place his trust in those to whom he has delegated responsibility. He also has an astonishing memory for detail.

Of all his meetings with national and international figures, the one which was to have the most significant repercussions, which indeed was regarded by Tutu as a watershed, took place in his own country in January, 1985, just a month before he was enthroned as Bishop of Johannesburg. It was the visit of Senator Edward Kennedy.

The Kennedy family had been concerned with South Africa for a long time. They had known a number of anti-apartheid activists associated with the National Union of South African Students and Robert Kennedy had visited the country in 1966.

Throughout his 25 years in the Senate, Edward Kennedy has focused on abuses of human rights wherever they have occurred and in October, 1984, distressed that American policy towards South Africa had played so little part

The invitation was, by pure chance, well timed. Only days later the Nobel Peace Prize was announced and the whole of America learned something of what Senator Kennedy had been told.

It was an invitation extended and accepted in goodwill. However, many South Africans, including members of the Azanian People's Organisation, thought otherwise.



When Senator Kennedy and his entourage arrived at Jan Smuts Airport on January 5, they were welcomed by Bishop Tutu, Dr Boesak and the Rev Beyers Naude, but jeered by about 40 Azapo demonstrators. On his way to Brandfort to see Winnie Mandela, Kennedy passed graffiti bearing the words "Kennedy go home — and take Tutu with you".

As he flew to Durban to see Archbishop Hurley, there were demonstrators from Azapo at the airport. Nevertheless, though there were conflicting reports about Kennedy's handling of the delicate situations with which he was faced, much of the visit was, at least in the opinion of his aides, a spectacular success. Most telling of all was a letter from Winnie Mandela assuring him of the good wishes of her people.

This letter must have afforded the senator much comfort, for his visit ended in chaos, when on his last day, he was due to make a major speech at Regina Mundi Cathedral in Soweto. It was to have been the climax of his visit and up to 4,000 people were assembled to hear him.

insisting that he is on a "vacation by default", due to the actions taken by the Government against black leaders such as Nelson Mandela. Still less does he seek a political role. Nevertheless, in August, 1985 a poll declared that 24 percent of the black population considered him the best potential president of South Africa and he is never out of the political limelight, his every word and deed acquiring political overtones.

One of the clergy's constant and tragic duties was to conduct the funerals of those who had died, funerals which became occasions not only of mourning, but of political demonstration. They also became occasions where Tutu made some of his most outspoken and publicised statements and where his courage took the form of risking his life.

One such occasion was in Duduza, a township on the East Rand.

During the funeral of four young men who had died in an explosion, Tutu had urged the mourners to forego violence and to change apartheid by peaceful means.

The young men were barely in their graves when the crowd turned on a black onlooker, accusing him of being a police spy. Crying "Let the dog die", enraged youths attacked the man, overturning his car and set it alight "to provide his funeral pyre".

"Why don't we use methods of which we will be proud when our liberation is attained?" This undermines the struggle. "No," it encourages the struggle. Words were no heeding reply. Words were no use. Bishop Simeon Nkomo and Bishop Kenneth Oram, a senior white Anglican cleric, somehow created a diversion and Tutu dragged the terrified, bleeding man into a car.

was surprised that the Government felt it necessary to add to its already draconian powers. He warned that any calm to which it might lead would be only a surface calm and that there could be "an almighty explosion". Within days restrictions were imposed on funerals of "unrest victims" in areas where the state of emergency was in force.

All eyes were on Tutu. How would he react to this latest crackdown? There should not have been much doubt. During a funeral service at Tutu's 36 districts under the state of emergency, he called on the Minister of Law and Order to reconsider the regulations and announced that he would defy them, saying "I will not be told by any secular authorities what gospel I must preach".

His outspoken defiance overseas reached a climax when he went to the United States for two weeks in January, 1986 under the auspices of the Adelpia Foundation and Mrs Lia Bell.

Apart from the fact that he also received four more honorary degrees, three gold medals and the freedom of the city of Baltimore, he was ecstatically received, by capacity crowds, eminent people queued up to meet him and he was entertained at endless prayer breakfasts, civic gatherings, small private meetings and huge formal banquets.

His fund-raising for political prisoners, refugees and the Anglican Church was rewarded with contributions and pledges amounting to R1-million. But his statements about living under an apartheid society incurred the wrath of white South Africa. On his return home Tutu

Mr Botha's private secretary said he would arrange a meeting at the President's earliest possible convenience. But Tutu received a telephone call informing him that President Botha refused to see him, he would not meet anyone who did not denounce violence (which Bishop Tutu had repeatedly done) and renounce civil disobedience (which he had not).

The bishop was told that President Botha had agreed to see Archbishop Russell and a small delegation on August 19, but that his schedule made a separate meeting with Bishop Tutu quite impossible.

The refusal left Tutu with a difficult decision to make. Should he join the other churchmen on August 19? The archbishop had said he would be welcome, a spokesman from the President's office had said it was possible he could be included.

But to join this separate delegation might jeopardise the chances of the one-to-one meeting that Tutu felt would be more valuable, in any case he was not prepared to renounce civil disobedience. At the last minute, exposing himself to accusations of pique, he decided to pull out. This earned him a fresh stream of criticism.

Eventually, nearly a year later, Tutu and President Botha did meet. They had talks on June 13 just after the reimposition of the state of emergency and again in July. Both meetings hurt Tutu politically and neither achieved very much. The first he described as "frank and cordial" and of the second, which lasted for two hours, all the bishop could say was "We agreed that we are both Christian".

In February, 1986, feelings were running high and Alexandra township was seeing its worst rioting in months.

tion and that the state of emergency should be lifted. The crowd dispersed and Tutu went to see the local brigadier.

He did more. He and a small delegation of churchmen representing several townships travelled to Cape Town to try to see Mr P W Botha. He was given an interview with Mr Adriaan Vlok, then Deputy Minister of Law, Order and Defence. Tutu refused to tell the Press what had passed between them. First he had to report back to Alexandra.

The expectant crowd gathered, more than 40,000 of

them, the public-address system was fixed. In a 40-minute address in Xhosa he told the residents that the Government had granted none of their requests, but promised to "look into them".

The crowd was sullen and angry, some of the younger people taunting and booing, others arguing with him and refusing to let him leave. He pleaded with them to be patient, to stop confronting the police. "A man does not go up to a lion and say 'Hullo lion' and jump into its mouth. We have to work at other ways of catching the lion."

Eventually, sadly with head bowed, he managed to leave, admitting to Peter Storey, who was with him, "They are not going to listen to me much longer."

TOMORROW: Archbishop of Cape Town.

Rector rejects 'post'

(119)
PROFESSOR Abram Charles Nkabinde (58), rector of the University of Zululand for the past 10 years, says the appointment of a single black member of the Cabinet smacks of "tokenism."

He was, he says, "taken aback" and "upset" by recent reports that he is one of two blacks being considered by the State President for appointment to the Cabinet

He was opposed in principle to such an appointment being made "It is a far cry from what

South African 15/11/88
black people are looking for — they want real participation and not something that looks like tokenism

"What difference would a black Cabinet member make and whose interests would he be representing? Cabinet members must be elected and have a constituency "

He confirmed that he turned down the offer of an ambassadorship to Holland early last year because he was not a voter

"I would describe myself as a pragmatic and don't subscribe to any particular ideology, but I believe that all human beings should be accorded the right to participate in their government

"Everyone should be given the opportunity to live his life fully — politically, economically and socially"

In any event, he had no intention of entering the political arena, he said. "I have been in education all my life and intend to stay in education"

Conference on Freedom Charter

GAT- Trunks
15/7/88
11A

Political Correspondent

A NATIONAL two-day conference on the Freedom Charter begins at UCT today

A panel of 24 speakers, from a wide variety of disciplines, will offer a critical appraisal of the charter, formulated at the Congress of the People in Kliptown in 1955

The delegates will represent a range of opinions from the legal profession, business, trade unions, churches, civic associations, youth groups, academics and politicians

Speakers will include Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, general secretary of the NUM, Dr Tom Lodge, Wits expert on the ANC, Dr Beyers Naude, of the Ecumenical Advice Bureau, and Dr Alex Boraine, executive director of Idasa.

The conference organizer and national co-ordinator of Idasa, Mr Wayne Mitchell, said yesterday that the charter had had "a profound effect on the thinking of major sections of South Africa's people"

Idasa's hosting to the conference was "in accordance with its objective of exposing the aspirations of South Africa's people to one another"

"The conference is being held in the hope of assisting people to realize that a non-racial and democratic future for South Africa is possible and, in fact, desirable"

(1/A)

The Anti-Apartheid Movement of Switzerland
wishes to express its solidarity with Nelson Mandela
and all political prisoners in South Africa.
We support your struggle for a free tomorrow.

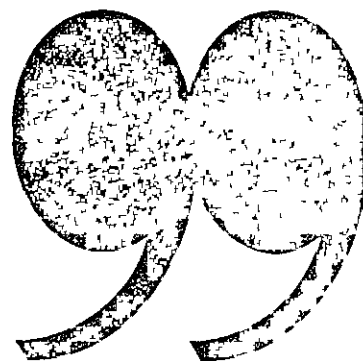


Anti-Apartheid Movement of Switzerland



**Nelson
Mandela
congratulations
on your 70th
birthday
and in the**

**future days of
freedom
in a non-racial
society!**



On behalf of the chairman of the Dutch Parliament and the other 50 000 demonstrators at the largest anti-apartheid march ever held in the Netherlands, at the Museumplein in Amsterdam, 11 June:

Federation of Trade Unions in the Netherlands FNV, National Council of Churches, anti-Apartheid Movement Netherlands, Holland Committee on Southern Africa, Kairos, Defence and Aid Fund-Netherlands, Dutch Mission Council, Pax Christi, National Union of Students and the organisations for development co-operation in the:

**BREED OVERLEG TEGEN
APARTHEID
(BROAD COALITION AGAINST
APARTHEID)**

(Advert has been paid for by the demonstrators)

JAPAN ANTI-APARTHEID COMMITTEE

11A

Together with a South African anti-apartheid movement, African embassies, churches, trade unions and human rights organisations, we shall gather on 16th July in Tokyo to celebrate Nelson Mandela's 70th birthday. We offer our support to brave Winnie Mandela and their daughters.

We long for Mandela's freedom and for the freedom of all political prisoners — especially the children. And we abhor the fact that the freedom of all our friends in South Africa has been severely restricted by the extension of the State of Emergency.

But at least our friendship is being strengthened as we persuade more major Japanese supermarkets no longer to stock South African goods.

We request our friends — the people in South Africa — to write to us with your ideas about how we can support you. And please let us have any special information about trade between Japan and South Africa and about the activities of Japanese companies in South Africa.

■ Contact address Japan Anti-Apartheid Committee, 306, Ebisu 4-5-23, Shibuya-ku, Tokyo, Japan

This message has been brought to you by the following groups and individuals (surnames placed first):

Southern African Committee of Group of African Heads of Missions in Japan
 Japanese Private Sector Trade Union Confederation (JPTUC-RENGO),
 General Council of Trade Unions of Japan (SORYO),
 All Japan Prefectural and Municipal Workers' Union (JICHIRO),
 Japan Teachers' Union (NIKKYOSO),
 Japan Telecommunications Workers' Union (ZENDENTSU);
 National Trade Union of Metal and Engineering Workers (ZENKOKU KINZOKU)
 National Union of General Workers, Sohyo (ZENKOKU-IPPAN),
 National Christian Council in Japan,
 International Movement against all forms of
 Discrimination and Racism (IMADR),
 Kyoto Southern Africa Solidarity Committee,
 Japan Anti-Apartheid Committee, Sapporo,
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 Tomi, Terai Takako, Ikeda Susumu, Ikeda Shinji, Imai
 Maki, Nemoto Ryoichi, Ebihara Tomohara, Terasawa Yuki,
and others.

A defiant 'happy birthday' to Mandela despite the warnings

MIA

with mail

K-2/17/88

Weekly Mail Reporters

THOUSANDS of South Africans are gearing for a defiant celebration this weekend of the 70th birthday of jailed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela — amid threats to the celebrations, detentions and severe Emergency restrictions.

In Johannesburg, lawyers were awaiting the outcome of an application to a magistrate to hold a major "Concert for Peace" after police warned the event, planned for Sunday at Fun Valley, could infringe the Internal Security Act.

By late yesterday, the magistrate had not responded. Concert organisers, the "Mandela 70 Committee", were meeting last night to decide what action to take.

Krish Naidoo, attorney for the committee, said if permission was refused, the organisers would consider alternative venues or seek other legal steps for the concert.

In Cape Town, a three-day celebration is going ahead, despite a spate



A new Natal challenge to Emergency

By CARMEL RICKARD
Durban

A NEW court challenge to key Emergency regulations has been launched by the Natal Indian Congress

The application, being brought against the state president, the government, the ministers of home affairs and law and order and the commissioner of police, seeks to declare as unlawful, restrictions which have crippled the United Democratic Front and other anti-apartheid organisations, through banning virtually all their activities.

The NIC, an affiliate of the UDF, is also testing the validity of both regulations which outlaw calls for election boycotts as "subversive statements", and those regulations which seek to register and control "news agencies".

NIC president George Sewpershad says in an affidavit forming the basis of the application, that his organisation had planned an extensive campaign "(advising) its supporters and members to boycott and get others to boycott elections of members of a local authority".

He says the regulation declaring such a call a "subversive statement" is invalid because it is vague, outside the contemplation of parliament or "constitutes such manifest injustice or gratuitous interference with the rights of citizens as could find no justification in the minds of reasonable men".

On the "news agency" regulations, Sewpershad says the definition means "if anybody is involved in gathering or preparing any news material regarding events in the Republic and in supplying such news material to any person for publication in a periodical he needs a licence which can be terminated by the minister if he comes to a certain subjective conclusion".

He argues the matter is urgent because the South Africa Police believe the regulations are valid and will therefore act "not simply in order to institute prosecutions but to take radical and widespread administrative action under them".

He adds that political parties and persons who do not share the NIC's policies and perceptions, have begun their plans to participate in the elections and to publish their policies.

"The (NIC) has the right to be able to do the same. It is being unfairly impeded in the exercise of that right."

Handwritten: IIA

Handwritten: 15-2-78 w/mail

Announcing the court challenge, NIC official Farouk Meer said his organisation believed the cumulative effect of the regulations was to "close off all avenues of effective peaceful opposition to apartheid and increase violent conflict in South Africa".

He added, "If the challenge is successful the NIC will publicly campaign for a boycott of the October elections."

The application is scheduled for hearing in the Supreme Court, Durban, on August 8.

Ismail Mahomed, SC, for the NIC, is being instructed by Cheadle Thompson and Haysom.

Activist Joseph gets highest ANC award

Star 15/7/84
By Marika Sboros

11A

Veteran anti-apartheid activist Mrs Helen Joseph has become the second woman to receive the African National Congress's highest honour.

Mrs Joseph (83) received a telegram from the ANC at her home in Norwood this week announcing that they had conferred on her the Isithwalandwe/Seaparankwe award for her "outstanding contribution to the struggle to end apartheid and transform South Africa into a united, democratic and non-racial country".

Mrs Joseph received the award along with jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela and four other members sentenced with him to life imprisonment in 1964 — Raymond Mhlaba, Ahmed Kathrada, Elias Motsoaledi and Andrew Mlangeni.

Mrs Joseph is listed and cannot be quoted but a close friend said she was deeply moved and proud to have received the award, although she felt she had not done anything more than many others in this country who deserved the honour as much as she did.

spread

A PRISONER

The man who was Mandela's law clerk, remembers ...

Mandela? Hell, he was a tough boss

Godfrey Pitje tells of Mandela the courtroom showman, who swaggered through the 'blankes' doors and reprimanded white policemen. He talks to SHAWN JOHNSON

NELSON MANDELA gave me hell," says Godfrey Pitje. He should know, he worked for him.

But he has boundless respect for Mandela. Pitje, now 70 years old himself, was his articled clerk in the Fox Street offices of Mandela and Tambo, Attorneys at Law, in the heady closing years of the 1950s.

As an example of what a "tough guy" Mandela was, Pitje recalls — with some pain, even after all these years — an incident during the marathon 1950s treason trial.

"Professor ZK Matthews (an ANC leader) was using our post box while he was on trial in the Transvaal. He came to the office one day and asked me to go the post office to collect some exam scripts he had to mark.

"Mandela noticed I was gone, and when I came back he gave me hell — and then made me write an affidavit for him, explaining my absence.

"It used to be quite a tough relationship. He'd press a bell and shout 'Godfrey, come here!' and rattle off instructions. He applied his own hard experience as an articled clerk to me. I thought this was a bit harsh, as we were black to black. There were very few black lawyers then."

Pitje arrived at Fort Hare University in 1942. Mandela had left to complete his LLB at the University of the Witwatersrand, and Pitje's political induction was conducted by Mandela's close associate, Oliver Tambo.

Tambo had returned to Fort Hare to pursue a Teacher's Diploma, and was chairman of Bedda Hall, a residence for Anglican students. Pitje's first experience of resistance politics was a "non-co-operation" campaign spearheaded by Tambo in the college chapel at Evensong.

"To show our unhappiness with the warden, we refused to sing our responses in the service. Oliver gave a signal and we all just shut up. It showed me the power of unified action — although admittedly, Oliver had to leave."

Though still a fresher, Pitje became quickly interested in the militant group of young leaders who would launch the African National Congress' Youth League in 1944, and shake up the parent organisation in the process. After a spell of teaching in Orlando, Soweto, he returned to Fort Hare in 1946, and was on the teaching staff two years later.

"I still had not met Mandela, though I knew about him of course. But I struck a chord with AP Mda, then president of the Youth League. And Mandela heard about me after I launched a branch of the Youth League at Fort Hare in 1948."

Pitje's career was first linked to Mandela's — in a roundabout way — when, in December 1949, he was elected president of the Youth League "because Mandela was at a crucial stage of his studies, and couldn't take the job. I agreed to the nomination as a stop-gap leader, and moved to the Transvaal, the hub of activity."

He met Mandela at this time. "He was already on the national executive of the ANC — no small fry. Even though his study commitments meant he was not as active as he should have been, I began to see a lot of him."

"What was he like? Tall, elegant, princely, royal — you name it, it all applies to Mandela. You could not be in his presence without realising you had no ordinary man standing in front of you."

At the end of 1951 Pitje accepted the principalship of a school in the Eastern Transvaal, and Mandela succeeded him as Youth League president. Pitje ran the school for three years, eventually concluding that he had to give up teaching — his political activism brought him into increasing conflict with the educational authorities.

After arranging to go to Rhodes University to study for a doctorate in Social Anthropology, Pitje paid a fateful visit to his old mentor, Tambo, at Chancellor House in Johannesburg — to ask for legal advice. Tambo persuaded him to forget about



Memories Pitje perusing the 1955 law records of the Mandela and Tambo firm. Picture: SHAWN JOHNSON

Rhodes and join the firm. He did, on April 1 1955, and was articled to Mandela in October.

His principals were very different characters, he recalls. "From a professional, legal point of view, Mandela was no Tambo. But on Saturday mornings, when clients packed into the office and I asked them who they wanted to see, it was 'Nelson Mandela', 'Nelson Mandela', all the time."

The two principals spent most weekdays away from the offices, and used the weekdays for consultations.

"Both were then banned and restricted," says Pitje, "and Oliver asked me to tone down my political profile so at least one member of the staff was free to move around if needs be. But not Nelson — he didn't mind if I went to ANC meetings and was active."

Mandela played the part of the charismatic, "front man" of the firm, says Pitje — and this meant less was seen of him in the office. "Partly because I knew him better, Oliver had much more of a common touch in his dealings with me, but he also used to stay late with me and the other clerk, Mamrad Msimang."

"Nelson used to leave at 4.30 during the week, and Oliver would sometimes stay till after 10, before delivering me home to Sophiatown. He lived in Benoni, Nelson in Soweto."

The firm dealt mainly with criminal, but politically-related matters. "This was the time of the pass law protests, the women's march, influx control and curfews. Mandela and Tambo were regarded by everyone as the ANC's lawyers, and their services were required, quite literally, from the Cape to the Limpopo." There was the first African legal partnership in South Africa, and "by far the most famous."

Mandela would regularly ask Pitje to accompany him, "especially to rural areas like Sekhukhuleni, where I come from. But he always made it quite clear to everybody that I was his articled clerk."

"He would also make me sit next to him in court, on the theory that my Afrikaans, bad as it is, was better than his. I learned a lot from him — he was really quite something to see in action in the courtroom."

Mandela and Tambo began to fight innumerable pass offence cases previously, the accused had never enjoyed the luxury of defence lawyers. "Time after time," says Pitje, "when Nelson or Oliver appeared, the charges were withdrawn or they won the case. Word went around."

Magistrates around the country began to grow wary of the two black lawyers, according to Pitje, and Mandela in particular soon had a formidable reputation.

"Nelson would walk into a court as if it was his own. He sent shivers through some of the officials. He was self-assured, casual. The atmosphere was always electric. Nelson would just have to say 'may it please the court', and the gallery would go wild."

● TO PAGE 19

P.T.O.

The world throws a party for Mandela

15-21/7/88 W/Ward (114)

MANDELA turns 70 on Monday as one of the world's longest-serving and oldest political prisoners — and certainly its most famous.

The continued imprisonment of the leader of the African National Congress — on August 5 he will notch up his 26th year in custody — is an issue that has united an extraordinary range of political organisations and leaders, locally and internationally.

British Prime Minister Margret Thatcher joins her opponent, Neil Kinnock, and British Anti-Apartheid Movement President Archbishop Trevor Huddleston in calling for his release, so does Inkatha President Chief Mangosuthu Buthe, ANC leader Oliver Tambo, Chief George Matanzima and General Bantu Hani, US President Ronald Reagan and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, Angolan leader José Eduardo dos Santos and UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi — the list is endless.

Even some members of the National Party are inclined to have argued he should be freed. Mandela is the prisoner, in the final instance, of President P.W. Botha, who has insisted he "renounce violence" before he can be released. But in many ways Botha is also a prisoner — unable to achieve international or local acceptance for his "reform" policies unless he releases Mandela.

Mandela was born on July 18 1918 at Qunu in the Transkei.

He spent a brief spell as a mine policeman in Johannesburg before obtaining articles with a legal firm. He completed a BA by correspondence and then studied at the University of the Witwatersrand for his LL.B. He and Oliver Tambo, now ANC president, opened the first African legal partnership in the country in 1952.

Mandela participated in the founding of the ANC Youth League and served as its national secretary in 1944 and 1948.

He became national president of the Youth League in 1950 and two years later was appointed "Quintessential Chief" of the Defiance Campaign.

In 1952, he received a suspended sentence under the Suppression of Communism Act and was served with a banning order.

But he continued to be active, playing a key role in the formulation of the "X" Plan (named after him) for the ANC to deal with underground work.

In 1956, Mandela, now deputy national president of the ANC, was among 156 people tried for treason — a trial that ended with his acquittal five years later.

In the interim, however, a State of Emergency was declared, the ANC was banned and Mandela was detained.

Mandela went underground in 1961 after calling for a three-day strike to protest the proclamation of a republic in South Africa and became instrumental in the formation of the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Nicknamed the Black Pimpernel, he evaded arrest for 17 months but was captured in Natal on August 5 1962, tried and sentenced to five years jail for incitement and illegally leaving the country.

While he was serving this sentence, the rest of the MK leadership was arrested at Rivonia. Mandela was put on trial with them.

He and seven others were sentenced to life imprisonment on June 12 1964 for sabotage and conspiracy to overthrow the government by revolution and by assisting an armed invasion by foreign troops. He was flown that night to Robben Island, where he stayed until 1982, when he was transferred to Pollsmoor Prison, Cape Town.

The neighbours aren't surprised at the herdbooy who achieved fame

If you've ever driven through Transkei, chances are you've passed by — and even looked at — the birthplace of the world's most famous political prisoner.

Qunu, the village in which Nongqozi Nosenkani Mandela gave birth to Nelson Rolihlahla on July 18 1918, sprawls on a hillside in full view of the N2, some 30km from Umtata on the way to East London.

Like most other such settlements in the overcrowded "homeland" these days, it is hardly a village at all in the sense that one might imagine it. It has no defined entry or exit, no centre. People who live there know where it is, of course, and there is a road sign. But otherwise, it is just another cluster of thatched huts built on scrub and grassland, inhabited by old women, young children and animals.

The hut which surrounded with the first ones of the child who would grow up to lead the African National Congress is not there any more. It was demolished after his mother died in 1969, be-

cause no-one was able to pay for its maintenance. It is identifiable only by its foundations, fighting a losing battle against a maize crop, in turn facing defeat by weeds.

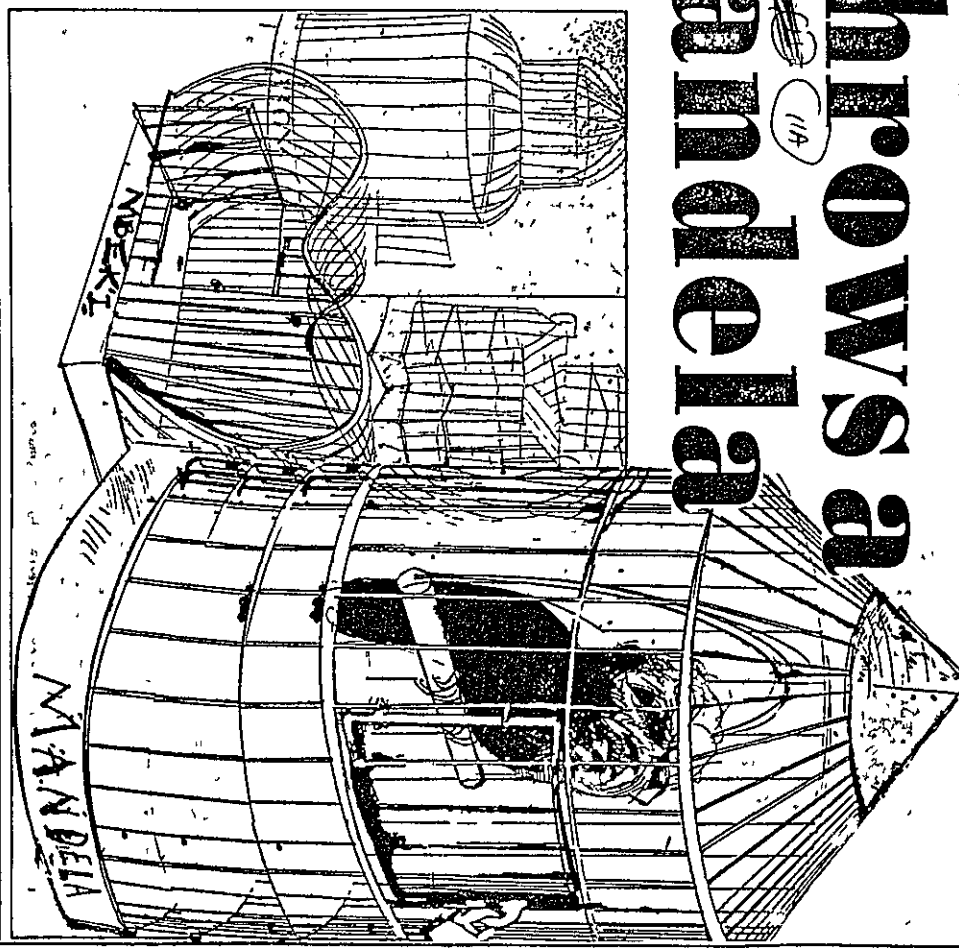
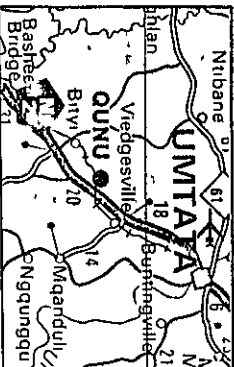
The hills, too, where the herdbooy tended cattle, are overgrazed since the population explosion that came with independence in 1976.

But there are still Mandelas in Qunu, and its most famous son is well remembered. Agneta Mandela, matriarchal widow of Mandela's younger brother Sidumo, is the chief representative.

She points to a donkey-cart load of yelping youngsters heading down to the stream for water. They are all related to Mandela and, yes, they most certainly know all about him.

Then there is the Mandela cemetery, unimproved but carefully tended, marked by wooden crosses bearing the names of more relatives — Luluza Mandela, William Mazwi Mandela, Nephew or cousin, she says.

Mandela left Qunu when he was "about eight", says a very clever boy, very good. "Was he a nar-



ural leader, even than Nyomane reflects. "No, I saw no such impressions when he was still young. I was quite surprised when I heard about all he'd done."

But, he adds with a sweep of his hands, he turned out to be a very good leader. "All these people here want him as a leader because he sacrificed everything for us blacks. Of course there are a few (in Transkei) who are against him, but they are just the people who got positions from Agneta. Not the majority."

Agneta Mandela remembers her famous brother-in-law very well. "He was a person who used to love people. When he came to visit his family here in Transkei from 10'burg, he would start with his brother and then go and see each and every relative. He'd bring a bit of money, for the small kids as well. He was very kind to his family."

She "knew he was going to be a leader", she says, "because even during the family gatherings for the day that Mandela will pay his respects in Qunu began."

Now she wants, in the poor, beautiful Transkei, for the day that Mandela will pay his respects in Qunu began. Shaun Johnson

The world throws a party for Mandela

From PAGE 1

ters and banners were removed. Attorney Essa Moosa said two printers had been visited by police and pamphlets confiscated.

In Lusaka, the ANC announced it had taken the rare step of giving Mandela, four others jailed for life with him in the Rivonia trial 25 years ago and veteran anti-apartheid activist Helen Joseph its highest honour, the Isithalandwe/Seaparankwe Award. Rivonia trialists honoured with Mandela were Ahmed Kathrada, Raymond Mhlaba, Elias Motsoaledi and Andrew Mlangeni.

The ANC said in a statement the award was given to the trialists "in recognition of their inestimable contribution to the struggle for the abolition of the apartheid system."

"The national executive committee of the ANC salutes these outstanding patriots and will not rest until they have been released and are free to play their rightful role in a liberated and peaceful South Africa."

Previous holders of the award, inaugurated in 1955, include Yusuf Dadoo, Moses Kotane, Bishop Ambrose Reeves, Lihan Ngoyi, Govan Mbeki, Albert Luthuli, Walter Sisulu and Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, Anti-Apartheid Movement leader.

In London, a four-hour march and a rally in Hyde Park is expected to draw up to 500 000 people. It will be addressed by Huddleston as well as Cape Town's Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Swapo leader Andimba Toivo ja Toivo and film director Sir Richard Attenborough.

In Tokyo, Japan added its voice to the calls for Mandela's release.

The birthday has renewed international calls for the South African government to release Mandela and the six others jailed with him at the 1964 Rivonia trial.

Britain's minister of state, Lynda Chalker, issued a new call for his release during a visit to Nigeria.

In Pollsmoor Prison, Cape Town, Mandela was preparing for a quiet birthday and his first opportunity to spend a few hours with his whole family since he was taken into custody in 1962.

The prison authorities have waived the rule limiting visits to two people for a maximum of 40 minutes.

Mandela had his first contact visit in 1979 when, he was allowed to sit in the same room with his wife, Winnie. However, at least one prison official was present on this and subsequent visits.

This weekend's official programme in Cape Town begins with a "freedom run" from outside Pollsmoor Prison on Saturday, when five runners will run in relays to a Guguletu sports stadium to kick off an all-day sports festival.



At the big birthday bash in London's Wembley Stadium last month were (from left) Meatloaf, Darryl Hannah, Little Steven, Archbishop Trevor Huddlestone and Jim Kerr

A name that's on British minds

By MOIRA LEVY, London

THE "Free Nelson Mandela by 70" campaign has had a dramatic impact on British public opinion. A just published Gallup opinion poll shows that few people in Britain today have not heard of Nelson Mandela and there is overwhelming support for his immediate release.

Of the almost 2 000 people surveyed throughout the United Kingdom, less than eight percent had not heard of the imprisoned African National Congress leader.

The poll, commissioned by the Anti Apartheid Movement and conducted by Gallup, shows that 70 percent of Britons want to see

Mandela free, and the majority (nearly 60 percent) believe UK Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher should be doing more to secure his release.

The survey also showed considerable support for the British Broadcasting Corporation's decision to broadcast live last month's birthday concert at Wembley Stadium.

The survey was published this week on the even of a rally to be held on Sunday at Hyde Park to commemorate Mandela's birthday. The rally will be addressed by Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

Simultaneously, a 10-hour video of the recent Wembley, London Mandela birthday concert will be screened at the University of the Western Cape. UWC's main hall will be the venue for an all-day cultural festival on Sunday.

While Mandela is briefly reunited with his family, during a six-hour visit on Monday, an inter-faith church service will take place in Langa.

In addition, students at schools

throughout the region have planned a variety of programmes for Monday, focusing on Mandela's life and the history of the African National Congress, while members of the Black Sash will hold a protest picket.

Franklin Sonn, president of the Cape Teachers' Professional Association, said at the press conference the celebrations should be used "to conscientise our children — not the youth, who are already aware — but

the little ones so that they know exactly what's happened. They must understand that the physical incarceration of a person can't suppress his spirit — even as the State of Emergency and detention only kindles enthusiasm for the ideal of a non-racial democracy in South Africa".

Boesak said "Mandela is a people's leader — if any cabinet ministers want to come and celebrate the birthday of the real leader of the people, they're welcome".

Referring to the detentions of campaign workers, he said "Every detention is a sign of weakness on the part of the government. As long as the government has to do things like this, the struggle continues".

Western Cape United Democratic Front president Zoli Malindi, photographer Omar Badsha, journalist Rehana Rossouw, teacher Saleem Mowzer, UDF administrator Veronica Simmers, cartoonist Jonathan Shapiro and Churches Urban Planning Commission worker Nabs Wessels were detained last Friday morning.

Trade unionist June Esau, her husband Steve Metrovich, Dawn Adams, Mike Norton and Aziza Charles were detained the day before.

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TOMORROW night, hundreds of delegates from the South African Council on Sport, trade union and political figures and embassy representatives will gather in Newclare, Johannesburg to pay tribute to the man who gave birth to Sacos.

The MN Pather memorial lecture was introduced three years ago as a posthumous tribute to a tireless campaigner for equality in sport.

Mankum Nadarajan Pather was secretary general of Sacos from 1973 to 1983. He died in 1984.

Although the president, Hassan Howa, gave Sacos its public voice, it was Pather who forged links with the international anti-apartheid movement. To many people, here and abroad, he was Mr Sacos.

In 1971, Pather and other sports administrators met at his estate agency in Victoria Heights to discuss the formation of an umbrella body to unite anti-apartheid sports organisations.

It was a time when a strange concept of sport was unfolding in South Africa. People could mix on the field, provided the teams and clubs were not racially mixed.

This policy of multi-national sport gave Sacos, when it was eventually formed, ammunition to launch itself at home and abroad, and to bombard South Africa at every turn for its apartheid-based sports policy.

It was a new ball game and Pather was one of the key players.

Pather was involved in all aspects of life in his home area of Clairwood, Durban and was a leading figure in resistance to government attempts to rezone the area for industrial use. He made his first sporting mark in

Tributes flow for 'Mr Sacos'

ANAND PATHER reports on a night of tributes to his namesake, MN Pather, the man who founded Sacos



tennis, setting up the Southern Natal Tennis Union and later the South African Lawn Tennis Union. He remained secretary of the Tennis Association of South Africa which was formed when various black groups merged.

Pather twice hosted International Tennis Federation president Phillipe Chatrier when he visited South Africa, and continued to apply pressure

for South Africa's expulsion, flooding the ITF with dossiers on the state of tennis under apartheid.

He also made an impact on soccer. Teaming up with George Singh, another Sacos elder statesman, and Norman Middleton, he successfully

campaigning for the expulsion of the white-controlled Football Association of South Africa from the Federation of International Football Associa-

tions

And with the assistance of Sam Ramsamy, leader of the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee in London, he established ties with the United Nations Special Committee Against Apartheid. Pather can claim credit for getting the UN to introduce the sports blacklist.

But isolation was only part of Pather's work. He put equal energy into building up the contacts and profile of the non-racial sports movement.

His first scoop was securing for Sacos membership of the Supreme Council of Sport in Africa. He helped open lines of communication to several anti-apartheid lobbies abroad, including the Irish and British anti-apartheid movements, the Committee Against Racial Exploitation and Halt All Racist Tours.

It was not surprising when the United Nations in 1981 offered Pather a job in New York as special advisor to its anti-apartheid committee. But on the eve of his departure, two security policemen visited him at his office and took away his passport.

Pather never went abroad again and died three years later. Morgan Naidoo, his successor, described him thus: "MN was very quiet, unassuming and nearly always sympathetic. But very few failed to notice the perpetual pensiveness of this well-groomed soft-spoken person."

"MN Pather was a founder of Sacos and a true fighter for genuine non-racial sport in this country."

Each month more doors close in the face of apartheid sport. Tomorrow, the non-racial sports movement pays tribute to a man who played a big part in making that happen.

World commemorates 70th birthday

Renewed calls for release of Mandela

Star 15/7/88

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Renewed calls are being made for the release of Nelson Mandela, while events are to be staged in many countries to commemorate his 70th birthday on Monday

As Britain and Japan called on South Africa to free the veteran ANC chief, birthday greetings are flooding in from around the world

It was announced in Johannesburg that permission to hold a huge Mandela "birthday concert" had been refused

The birthday has resulted in a renewed international focus on Mandela, arrested in 1962

Britain's Minister of State in the Foreign and Commonwealth Office urged South Africa to release Mandela from prison, Lagos newspapers reported

Mrs Lynda Chalke, who spoke to reporters during a stop-over in the Nigerian capital of Lagos on Wednesday night said tensions in South Africa could be eased through his release

And Japan's Foreign Ministry said in a statement "Japan especially requests the South African Government to make a political decision to release Mr Mandela and all other political prisoners"

Among those countries which will make special gestures on Mandela's birthday on Monday is Holland. The Dutch ambassador to South Africa is hoping to hand prison officials at Pollsmoor greetings cards sent by Dutch nationals

Moscow University has joined the queue of organisations waiting to honour Mandela and says it will present him with an honorary Doctorate of Science

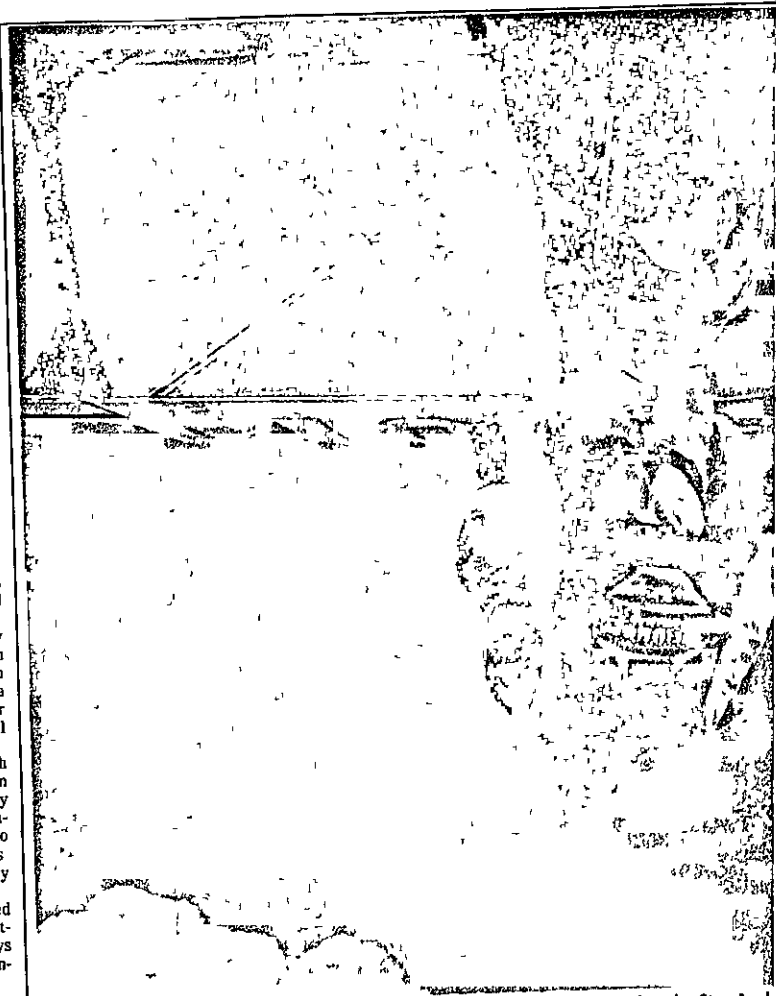
And famed Italian film director Bernardo Bertolucci is sending Mandela a special gift for his birthday — a copy of his film "The Last Emperor"

Mr Aubrey Mokoena, a member of the Mandela 70 Committee, commenting on the concert ban, said "the only possible conclusion is that the South African Government is terrified of the concept of the Mandela celebration, rather than the magnitude of the concert itself"

Progressive Federal Party MP Mrs Helen Suzman described the decision as "a silly, vindictive, spiteful move"

The concert was to have been a benefit event with welfare organisations like the Mathibela Twins Trust, the Orlando Children's Home and the SOS Children's Villages among the beneficiaries

On Tuesday the Black Sash in Johannesburg will be marking the Mandela birthday with a picket protest, which will include demands for his release among the posters to be carried — Staff Reporters, The Star Bureau, London, The Star's Africa News Service, Sapa-Reuters



Parachutist Chris Dales will be dropping out of an upside-down Pitts Special at the Star Airshow plane, known in the flying world as the "Ferrari of the skies", through a range of aerobatic figures

Daring stunt planned at Star Airshow

By Sue Valentine

A stunt, said never to have been done before, should thrill spectators at the Star Airshow when South African Airways 747 co-pilot Mr Dennis Spence takes the controls of a Pitts Special at Grand Central Airport tomorrow

Mr Spence has received a special dispensation from the Department of Civil Aviation for the stunt, which involves a skydiver climbing out of his two-seater Pitts Special when the plane is upside down at the top of a loop

It requires very careful timing, said Mr Spence. "If he exits too early, before the plane is upside down and level, he could fall against the tail of the

Good news this weekend says the weatherman

Staff Reporters

After the freezing weather throughout the country this week, the weatherman has some good news — it will be warmer this weekend

Another bonus for spectators and sportsmen alike is excellent viewing on television with rugby, canoeing, cycling and international golf in the line up

According to the Weather Bureau in Pretoria "It should be a typical winter situation for the Transvaal and Free State — fine and warm during the day with the usual overnight frost in places, especially on the Highveld"

More good news for inland holidaymakers heading for Durban and the Natal south coast is an outlook for fine and warm conditions Sport on television in-

cludes crossings from 11 am to 6 pm tomorrow to the British Open golf

The SABC will then screen round-ups of the golf at 11.55 pm tomorrow until about 2 am and again at 10.50 pm on Sunday

TV1 viewing includes canoeing, surfing and rugby. Highlights of tonight's game Northern Universities vs Southern Universities will be shown tomorrow morning, and the final Coca-Cola Craven Week match will be shown live on TV1 at 4 pm

Tour de France cycling will be shown on M Net, which will also offer US Pro tennis championships tomorrow and live boxing at 8 am on Sunday when heavyweight James "Quick" Tillis meets the world cruiserweight champion Evander Holyfield

Mandela — in his own words

Star 15/7/58

(114)

Nelson Mandela, the jailed honorary president of the African National Congress, chose to call his second book "The Struggle is my life". Mandela has lived to see his declaration of commitment burned around by the international community which has found his life virtually one with the struggle for political rights in South Africa. Mandela celebrates his 70th birthday on Monday inside Portlismoor Prison. He has been jailed for 26 years. The Mandela of today is unknown to his supporters. The Mandela of the '50s and '60s was almost as much of a mystery until recently, when the prohibition on possessing his writings was lifted. This is what these writings and court records reflect of the man whose birthday is being celebrated on several continents.

On why he joined the ANC in 1944 (from the court record of his 1962 trial for organising the 1961 general strike): "Its policy was one which appealed to my deepest inner convictions. It sought for the unity of all Africans, overriding tribal differences among them. It sought the acquisition of political power for Africans in the land of their birth. The ANC further believed that all people, irrespective of their colour, all people whose home is South Africa and who believe in the principles of democracy and of equality of men should be treated as Africans." On revolution (as contained in his presidential address to the ANC in 1953, delivered by Robert Resha because of the author's banning order): "Here in South Africa, as in many parts of the world, a revolution is maturing. It is the profound desire for the termination and the urge of the overwhelming majority of the country to destroy for ever the shackles of oppression that condemn them to servitude and slavery. To overthrow oppression has been sanctioned by humanity and is the highest aspiration of every free man."

Role of Youth League

On the role of the Youth League on ANC policy (from the record of the 1956/60 mass treason trial): "Up to the time the Youth League was formed and until 1949 the only methods of political action which were adopted by the ANC were purely constitutional — deputations to see the authorities, memoranda and the mere passing of resolutions. We (in the Youth League) felt that policy had been tried out and found wanting. We thought that the ANC, its organisers and field workers should, as it were, go out on the highways and organise the masses of the African people for mass campaigns. We felt that the time had arrived for the congress to consider the adoption of more militant forms of political action — stay at homes, civil disobedience, protests, demonstrations."

On his attitude to Communism (from the record of the 1956/60 treason trial): "From the little knowledge I had at the time about Communism (1945-7) I regarded them as people who were hostile to African nationalism, which I regarded as being extremely important from the point of view of mobilising the African people. I was also under the view that the Communists opposed organisations like the ANC and that they would work to subvert both its policies and its campaigns. I was reluctant but (in 1950) I came to work with them (Communists in the ANC) and I discovered that the views I held about them were not justified. I don't know if I did become a



Communist. If by a Communist you mean a member of the Communist Party and a person who believes in the theories of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and who adheres strictly to the discipline of the party, I did not become a Communist.

On the Programme of Action (founded on the Youth League's policy of militant direct action) and negotiation (from the 1956/60 treason trial): "The method of the Programme of Action do not exclude the idea of negotiation. Obviously, negotiation can only take place where both parties have something to give. If I launch a strike in order to attain certain objectives and assuming the authorities ask for discussions it may be necessary for me to call off the strike. I can negotiate on the basis that I have something to offer."

On the Defiance Campaign (from the 1956/60 treason trial): "We were afraid that defiance (of apartheid laws) would immediately attract the wrath of authorities and that they would endeavour to intimidate the African people by being very harsh on the first volunteers and the only way in which they would have that opportunity was if there could be disturbances. We made it a fundamental principle of the whole campaign that all volunteers should scrupulously observe the necessity for discipline and we took this precaution (of screening volunteers) to eliminate completely the possibility of people being provoked into violent action."

On the Soviet Union and socialism (from the 1956/60 treason trial): "I am impressed by the entire absence of the colour bar in the Soviet Union. I am impressed by the fact that the Soviet Union has no colonies in Africa and as far as I know in any part of the world. I am also impressed by the stand the Soviet Union has taken on imperialism and the strides which she has made in the fields of industry and science. All that impresses me is the ideal of a socialist society but I have no intention of copying anything that has been done in any other country. On the Freedom Charter (June 1956, a year after the adoption of the Charter at the Congress of the People) whilst the Charter proclaims democratic changes of a far-reaching nature it is by no means a blueprint for a socialist state but a programme for the unification of various classes and groupings amongst the people on a democratic basis. It is true that, in demanding the nationalisation of the banks, the gold mines and the land, the Charter strikes a fatal blow at the financial and gold-mining monopolies and farming interests that have for years plundered our country and condemned its people to servitude. But such a step is imperative because the realisation of the Charter is inconceivable — in fact impossible — unless and until these monopolies are smashed and the national wealth turned over to the people."

On the reaction to non-violent rules observed in the three-day strike which coincided with the declaration of a republic on May 31 1961: "Of all observations on the strike none has brought forth so much heat and emotion as the emphasis we put on non-violence. Our most loyal supporters unanimously and strenuously disagreed with this approach and with the assurances we gave that we would not use any form of intimidation whatsoever to induce people to stay away from work. It was argued that the soil of our beloved country has been stained with the precious blood of African patriots murdered by the National Government. In the course of peaceful and disciplined demonstrations to assert their claims and legitimate aspirations."

Descent to violence

On the descent to violence (from an address delivered in Addis Ababa in January 1962, two months after the founding of Umkhonto We Sizwe): "In all our campaigns we repeatedly stressed the importance of discipline, peaceful and non-violent struggle because we felt there were still opportunities for peaceful struggle and we did not want to expose our people to situations where they might become easy targets for the trigger-happy police of South Africa. But the situation has now radically altered. South Africa is now a land ruled by the gun. The Government is increasing the size of its army, navy, air force and police. Officers of the South African army have visited Algeria and Angola where they were briefed exclusively on methods of suppressing popular struggles. All opportunities for peaceful agitation have been closed."

On why he helped form Umkhonto in 1961 (from his speech from the dock in the Rivonia trial 1964): "I and the others who started the organisation did so for two reasons. First, we believed, that as a result of Government policy, violence by the African people had become inevitable and that unless responsible leadership was given to canalise and control the feelings of our people there would be outbreaks of terrorism which would produce an intensity of bitterness a hostility between the races which is not produced even by war. Second, we felt that, without violence, there would be no way open to the African people to succeed in their struggle against the principle of white supremacy. All lawful modes of expressing opposition to this principle had been closed by legislation."

1/6 ARGUS 16/7/88
**Mandela
rejects
family
visit**

AFRICAN National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela has cancelled a special six-hour family visit which was to have been the highlight of his 70th birthday in Pollsmoor Prison on Monday. And police in Johannesburg and Durban have banned weekend birthday celebrations.

The Mandela's family lawyer Mr Ismail Ayob, told reporters that Mrs Winnie Mandela did not want to accept special privileges from the Government and wanted to focus attention on other jailed opponents of apartheid and those on Death Row.

MEANWHILE the governments of Britain, West Germany, Holland and Canada were among those who renewed appeals yesterday for Mr Mandela's release.

In Bonn Chancellor Helmut Kohl said in a message to President Botha "Humanity commands that you should not deny him freedom any longer. Show your government's readiness to speak to Nelson Mandela and the other previously outlawed political forces in your country."

British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe said in a statement. "The release of Mr Mandela is crucial to the prospects for peaceful change within South Africa."

"It would be an important gesture of reconciliation by the South African Government and would help to create a climate of confidence for peace talks in the context of a suspension of violence on all sides."

About 100 000 letters to Mr Mandela from admirers in the Netherlands were expected in South Africa today.

"The two bags of letters, weighing 230kg, are expected on a flight this morning," a spokesman for the Dutch Embassy in Pretoria said yesterday.

"We will collect the letters and take them in two cars to Mrs Mandela, who will pass them on to her husband."

The Minister of Information and Broadcasting Affairs, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, said last night that Mr Mandela had cancelled his family visit "of his own accord" but that if he changed his mind he would be allowed such a visit.

Commenting on appeals for Mr Mandela's release, he said that Mr Mandela was "a sentenced prisoner who is serving a sentence of life imprisonment imposed by a court of law after having been found guilty of a serious crime."

1/6 ARGUS 16/7/88
POLICE FOIL

'MANDELA RUN'

by DENNIS CRUYWAGEN

Weekend Argus Reporter

SECURITY forces today took steps to prevent Nelson Mandela's 70th birthday from being celebrated in Cape Town without officially banning it.

Police confirmed that they sealed off Pollsmoor prison thereby thwarting plans to start a "freedom run" outside the prison and that they barred people from entering Guguletu stadium where a sports festival was to be held.

However, an improvised run started near the Blue Route Centre in Tokai.

Five runners set off at 9am and headed for Guguletu. Police have confirmed that four were stopped and taken into custody.

Police liaison officer Major Jan Calitz said four runners were arrested adding that a policeman had told him "they would be taken to a police station, questioned and released."

Athlone attorney, Mr Essa Moosa, confirmed that runners were detained near Kenilworth.

Roadblocks

Police confirmed that roadblocks were erected near Pollsmoor prison, only allowing people with 'valid reasons' to go near the prison area.

An Argus car and a vehicle belonging to BBC cameraman Jimi Matthews were stopped at a roadblock.

Both vehicles were searched before police escorted reporters to Kirstenhof police station where Major Calitz explained that a Press presence was barred because security forces were 'active in the area'. They were ordered to leave the scene.

IN Guguletu security forces stood outside the stadium, and told people they had been instructed not to allow anyone into the stadium.

One of the organisers of the festival, Mrs Bulwa Tinto, showed police a receipt to prove that she had hired the stadium for the festival, but security forces were adamant that they were following orders.

Police also manned roadblocks on either side of Modderdam Road near the University of the Western Cape where a video of last month's Mandela Birthday concert at Wembley Stadium was due to be shown later today.

Valid reason

Major Calitz said "Access roads to Pollsmoor prison were sealed off. Only people who had a valid reason to be at the prison were allowed to proceed beyond the roadblock."

He confirmed that security forces were on duty outside Guguletu stadium.

"Only people taking part in a bona fide sports meeting will be allowed to use the stadium," he said.

Mr Moosa said that one of the 11 members of the Mandela Birthday Committee, detained for questioning yesterday, had been released, but the others were being held under the emergency regulations. Mrs Tinto was released unconditionally.

Those still in detention are Langa High School teacher Mr Thembikile Plaatje, Mrs Notobeko Ramcwana, Mr Zuzile Dudenkani, Mr Whitey Phokwana, Mr Thembikile Mboyi, Mr Peter Hendricks, Mr Dumesani Lupungele, Mr Noshipo Ntwanine, Mr Sicelo Nkosi and Mr Thabo Hlabika, Mr Moosa said.

Sapa reports that today's concert to celebrate Mr Mandela's birthday at the University of Durban Westville was banned.

In a notice, a copy of which was left tacked to a wall at the concert organisers' offices at the Durban Ecumenical Centre, Brigadier B Henn, the Divisional Commissioner of Police for Port Natal, said the concert had been banned in terms of Section 10 (1) (C) of the emergency regulations.

Harare talks

a success

says student

by ROBERT HOUWING
Weekend Argus Reporter

WHAT do a Nusas head office staff member and the son of Professor Carel Boshoff, ultra-conservative leader of the Afrikaner Volkswag, have in common?

They both attended informal talks in Zimbabwe recently with student members of the African National Congress

Fifteen leading students from predominantly Afrikaans campuses around South Africa returned recently from the trip to Harare for discussions with fellow-students and academics at the University of Zimbabwe.

The politically diverse students, drawn from Rand Afrikaans University and the universities of Pretoria, Bloemfontein, Stellenbosch and Port Elizabeth, were accompanied on their five-day excursion by Mr Steve Fourie, Transvaal regional director of Idasa, and Kim van Deventer from the Nusas head office at Wits University

Mr Fourie is a former chief of Idasa's Border region and Methodist minister.

Mr Boshoff jun, a member of Pretoria University's Students Representative Council, was a surprise delegate.

Professor Boshoff acknowledged this week that he knew of the visit, but had not had time to discuss it with his son, who he described as "independent-minded"

The tour, organised by Idasa in association with the Zimbabwe-based Cold Comfort Farm Trust, was part of Idasa's ongoing programme to build contacts in frontline states and dispel much of the negative propaganda circulated in South Africa on these countries.

In November last year, the trust, a movement started by occupants of one of the first non-racially owned farms in the former Rhodesia, hosted a similar visit from South African journalists.

Interviewed in Cape Town this week, where he was due to attend Idasa's conference on the Freedom Charter, Mr Fourie said a "great deal of understanding" was built up.

The chief purpose of the mission was to spend time at the University of Zimbabwe interacting with students, some of whom were members of the ANC, and staff.

"The idea was to visit a country which has already gone through the transition South Africa faces and to expose the students to the realities of a non-racial society. It is something we fear in South Africa, because it is the 'unknown'.

"We were guests of the Zimbabwe Students' Union and met a wide range of people."

The visitors attended a series of lectures and were generally able to get the "feel" of the university and to compare standards.

Vigorous but cordial debate during informal talks with ANC student members focused primarily on the armed struggle and the broad question of Marxism.

"Some of the South African students were a little surprised to hear Zimbabwean counterparts complaining that Prime Minister Robert Mugabe was not Marxist enough," Mr Fourie said.

"They found those who advocated the Marxist-Leninist approach a little extreme.

"At the start of the talks with the ANC members, both delegations were a bit stand-offish. By the end, however, there was an atmosphere of genuine friendliness and back-slapping

"A striking thing about the trip, in fact, was the warm spirit, prevalent not only among those we met but within the touring party itself

"It was my first visit to Zimbabwe and, like many of the students, I was struck by the enthusiasm people have for being there

"We did hear gripes about the cost of living and availability of certain goods, but there seemed to be general excitement about being Zimbabwean

"Some of us felt a sense of being part of the world; we've lost that in South Africa"

According to Mr Fourie, several of the visitors confessed to having cleared up misconceptions about their neighbouring country.

"Many felt that things they had read in South Africa were not accurate, and that they had a new perspective"

The students were frequently confronted by allegations that South Africa attempted to destabilise Zimbabwe — not only by those they met but also in the Press there

"Around the whole issue of destabilisation, the majority of our group believed there was so much smoke that there had to be fire"

Other activities attended by members of the group included talks with the New Zealand High Commissioner in Zimbabwe, Mr Chris Laidlaw, a former All Black rugby player who now opposes sporting links with South Africa, and a representative of the Beira Corridor Group which is working to reopen the land-locked country's link with the sea

They also met white farmers, some of whom, Mr Fourie said, remained "fairly racist in their views but were just happy to still be in Zimbabwe

"A lot of them grumbled about the difficulty of getting parts for machinery, but acknowledged that they still enjoyed life there and that Mugabe was an intelligent person"

Reflections on the trip by three members of the party

● "My overall view was a very positive one. I do not have the same uncertainty about life beyond apartheid."

● "I feel motivated to work for the battle to create a democracy in South Africa"

● "What really struck me was the misinformation we get back home. Now, of course, I will look more critically at the propaganda we're exposed to"

Mr Fourie said all those who had pencilled down thoughts on the trip described it as a valuable experience.

There was recognition of a need for some kind of follow-up to the initiative. "There will be discussion shortly on the form that might take"

The full party was Mr Steve Fourie (Transvaal regional director, Idasa), Kim van Deventer (Nusas head office), Frederika de Graaf, Letitia Muir and Migon Botha (Rand Afrikaans University), Minette Carstens and Carel Boshoff (Pretoria University), Martinus van Rensburg, Wynand Wagener, Louis Neuhoff and Andre Zaaman (Bloemfontein University), Dirk Louw, Neil Shaw and Christoff Oosthuysen (Stellenbosch University) and Darelle van Greunen, Fred Brown and Willem Wagener (University of Port Elizabeth)

CAPE TOWN 16/7/88

Petrol bombs damage ex-councillor's house

JOHANNESBURG. — Petrol bombs were hurled at a former Dobsonville councillor's home late on Wednesday night, causing extensive damage to the four-roomed house

No one was injured in the attack, which happened about 11 15pm, but Mr Colin Radebe's right ear was bruised by flying glass.

Mr Radebe resigned from the council a few years ago.

A spokesman for the police division of public relations confirmed the incident. He said two petrol bombs had been used. No arrests had been made. The Radebe family said they did not know the motive behind the attack.

The family spent most of the night extinguishing the fire and removing debris from the house.

In another incident of unrest, a man was arrested in Mitchells Plain for stoning a security force vehicle.

Police arrested 16 men who stoned a house in Hammersdale, Natal. A man was slightly wounded when hit by a stone.

Also in Natal, the body of a man, apparently stabbed to death, was found in Ashdown — Sapa

CA Times 16/7/82

'ANC men'

were wounded

MBABANE — A Swazi police spokesman confirmed that two of the four alleged ANC gunmen who were arrested following an armed confrontation with Swazi police at Pigg's Peak on Thursday were wounded in the shootout.

Hospital sources in Pigg's Peak confirmed that one of the wounded men, Mr Arnold Masimuta, 30, was in a critical condition after being shot in the buttocks.

An eye-witness said one of the men, armed with an AK-47, was seen firing at the policemen surrounding the workshops where the four men had stopped — Sapa

ales
NEAR
ROOTE KERK
CAPE TOWN
CASH

CAPE TIMES 16/7/88

Dispute over venue for celebrations

By CHARL DE VILLIERS

LAST-MINUTE preparations for the celebration of Mr Nelson Mandela's birthday moved into top gear last night, as police banned a second concert for the jailed ANC leader.

While 10 more people involved in the Western Cape festivities were detained by the security police yesterday, a dispute arose over the venue for the city concert.

In a surprise development, a gospel group challenged the Mandela function's right to stage a concert in the University of the Western Cape (UWC) main hall as it had booked it "well in advance".

But last night UWC registrar Mr A F Daniels said the gospel group had "most definitely not" booked the hall for 10am tomorrow.

The hall had, however, been booked from 7pm onwards for a campus gospel group, he said.

"We would never accommodate them with the Mandela concert," he added.

Attorneys acting for the Mandela concert organizers yesterday said the District Commissioner of Police in Bellville had called UWC rector Prof Jakes Gerwel to the divisional headquarters and "cautioned" him about the concert.

Prof Gerwel was warned that if "any problems" arose at Sunday's concert, police would "take action", the attorneys said.

The Durban indoor concert was banned in a notice — a copy of which was left tacked to a wall at the concert organizers' offices.

5 R695

8 R250

Mandela 'no' to birthday treat

THE imprisoned leader of the African National Congress, Mr Nelson Mandela, yesterday asked the SA Prisons Service to cancel an unprecedented six-hour visit with family members on his 70th birthday on Monday.

His dramatic decision, announced by the government, follows a worldwide celebration of his birthday and international calls on the South African government to release Mr Mandela, who has spent the past 25 years in jail.

The Minister of Information, Mr Stoffel van der Merwe, said last night "Arrangements were made for Mr Mandela's family to spend the day with him today, however, of his own accord, Mr Mandela requested that the family visit be cancelled

"Permission for the visit still applies should Mr Mandela change his mind," Mr Van der Merwe said. Mr Mandela's wife Winnie said she stood by the decision, made in sympathy with family members of other jailed opponents of apartheid.

Mr Mandela called off the six-hour reunion a day after the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, refused permission to stage a celebration concert in Soweto tomorrow. An indoor concert to be held in Durban was banned yesterday.

"Mrs Mandela has taken the decision as both she and Mr Mandela have never sought any special privilege for themselves," Mr Ismael Ayob, the family's lawyer, said.

"She has made this decision to focus attention on tens of thousands of mothers, sisters and daughters and on the fathers, brothers and sons who have never had the privilege of spending the day with their loved ones who remain in incarceration for

their opposition to apartheid."

Mr Ayob said Mrs Mandela would "spend the day quietly at home as she has on his birthday for the past 26 years."

He said she would make an ordinary visit to her husband on another day next week. It was not clear last night whether other family members would make to trip visit him at Pollsmoor Prison on Monday.

Mr Van der Merwe, in a statement triggered by "widespread interest" in Mr Mandela's birthday, said the government deemed him "a sentenced prisoner who is serving a sentence of life imprisonment imposed by a court of law after having been found guilty of a serious crime."

Mr Mandela's birthday has drawn tributes from world leaders and anti-apartheid groups.

Canada's Prime Minister, Mr Brian Mulroney said in a message to Mr Mandela "We profoundly hope

that you will soon be free and able to apply your strength, commitment and courage to the peaceful construction of a new, non-racial South Africa."

The British Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, said Mr Mandela's release was crucial to the prospects for peaceful change in South Africa and renewed the call for his release.

The ministers of foreign affairs of Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden pledged they would continue to demand his release in their greeting.

Australian Prime Minister Mr Bob Hawke sent a message praising Mr Mandela as an inspiration to opponents of apartheid adding that "your long, lonely years have not been wasted."

West German Chancellor Mr Helmut Kohl yesterday appealed to President P W Botha to "use this

Go page 3

Continued

get this
16/7/88

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FROM THE

Birthday tributes *are tips R/7/88*

day to make a signal of reconciliation to your people for bridging the gaps between the races and the opposing political groups of South Africa" Of Mr Mandela he said "Humanity commands that you should not deny him freedom any longer"

Japan's Director-General for Public Information and Cultural Affairs, Mr Yosifumi Matuda, said his government demanded that Pretoria take steps to abolish apartheid and begin talks toward a solution of South Africa's problems

In London, the Guardian reported that the British government was preparing a surprise announcement on Monday which could herald a visit to Mr Mandela by the British ambassador

The Bureau for Information yesterday gave reporters officially compiled biographies that sought to dispel the belief Mr Mandela was a "political prisoner" and noted that his Xhosa name, Rolihlala, means "Troublemaker" — UPI and Sapa-Reuter AP

Joseph gets
ANC honour

JOHANNESBURG —
Veteran anti-apartheid
activist Mrs Helen Jo-
seph has become the
second woman to re-
ceive the African
National Congress's
highest honour

Mrs Joseph, 83, re-
ceived a telegram from
the ANC at her home in
Norwood this week an-
nouncing that they had
conferred on her the
Isithwalandwe/Seapar-
ankwe award for her
"outstanding contribu-
tion to the struggle to
end apartheid and trans-
form South African into
a united, democratic and
non-racial country".

Mrs Joseph is listed,
and cannot be quoted,
but a close friend said
she was deeply moved
and proud to have re-
ceived the award —
Sapa

FOCUS

Tutu becomes Archbishop

This is the last of five instalments on the career of Archbishop Desmond Tutu. They have been edited from a biography of the archbishop, Tutu — Voice of the Voiceless, by Shirley du Boulay and published by Hodder and Stoughton.

In November 1985, when Philip Russell announced that he intended to retire as Archbishop of Cape Town the following August, speculation as to who his successor would be began to mount.

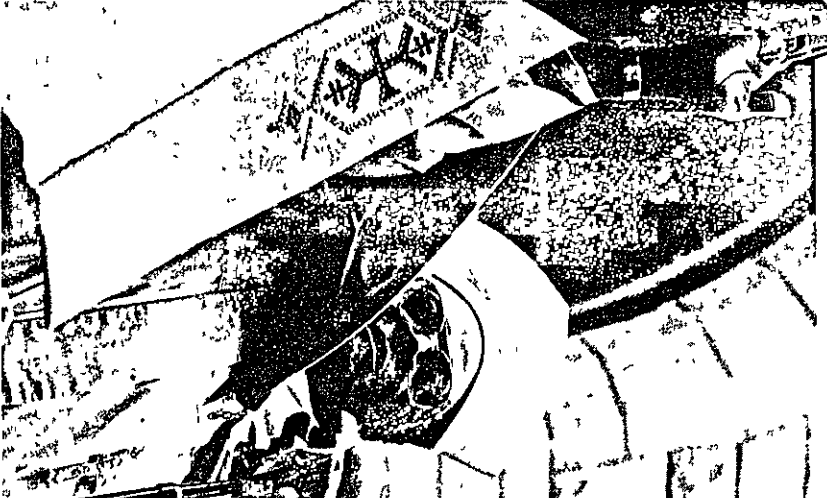
The months preceding the Elective Assembly had seen Tutu polarising opinion even more than he had for the past decade. He was constantly in the eye of the storm, reviled and loved, harried from every direction. Should so controversial a man occupy the highest position in the Anglican Church in South Africa? There were plenty of people who thought he should not.

Among blacks, he was, as ever, loved as a man and honoured both as a religious leader and as a symbol of black achievement, but some of his actions — his meetings with the President, his threat to leave the country if the "black-on-black" violence did not stop, the confusion over his call for a day of prayer and his doomed effort to negotiate with the Government on behalf of the people of Alexandra — had lessened his influence, particularly over the young people, and diminished his credibility.

But, this was not something to be decided by the country at large. It was a matter for the Anglican Church. Whatever his political standing, whether the graph of his credibility was moving up or down, there was no question in the minds of the majority of the clergy and lay people concerned that, when they met to make their choice, Bishop Tutu's name should be included among the nominees.

AGAINST his will and in spite of his wife's strong reservations, he was persuaded to stand if it were God's will that he should stay in Johannesburg, he argued as he had done a decade earlier before he became Bishop of Lesotho, then he would not be elected.

So, on April 14, the Advisory Committee duly submitted the nominations and the 500-strong Elective Assembly, consisting of all the clergy of Cape Town Province, the elected lay representatives and one



Archbishop Tutu greets people gathered outside St George's Cathedral to watch his enthronement as Archbishop.

Proceedings are held behind locked doors and are confidential, but it is widely thought that only two or three names were necessary, certainly they had achieved a clear two-thirds majority and the choice was unanimously approved by the bishops.

THE speed and unanimity of the decision baffled and, at least temporarily, muted his critics. Although the initial reaction among local white Anglicans was cool, a surprisingly large section of the Press welcomed his appointment, recognising that it marked a historic moment in the history of the Anglican Church. They acknowledged the daunting task ahead of the Archbishop-elect, asserting that he was "an invaluable

asset to the church".

He received so much Dak for this remark that he did concede that his anger was unnecessary, because he should have known not to expect any better from President Reagan, and, yes, perhaps he could have used "less salty language". But, for the most part, he was unapologetic. It was good for people to know how deeply blacks felt, he claimed, good for them to be reminded that South Africans were not just engaged in academic discussions.

At the end of July, Tutu made his formal farewell to the diocese of Johannesburg. The farewell ceremony was an emotional occasion, as 2,000 members of the community gathered at the Ellis Park rugby stadium to give for unity and peace. Tutu took the Christian family and the importance of sharing as his farewell message.

Using one of his favourite sayings, "A person is a person through other persons", he reminded his audience that Christians could not find salvation in isolation and that freedom was not something any person or group of people could have on their own.

"Freedom has to be shared, otherwise those who have it have no time to enjoy their separate freedom — they are too busy guarding it with guns and guard dogs and states of emergency. We all share in each other's glory — and equally in each other's shame."

DEFYING the Government's ban on naming people in detention and warning once again that all that was legal was not necessarily moral, he urged people not to be intimidated, but to pray regularly for detainees by name.

He also suggested that they devote one day a week to prayer and fasting for justice and peace and that they ring the church bells every day at noon until the state of emergency was lifted. By using the name of the Church in the service of man, he had demonstrated yet again the close interrelation between religion and politics.

erment, even as a slap in the face for Pretoria, was published well in advance of the enthronement. The 165 invitations were issued to churchmen from all over the world, to politicians including Senator Edward Kennedy, Gary Hart and Congressman William Gray and to senators such as Harry Belafonte, Lionel Ritchie and Steve Wonder.

Tutu asked the Government for an assurance that his guests — who were, in fact, all personally known to him — would be granted visas, a request they refused. The normal demands on the time of busy people saved them some embarrassment, as did the unwillingness of some of the more-controversial figures to give the Government the gratification of refusing them entry.

Nevertheless, the sixty requests for visas that were received placed the authorities in an awkward predicament. Could they refuse visas to such distinguished guests? On the other hand, how could they give their blessing to a major gathering of apartheid campaigners?

Political observers forecast that visas for churchmen and their less controversial figures would be approved, while requests on most requests would be delayed until after the ceremony. In fact, even some churchmen had difficulty obtaining entry.

On Sunday morning, Tutu was up early, praying for hours by prayer, playing a glass of orange juice and Leash left for the cathedral.

Cape Town had known controversial archbishops, indeed Tutu was inheriting a mantle worn by uncompromising critics of apartheid such as Geoffrey Clayton, Justus Danckwerts and Robert Selby Taylor, all of whom in the flesh of the various governments of their time.



Archbishop Tutu kneels before former Archbishop of Cape Town Bill Burnett during the ceremony at St Mary's Cathedral in Johannesburg at which he was consecrated Bishop of Lesotho.

The key points of the ancient ritual from the three knooks on the door to the presentation of the diamond-studded Kimberley Cross and the shout of the people, "We welcome you in the name of the Lord" were firmly in the Anglican tradition, but an Anglican church has submitted to such an unambitious

No music could echo Anglican sentiments more truly than Sir Robert Farry's "I was glad when they said unto me, 'Praise to the heights' or, by special request of Archbishop Tutu, "Jean Joy of Man's Dying". Yet, for many people, the musical high point was the singing of the 80-strong group from Soweto, Imlungu Ba Mtu, the black choir taking

mentioned literally scores of people by name, ending with thanking his mother-in-law for providing Leash for him. The central part of his address was vintage Tutu. Although it contained little that had been Tutu-watchers had not heard before, it was a complete summary of his years as he has ever given at one hearing. In stressing the centrality of the spiritual life, Tutu prayed "to God that our God is such a God — a God for whom no one is a non-entity and whose existence makes all life religious. He compared the family of the Church with the human family, where disagreement does not destroy unity and whose members receive in relation to their need, not their contribution. Members of a family

The Archbishop of Canterbury gave a brave and impressive sermon, setting the tone of his call for peace with the sombre words, "As I stand here, on the tip of Africa, I cannot escape the sense of history — the sense that here, on what was once the Dark Continent, there is the dawn of greater darkness still."

Tutu has never forgotten the way his election as Bishop of Johannesburg was ignored by that city. The evening celebrations, then, when the Mayor of Cape Town hosted a Banqueting Hall, were belated to his soul. Although as he entered the City Hall he had to pass while youths bearing placards saying "Our children starve while Tutu eats", once

ANC leader and Paul Kruger both faced crucial

16/7/88

ON THE eve of Nelson Mandela's 70th birthday, one is struck by the parallel between two critical moments one in his political life and the other in that of Paul Kruger

For Mandela, the critical moment came in mid-1961 when, with some of his closest political comrades, he decided to abandon the ANC's 50-year commitment to non-violence and to embark on armed resistance — or rebellion, in old-fashioned language.

As Mandela put it in his now famous statement from the dock in the Rivonia Trial of 1963-64:

"The time comes in the life of any nation where there remain only two choices submit or fight. That time has come to South Africa. We shall not submit."

For Kruger, the critical moment came at the Bloemfontein Convention of mid-1899

It was there he decided the campaign waged on behalf of the Uitlanders in the Transvaal by the British High Commissioner, Lord Milner, was really aimed at destroying the Boer Republic

Kruger had offered to give the vote to the Uitlanders after seven years, instead of five as demanded by Milner. His proposal was spurned as a "Kaffir-bargain" by Milner

It caused Kruger to conclude "It is our country that you want". The implication of his words

was unmistakable the Boers would take up arms rather than meekly surrender to the British

The consequences were critical for both men. In Kruger's case they led to the defeat of his Boer fighters and to his death in exile in Switzerland. In Mandela's case they led to prison, where he has spent the past 26 years

Another parallel is that they were both vilified by their enemies. Kruger as a obscurantist and reactionary; Mandela as a terrorist and a communist.

But both reached out, Kruger from his grave and Mandela from prison, to inspire their followers.

As the historian Christopher Saunders has noted, Kruger's life and death later became a "source of great inspiration for resurgent Afrikaner nationalism." Mandela is already a legend in his own time and a potent force for a generation of South Africans who were not born when he first went to jail.

"It was only when all else failed, when all channels of peaceful protest had been barred to us that the decision was made to embark on violent forms of political struggle and to form (the ANC army) Umkhonto we Sizwe," Mandela said in the Rivonia trial. His statement was obviously an attempt to ex-

plain and justify his decision. But detached examination of the historical record shows the lengths to which he went to try non-violent resistance first

Mandela's role as Volunteer-in-Chief during the passive resistance campaign of 1952 is testimony enough to his commitment to non-violence at the time. He and about 8 000 volunteers courted arrest by breaking "unjust laws". The campaign came to an end when the government passed special legislation making passive resistance punishable by whipping, heavy fines and heavy jail sentences

Mandela's stature as a leader was recognised by the authorities as well as by his political comrades. He was banned in December 1952. The order forbade him from attending meetings. It was to remain in effect until 1961. During those nine years he had performed to play a role behind the scenes in the ANC. But he remained steadfastly committed to non-violence

It was only after the Sharpeville shootings of March 1960 and the outlawing of the ANC and the rival Pan-Africanist Congress the next month, that Mandela, his co-leaders in the ANC and their allies in the Congress Movement began to think seriously of armed resistance

Mandela tried once more to dissuade the authorities from taking a course of events which he believed was leading inexorably to violence. When the gov-

ernment decided to form a Republic in 1961 after receiving a mandate in a whites-only referendum, Mandela wrote to the then Prime Minister, Hendrik Verwoerd. He urged Verwoerd to call a national convention of leaders of all races to plan a common future. If he did not do so, warned Mandela, his government would face a massive campaign of non-cooperation, starting with a three-day stayaway strike in protest against the formation of the white Republic. Verwoerd ignored Mandela's letter. He later told Parliament he had received a "highly impertinent" letter from someone called Nelson Mandela to which he had no intention of replying. Instead he mobilised the army and ordered the arrest of hundreds of "intimidators". Verwoerd's reaction, Mandela told the Rivonia trial, was "a milestone to Umkhonto".

Mandela justified the ANC's recourse to armed struggle by presenting it in his Rivonia trial statement as planned sabotage aimed at avoiding loss of life and as an alternative to civil war and terrorism

One wonders what he thinks now, nearly a quarter of century later, as civil war and terrorism have come to pass in the brutal struggle between what Professor Johan van der Vyver has depicted as State terror and revolutionary terror.

Loads of greetings from Netherlands

8/16/74 88 ESTHER WAUGH

(114)

A LOAD of 100 000 letters to Nelson Mandela from the Netherlands, weighing 230 kg, is expected in South Africa today

A spokesman for the Dutch embassy in Pretoria said "The Dutch Anti-Apartheid Movement asked all the people of the Netherlands to write to Nelson Mandela and they have received 100 000 letters and post-cards congratulating Mr Mandela on his 70th birthday

"We will collect the letters from the airport and take them in two cars to Mrs Mandela, who will pass them on to her husband," the spokesman said

He said the letters were not sent by diplomatic bag

ANC, Swapo 'often meet IRA' ^{11/13}

LONDON — Conservative MP Mr Andrew Hunter says he has evidence the ANC and Swapo have held regular meetings with the IRA

Mr Hunter told British newspapers he had sent details to the Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher

"After six months of research I have

^{Stev 11/17/88}
now come up with the evidence that the ANC and Swapo have been meeting regularly with the IRA

"I know the house they met in, the dates they met and the names of the people involved"

Mr Hunter said the meetings took place in the UK — Sapa

Top S Africans examine charter

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

PROMINENT South Africans from across the country gathered at UCT yesterday to place the Freedom Charter under the microscope, 33 years after the historic document was adopted by the Congress of the People at Klip-town

But in opening the two-day conference, Idasa executive director Dr Alex Boraine told the 450 delegates that with any such national conference on the Freedom Charter "it should have been possible to have Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Oliver Tambo, Govan Mbeki, and for that matter, Thabo Mbeki, with us"

However, those who undertook the 1988 Freedom Charter pilgrimage to Cape Town included leading figures in fields as diverse as the legal profession, business, trade unions, churches, youth organizations, politics and academia

Dr Boraine said that while the Freedom Charter was a document of the "utmost importance and significance", it should nevertheless be seen as "opened with no limits to new ideas and new demands"

The Rev Canon Mcebisi Xundu of Port Elizabeth, who attended the Kliptown Congress in 1955, said the Freedom Charter represented the "sentiments of the op-

Freedom Charter conference

pressed" and the "distilled essence of the people's demands" following a three-year process of "maximum consultation with diverse groups at every level" across the country

Canon Xundu said that 99% of the people that shaped the Freedom Charter were "informed by the Christian faith" and the document was not the product of Moscow as some people today supposed

Professor Hermann Giliomee of the political studies department at UCT said that for the majority of South Africans the Freedom Charter was the symbol of a united and free South Africa where all people treated each other with dignity and respect

"If whites deride the Freedom Charter, they humiliate that dream. And if whites and blacks scorn each others' hopes and dreams, there is no way out of our mutual nightmares"

Dr Nthato Motlana of the Soweto Civic Association said the ANC had begun an exhaustive re-examination of the charter and there would "unquestionably be major changes made in the charter should it re-emerge"

He said those who occupied "huge tracts of the fatherland"

would not be allowed to continue doing so

"Clearly land will be redistributed. But those who work it will not be dispossessed arbitrarily without adequate compensation"

Dr Farouk Meer, general secretary of the Natal Indian Congress, said whites, who had been brainwashed by a false sense of fear of the charter, had lost their democracy

"This country is ruled by a narrow clique of securocrats, businessmen and certain politicians," he said

Apartheid fetters

Wits political scientist Mr Mark Swilling said the "armed procrastination" being used by the state might buy whites time "but is not going to buy us our future"

The general secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, said "The attainment of the Freedom Charter will in our view unleash tremendous (economic) forces which are presently fettered by apartheid. There will be no room for people who want to be idle in a South Africa based on the Freedom Charter"

Mr Bheki Sibuya of the Black Management Forum said that 6% of the South African population owned 80% of the national wealth

"South Africa does not need either capitalism or socialism but a happy marriage of both systems"

Malan calls for positive Afrikaner response

Mr Wynand Malan

Political Correspondent

THE Afrikaner, of all national groups in South Africa today, should be able to understand the language of the Freedom Charter and support its goals, NDM leader Mr Wynand Malan said yesterday

Speaking at the Idasa-sponsored conference on the Freedom Charter at UCT, he said the objectives of the charter were "not only legitimate but laudible"

Afrikaner history was a "good parallel" of what was happening in liberation politics, he said

Turning to remarks of earlier speakers — delivered in English — Mr Malan observed "I hope the day will dawn soon when the charter is discussed through the medium of Afrikaans in the same positive way as has been done here"

He said the Freedom Charter was rejected outright by some and regarded with suspicion by others within "system politics"

However, only a "minuscule percentage" of these critics had ever read the document or had any knowledge of its precise contents

"To them it is a matter of image and association. This position must by definition be wrong"

Mr Malan said it was both desirable and inevitable that full political rights — civil and human rights — be available to all in South Africa

"A true and real contribution to a future South Africa also consists of taking the charter seriously, reflecting on it, participating in the debate and finding ways of establishing a peaceful and democratic society"

Muslim factions argue over speaker

Moulana Faried Essack

Political Correspondent

A ROW has erupted between rival Muslim factions over one of the speakers invited to address Idasa's Freedom Charter conference at UCT

At the centre of the controversy is Moulana Faried Essack, the national co-ordinator of the Call of Islam and one of four panelists to discuss "The Freedom Charter and Religion" at this afternoon's session of the conference

The president of the rival Ahmadiyya Muslim Mission, Mr B Jaffer, has sent a lengthy protest letter to the organizers of the conference expressing "great consternation and amazement" at Moulana Essack's inclusion in the programme

The letter goes on to complain about what it calls Moulana Essack's "religious background and theological perspectives" and urges Idasa to end any "association" with him

Conference organizer Mr Wayne Mitchell said yesterday "It is not the job of Idasa to become involved in intra-movement disputes"

"Idasa holds workshops and conferences for people subscribing to a variety of viewpoints and does not accept everything stated by participants uncritically"

"Those that disagree with the views of invited speakers are welcome to attend the conference and engage them in debate"

Moulana Essack said he had been "humoured by the whole thing at first" but had subsequently handed the matter over to his lawyers for taking legal action



**SATURDAY STAR
CORRESPONDENT**

DURBAN — As overseas demands mounted yesterday to free veteran ANC leader Nelson Mandela on the eve of his 70th birthday, Mandela himself cancelled a special family visit and police in Durban stopped the huge celebratory pop concert planned at the University of Durban Westville today

Lawyer Mr Ismail Ayob told reporters that Mrs Winnie Mandela, wife of the jailed leader, did not want to accept special privileges from the South African government and wanted to focus attention on other jailed opponents of apartheid and those on death row

Britain, Germany, Holland and Canada are among those who have renewed appeals for Mandela's release

Yesterday, Britain appealed to South Africa to free Mandela — jailed 26 years ago for crimes against the State — but dismissed a newspaper report that its ambassador may visit the jailed black leader in his Cape Town prison on his birthday on Monday

'Readiness'

In Bonn, in an appeal to President Botha, German Chancellor Helmut Kohl said "Humanity commands that you should not deny him freedom any longer

"Show your government's readiness to speak to Nelson Mandela and the other previously outlawed political forces in your country," Mr Kohl said

British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe said "The release of Mr Mandela is crucial to the prospects for peaceful change within South Africa"

Canadian Prime Minister Mr Brian Mulroney's greeting drew a sharp reaction from South African Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha

In his message, Mr Mulroney said "Our greetings are imbued with sorrow in the knowledge that you are unable to celebrate this otherwise happy occasion in freedom

"We profoundly hope that you will soon be free and able to apply your strength, commitment and courage to the peaceful construction of a new non-racial South Africa"

Mr Botha said last night that Mr Mulroney had "largely discredited himself as a relevant voice in the search for solutions in South Africa" by his "silence" regarding the suffering of bomb and necklace murder victims

"Mr Mulroney comes dangerously close to aligning his government with the forces of violence and terrorism in South Africa," Mr Botha said

Commenting on Mandela's request to cancel a family visit scheduled for Monday, the Minister of Information and Broadcasting Services, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, said in a statement to local and international media that per-

**'Family
wants no
favours
from Govt'**

mission for the visit still applied should Mr Mandela change his mind

"Nelson Mandela is a sentenced prisoner who is serving a sentence of life imprisonment imposed by a court of law after having been found guilty of a serious crime," he said

"The mechanisms which determine whether such a sentenced prisoner can be released with the prospect that he will not again commit crimes such as those for which he was sentenced, hold good and are likewise applied in his case

"As in all other cases, humanitarian considerations also play a part, but they must be weighed against the expectations which are aroused as a result of the application of the above-mentioned mechanisms. It should be understood that humanitarian considerations must always be weighed against the possibility that civil uprising, violence and terrorism could follow such a release

"As far as his birthday is concerned, arrangements were made for Mr Mandela's family to spend the day with him. Today, however, of his own accord, Mr Mandela requested that the family visit be cancelled"

In Durban — in the wake of the ban in Johannesburg of the open air Mandela birthday pop concert — the concert due to start at noon today has been prohibited by the police, says vice-rector of the University of Durban-Westville, Professor Michael Smout

'Normal Saturday'

Professor Smout said he was told by the police soon after 5 pm yesterday that the concert had been prohibited

"The matter has been taken out of our hands. The police informed me that the concert has been prohibited and that they would inform the organisers," said Professor Smout

He said that it would be a normal Saturday on the campus, there would be lectures and the library would be open

The 12-hour concert was due to feature the African Jazz Pioneers, Mlambo and another group

A total of 23 buses were booked to ferry music lovers to the University of Durban Westville where the concert was due to be held at the Main Hall

Mandela's reject

reunion

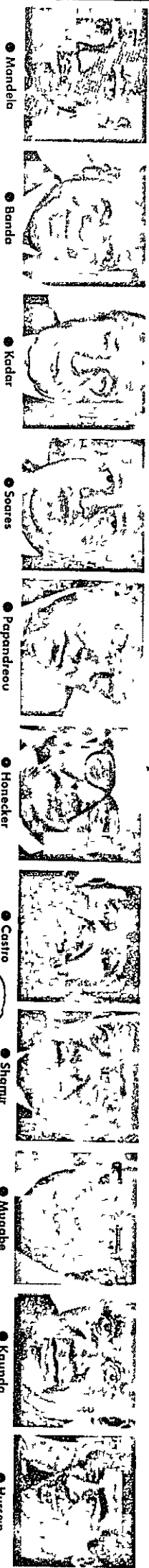
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WORLD

What have Mandela, Vorster, Soares, Shamir and Castro got in common? They're all . . .



Leaders with a prison pedigree

LONDON — As Nelson Mandela marks his 70th birthday in jail on Monday, he may reflect that many of the world's leaders served time as political prisoners before they reached the heights of power.

If Mandela were suddenly to be freed and majority rule declared in South Africa, he would probably be a contender for high office. Unfortunately for him, there seems no immediate prospect of either development.

From Vietnamese communist chief Nguyen Van Linh to President Jaime Lusinchi of Venezuela, around 20 of the world's current leaders — Heads of State, government or ruling communist parties — were once jailed for their political activities.

The post World War 2 period includes dozens of others who saw the

PATRICK WORSNIP

inside of a prison before going to supreme office or roles of high influence. Many are now dead or retired.

They include characters as diverse as Josef Stalin and Mahatma Gandhi. The majority were leftists, anti-fascists or anti-colonialists, with a few exceptions such as late South African Prime Minister John Vorster, interned by the Smuts government in 1942-3 as a right-wing extremist.

But few if any of these figures, past or present, were held as long as Mandela, who has been in jail for 26 years and is serving a life sentence after being convicted of sabotage and planning violent revolution.

Mandela's own complot of Africa provides several examples of how yesterday's "terrorist" can become today's respected statesman, sometimes hailed by the very colonial

power that put him behind bars.

The classic case is probably late Kenyan President Jomo Kenyatta, who was sentenced to seven years' hard labour in 1953 by the British on charges of controlling the Mau Mau guerrillas, but was later revered as the grand old man of African politics.

Among present-day politicians, Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe was detained from 1964 to 1974 by the white Rhodesian government.

Presidents Kaunda of Zambia and Banda of Malawi were also imprisoned, for two years and one year respectively, while struggling for independence from the British.

Aside from Africa, Eastern Europe has been a rich breeding-ground for political prisoners turned national leaders, as both the Nazis and the post-war communist factions were prone to jail their political foes.

East German President Erich Honecker was kept in a Nazi prison for 10 years, while Czechoslovak President Gustav Husak and Janos Kadar, Hungarian communist leader from 1956-1988, had both been imprisoned by their Stalinist countrymen.

In Western Europe two socialists, Portuguese President Mario Soares and Greek Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou, served an apprenticeship in jail when rightist dictators ruled.

In some countries, such as India and Vietnam, almost all post-war leaders had a prison record.

In India, apart from Gandhi, former Prime Ministers Nehru, Shastri, Indira Gandhi and Desai were all jailed under British rule. Desai was detained under Mrs Gandhi from 1975 to 1977.

Among world leaders currently in power and known to have been jailed for at least a month for political reasons are the following (prisoners-of-war are not included):

- Afghanistan: Prime Minister Mohammad Hassan Sharq, 1978-80, by leftist leader Noor Taraki.
- Argentina: President Raul Alfonsin, three times, by Presidents Juan Peron and Juan Carlos Onganía.
- Cuba: President Fidel Castro, 1953-55 by rightist dictator Batista.
- Czechoslovakia: President Gustav Husak, 1951-60, by the Stalinists.
- East Germany: President Erich Honecker, 1953-45, by the Nazis.
- Greece: Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou, 1967-68, by the rightist Greek colonels.
- President Christos Sartzetakis, 1969, by the colonels.
- Iran: President Ali Khamenei, six times from 1964-78, by the Shah.
- Iraq: President Saddam Hussein, 1964-66, by President Abdul Aref.
- Israel: Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, 1942 and 1946-48, by British authorities in Palestine.
- Malawi: President Kamuzu Banda,

- 1959-60, by British authorities.
- Nicaragua: President Daniel Ortega, 1967-74, by rightist dictator Anastasio Somoza.
- Peru: Prime Minister Armando del Campo, three times between 1933 and 1949, by military rulers.
- Portugal: President Mario Soares, 12 times up to 1968, by rightist dictator Antonio Salazar.
- Sudan: Prime Minister Sadeq al-Mahdi, three times between 1969 and 1984, by President Gaafar Nimeiri.
- Venezuela: President Jaime Lusinchi, 1952, by dictator Marcos Jimenez.
- Vietnam: Communist Party leader Nguyen Van Linh, 1930-36 and 1941-45, and Prime Minister Do Muoi, 1941-45, both by French authorities.
- Zambia: President Kenneth Kaunda, 1959-60, by British authorities.
- Zimbabwe: President Robert Mugabe, 1964-74, by the white Rhodesian government — Saps-Rauter.

Mandela, 4 others honoured by ANC

sfw 17/7/88
LUSAKA — The ANC yesterday conferred its highest honour on jailed leader Nelson Mandela and four other members sentenced with him to life imprisonment in South Africa in 1964

The award, known as Isithwalandwe/Searankoe in a local language, was in recognition of the five's role in the fight against apartheid (119)

It also coincided with the 25th anniversary of the Rivonia Trial, as a result of which Mandela, Raymond Mhlaba, Ahmed Kathrada, Elias Motsoaledi and Andrew Mlangeni received life terms

● Anti-apartheid activists in London are predicting a crowd of 250 000 for this Sunday's Nelson Mandela Freedom Rally in Hyde Park, London

The rally, which will be addressed by Archbishop Desmond Tutu, is the culmination of a concerted campaign by the Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM) and takes place the day before Mandela's 70th birthday

A group of 24 people have been walking from Glasgow to London since June 12 on a "Nelson Mandela Freedom March" to drum up interest. The walkers, who include two former Robben Island prisoners, will arrive at Hyde Park as the rally is due to start

Cape plans mass Mandela birthday

CP Correspondent

CAPE Town plans to celebrate Nelson Mandela's 70th birthday in a big way, according to Dr Allan Boesak.

He said Western Cape celebrations would begin tomorrow with a "freedom run" starting outside Pollsmoor prison and ending at the Guguletu Stadium, where a sports festival starts at 8am.

A video recording of the recent Mandela birthday concert at Wembley stadium, London, would be shown at the University of the Western Cape on Saturday, said Boesak.

The next day, some 10 000 people are expected to attend a cultural festival, starting at 10am, at the University of the Western Cape.

The cast of *District Six - The Musical*, musicians Robbie Jansen, Winston Mankunku, Ezra Spencer, choirs and groups like Raakwys, Smoking Grass, the Black Suffers reggae band and Ntsikane will perform at the festival.

Cape Town birthday celebrations would culminate with a church service at St Francis Catholic Church in Langa on Monday.

Boesak said he hoped Winnie Mandela and her family, who are due to visit Mandela at Pollsmoor prison on Monday,

would attend the service.

Boesak did not know if Mandela would be allowed to receive birthday cards.

"Our advice to people is flood them with cards. We want Mandela to know that he has not been forgotten.

"We will use this occasion to show the South African government there can be no plan which excludes Mandela or the ANC.

● Meanwhile, VASANTHA ANGAMUTHU reports that plans for Mandela birthday celebrations in Natal are going ahead despite harassment of the organisers in Cape Town, Johannesburg and Durban.

A spokesperson for the Mandela Birthday Concert Co-ordinating Committee said four top bands - The African Jazz Pioneers, Sakhile, Malombo and Tananas - would feature on Saturday afternoon at the University of Durban Westville.

"Because the restrictions on the university require that no political speeches be made at large gatherings, this will be a cultural event," she said.

In anticipation of capacity crowds, a security firm was being employed to ensure that everyone could enjoy the concert without disturbance.

11A

CP Rep

17/7/88 CP Rep

unclear

Mandela concert: Lawyers waiting

ATTORNEYS were yesterday awaiting approval from authorities for an outdoor concert to celebrate Nelson Mandela's 70th birthday.

Mr Krish Naidoo, the Mandela family's attorney, said he had not yet received a response to applications to the chief magistrate of Johannesburg and the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee

If permission was refused, the organisers would consider alternative indoor venues for the "Concert for Peace," or legal steps, he said

Jailed

Mandela has been jailed since 1962 and began serving a life sentence in 1964, together with eight other African National Congress leaders

He turns 70 on Monday

An estimated 25 000 people are expected at the concert on Sunday

INTRIGUING how many of our '50s political leaders rubbed shoulders with ordinary men and an assortment of shady businessmen and downtown common in rather scruffy-looking buildings around Johannesburg City.

One thinks immediately of the banned African National Congress stalwarts Nelson Mandela, Oliver Tambo, Walter Sisulu at Macosia House on the corner of Bezuidenhout and Commissioner streets. Another old city edifice which housed J B Marks, the top trade unionist who died in Moscow a few years ago, was Lenvic House. At both houses a variety of businesses were thriving at different floor levels.

At the other end of the city was Winnie Mandela, who worked as a social worker at Child Welfare, corner Fox and Delvers streets. In the full bloom of her youth, Winnie was as pretty as a picture. She helped us jots with stories on lost children and other welfare matters.

One could almost without fail expect a typing school, finance establishments, consulting rooms for a mixture of all grievances and problems. Along the corridors hurried people with long faces holding reference books in their hands. Touts, common who sold fake gold-plated watches, shoplifters and other shady characters thrived here. Seldom did the top gangsters of the day frequent these businesses, unless on urgent legal business concerning lawsuits and other brushes with the police.

Royal

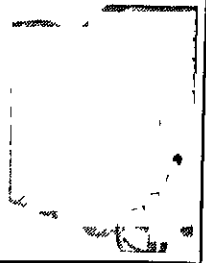
It was at Macosia House in 1956 that one made the acquaintance of Mr. Mandela, Mr Tambo, Mr Sisulu and others. Above all Nelson Mandela, whose magnetic personality rattled us young and rather brash reporters then. He was a blue blood from royal Tembu stock.

His face is indelible in the mind. After decades behind bars, one can still see that tall Adams-like figure, youthful face and pencil-thin moustache, hair parted on one side more from Xhosa habit than as a fad of the day; and double-breasted suits.

News editors Godwin Mohlomi and the late Molaodi Moselele made it a point that reporters going out on early morning police calls touch the ANC big-wigs at Macosia House for the proclamations of the day.

There was always news to be got from Sisulu, in particular, as Mandela and Tambo were busy on the legal matters of

When Mandela's fame was legal



by
Doc Bikisha

veteran Sunday Times reporter

their law practice. In the afternoons, when relaxing from the tussles of the courtrooms, Mandela and Tambo would unwind for whatever. Press statements had to be made.

Mandela, with typical Xhosa accent laced with an Edwardian touch, delighted in elaborating on policy. He loved talking to youth and much of his political formative years were with the Youth League from 1944. He was authoritative and forthright.

Even Lord (Nicholas) Bethell, a member of the European Parliament and vice-chairman of that body's human rights sub-committee, remarked when he visited Mandela at Cape Town's Pollsmoor Prison in 1985. "He remains vibrant, authoritative and totally uncowed after 22 years' imprisonment in South Africa."

On the other hand Oliver Tambo was brusque and thorough with the Press. His face marked by traditional incisions and a scraggy beard, he'd in soft tones make matter-of-fact statements. Reporters not conversant with ANC politics expected no explanations or embellishments.

Mandela's humour was subtle and why. In those years Sam Thela, Afri-

kaans master at Madibane High School in Western Native Township, taught the famous team of lawyers Afrikaans. He'd tell us fascinating and impressive stories about the personalities of the two.

Orator

Nelson had a mastery touch as an orator. It was evident at public meetings at Freedom Square in Sophiatown and Red Square in Fortsburg. He was a public speaker of note. He did not harangue like other speakers.

The late Colonel At Spengler, of the Security Police, who attended most meetings, was lampooned and lambasted by many speakers. But when it was Nelson's turn on the platform, Spengler applauded or smiled. Mandela stimulated such meetings which tended to be boring at times.

Those who've never laid eyes on Nelson Mandela, including Johnny Clegg of Savuka, tend to idolise the man in political terms, whereas much of his pioneer fame came from his legal status as an attorney. He and Tambo were a novelty. For a black man to defend another in court was a new thing. It was news and the papers responded in kind.

All of a sudden everybody wanted the team of Mandela and Tambo to be their mouthpieces in courts.

Even during his treason trial at Johannesburg's Drill Hall and the Old Synagogue, in Pretoria, Mandela was unruffled.

He retained that impish smile as he waved to friends from the dock. Even after all those years in prison, one cannot imagine his losing that spark — least of all on his 70th birthday.

Why the ANC must woo white leaders

THE past decade for the ANC has been a rollercoaster of utter despair and the anticipation of imminent victory.

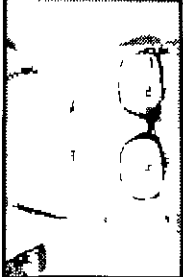
The massive confrontation of 1984-86 between government and its extra-parliamentary opponents has produced mixed and contradictory results. It has helped to raise the level of black resistance to levels no one could have imagined a mere five years ago.

At the same time, the ANC is still far from power. Indeed there is a great danger that the political kingdom of SA will one day be inherited by blacks (and white allies) with little or no commitment to democratic values.

Isolation

The ANC, together with its allies, have succeeded on three fronts. Firstly, it has greatly accelerated SA's international isolation and the delegitimation of the government. Until recently, the government was in a position to undercut the ANC by skilful policy of co-optation of black leaders. In the second place, the ANC and its allies have acquired a sig-

by Herman
Gillomee
of the University of Cape Town



nificant say over SA's economic fortunes. The whole momentum of the sanctions and disinvestment drive can only be reversed by leave of the ANC or a significant section within it.

Thirdly, the ANC is succeeding in changing the definition of the struggle. In government circles in the West and among the black elite the perception is growing that blacks are not only engaged in a political struggle for power and full access to resources, but also in a historical moral crusade, similar to that waged against slavery, colonialism and fascism.

Pretoria misguidedly hoped ANC-inspired acts of terror would cause the West to turn against the organisation and close its offices in Western capitals. In fact, there will be no Western condemnation of terror without the rebuke that the apartheid system is largely responsible for it. But if the ANC in the Western

world's eyes is slowly, but surely, becoming the unofficial government in exile, it has committed near-fatal blunders in winning internal legitimacy among broad sections of the population.

No one would dispute the ANC now enjoys the majority of black support. But that is not nearly enough. To force government to negotiate, the ANC has to win the hearts and minds of strategic sections in the white community — business leaders, churchmen and the Afrikaner intelligentsia.

The ANC and its allies have suffered setbacks in three important respects. Firstly, it is fast losing the moral high ground which it until recently enjoyed in the minds of many thinking whites. These whites have all along understood (or even condoned) the destruction of railway lines or pylons or even deaths caused by skirmishes against the security forces. However, recent months have

seen a shift to terror tactics causing (or intending to cause) the death of civilians on street corners, restaurants and outside sports stadiums.

Whatever strategic thinking lies behind the shift to terror, it is based on a fatal miscalculation. It will not weaken the resolve of whites but rather serve to make it more uncompromising.

This ties up with another area of increasing weakness of the ANC. Because it has not succeeded, like the FLN in Algeria or the IRA in Ulster, to establish a secure internal network, the ANC remains critically dependent on foreign allies.

Worrisome

Before the advent of Mikhail Gorbachev's *perestroika*, the ANC could play the East and the West off against each other knowing how keen they were to have the prospective future SA government on its side.

However, the Soviets are now eager to avoid a messy conflict in southern Africa and are pressuring the ANC to offer minority guarantees to whites.

This conflicts fundamentally with the ANC's ideological commitments. And as Vincent Maphah, a respected black scholar, has warned: "As soon as ideological cleavages become marked, the resistance movement will disintegrate."

Even more worrisome to the ANC is its dependence on Angola, Tanzania and Zambia for sanctuary.

Should the Soviet Union and the US manage to organise a settlement in Angola, the ANC will almost certainly be squeezed out of a country where most of its

Operatives are trained. Should Zambia and Tanzania refuse to allow training camps — which they may well do — the ANC's fortunes will take a catastrophic dip.

Divisions

Finally, the ANC and its internal allies have failed to overcome the deep divisions in black society which government is exploiting.

The ANC can almost certainly through persuasion and intimidation prevent the fairly small black middle class from being won over by government. The large section of the black population outside the formal wage economy — 30-40 percent — say recent estimates — is another matter.

Paulus Zulu, in Berger and Bobby Godsell's thought-provoking *A Future South Africa*, identifies as a major threat to the resistance movement the burgeoning communities of urban squatters.

They are vulnerable to co-optation by the state in return for material rewards and can retaliate with deadly effect if the resistance movement tries to coerce them.

In sum then, the unrest of 1984-86 has shown up ANC strengths and weaknesses. It has made diplomatic breakthroughs and has established itself as the dominant political movement in the country. But its hold over the masses is symbolic and not organisational. This makes it quite vulnerable to any withdrawal of foreign support or the rise of a new black protest movement.

A cynic would say its greatest ally is the SA Government which seems quite incapable of making astute political moves, such as a genuine offer of amnesty, which would open up the divisions in the ANC ranks.

By DRIES VAN HEERDEN

HE spoke to ANC members in Harare and found it a "stimulating experience". He saw the Biko movie, Cry Freedom, and enjoyed it.

So what's new? Just another one of those well-intentioned but slightly naive students who make the pilgrimage to a Frontline state to hobnob with radicals, right?

Wrong Carel Boshoff is the son and namesake of the most important intellectual in the conservative movement. And he is a grandson of the late Dr Hendrik Verwoerd. And he is a dyed-in-the-wool conservative himself.

But last week he found himself far removed in flesh and in spirit from his suburban parental home in Pretoria, which nowadays is the headquarters of both the Afrikaner Volkswag and the alternative Great Trek celebrations.

He was in the Zimbabwean capital as part of a group of 17 students invited by Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert's Institute for Democratic Alternatives in South Africa (Idasa).

The five days they spent in Harare took them to the campus of the local university, where they attended classes with fellow-students and held discussions with a wide variety of groups interested in southern African affairs.

It was during these informal meetings that he met members of the ANC

Choke

The 25-year-old Boshoff was not at all put off by this novel experience. As a member of the University of Pretoria's Student Representative Council he is an outstanding example of the new generation of young intellectuals now bolstering the ranks of the conservative movement.

Although they support the broad aims of the Conservative Party they don't feel comfortable at all with everything that is espoused from rightwing political platforms.

His is a cerebral, almost dispassionate, conservatism, devoid of the overt racism so often present in the preachings and practices of the CP leaders and their followers.

And some of his views will make Mr Eugene Terre Blanche and his band of AWB supporters choke on their early-morning mieliepap.

Now studying architecture after completing his undergraduate studies in theology, Mr Boshoff insists that he arrived at his views on the nation-state concept (volksstaat) on his own after carefully weighing up the different possibilities.

And he does not believe this to be irreconcilable with the ANC's aim of liberation in South Africa.

He, too, believes that minority government is morally and practicably untenable. That is why each group should have majority government in its own homeland.



Carel Boshoff jun . . . a new generation of conservatives

Boshoff: They are in the same boat as our forefathers

mony in an exclusive white country is mutually exclusive from Oliver Tambo's quest for an undivided, non-racial South Africa.

Although he insists that he is not advocating direct talks with the ANC, Mr Boshoff does believe that solutions will have to be found through a process of negotiation.

"Whether we will do it without bloodshed or whether it will come after a military confrontation is not clear now. But we cannot escape the inevitability that the day will come when we will have to talk about the future of our country," he says.

He believes the nation-state concept is not only a practical but also a just and moral solution for South Africa's dilemma.

"The principles of Afrikaner nationalism need not be inconsistent with the de-

sire for political liberty of other groups in the country.

"When I listened to Zimbabwean students talking about their national liberation struggle I could not fault them on anything. It is just a pity that they do not show the same understanding for the Afrikaner's quest for liberty.

Aggravated

"There is an ignorance about South Africa in Zimbabwe, for sure. But, sadly, the state of emergency and the restrictions imposed on the flow of information has aggravated our own ignorance about what is happening on the other side of the political fence."

Now that could make Eugene Terre Blanche cry "Freedom."

Dialectic

"The ANC is fighting against oppression in the same way as our Afrikaner forefathers fought against the British. If we can't understand this, then surely we are guilty of having the mentality of an oppressor," Mr Boshoff says.

His passionate interest in philosophy led him to a careful study of Hegelian dialectic and the belief that those on opposite sides of the political spectrum are often not so far removed from each other than would seem at first glance.

Granted, what the younger Boshoff wants in the form of Afrikaner political hege-

WHY I Spoke to the ANC

Winnie to visit husband Mandela for 40 minutes

Staff Reporters

Mrs Winnie Mandela will make a routine 40-minute visit on Saturday to her jailed husband Nelson Mandela

ANC leader Mandela, jailed for treason for 26 years, refused a special family visit on Monday that had been granted by the prison authorities

Mrs Mandela also refused to make the visit

Mrs Mandela disclosed her intended visit at a press conference in Johannesburg yesterday, the 70th birthday of her world-renowned husband

At her feet was strewn a deluge of birthday cards from well-wishers in The Netherlands. Behind her hung a giant yellow and red banner with the slogan, "Comrade Nelson Mandela, the nation salutes you".

CONCERT

Mrs Mandela said the banning of the Johannesburg peace concert, to have been held at the Fun Valley resort on Sunday, had been a key factor in her decision to refuse the Government's offer of a six-hour visit to Mr Mandela

She announced that the first biography of her husband to be published inside South Africa would appear in about a fortnight. It was to be entitled "Higher than Hope" and the people behind it were Durban sociologist Professor Fatima Meer and Johannesburg publisher Mr Mthobi Moutloatse

"It will bring to you Mandela the man, not Mandela the myth," said Mrs Mandela

● See Page 15.

Love letters from the cell

A COLLECTION of letters from his prison cells on Robben Island and in Pollsmoor, about to be published, provides a rare personal insight in the soul of Nelson Mandela, the Man.

Extracts of these prison notes:

● To his wife, Winnie, he writes on May 27, 1979: "Last month's dreams put you and me at the bottom of Selborne bioscope in Alexandra. We got a lift to First Avenue and then walked to King's bioscope. But we never reached (it) because you blocked my way and pestered me with affectionate kisses. These are mere dreams, but dreams I like to have."

"My darling," he writes on another occasion in 1978 to his daughter, Makaziwe, on the break-up of her marriage, "I suspected that your marriage was not going smoothly . . . If you are convinced that your marriage is on the rocks and that there is no hope of saving it, you must sue for divorce without delay and forget all about Camagu."

"You are still young with a bright future, if from now on you plan carefully and are really determined to go forward."

● On rumours on his health: "On 2/9 I went to Cape Town for an X-ray of my toe. I fell on a rock at the seaside and injured it. It has been swollen ever since. There is no fracture fortunately. Blood pressure is under control" (1/10/75).

"I feel tremendous both in flesh and spirit. I am active during the day and relish both my physical and mental work. I trot around in the early morning as I used to do with Gerry Moloi in the Fifties. My appetite is good and I sleep well."

"Above all, strength and

By DRIES van HEERDEN

supreme optimism run through my blood, because I know you love me and that I enjoy the good wishes of countless family members."

● To Winnie, he writes. "I have been fairly successful in putting on a mask behind which I have pined for the family, alone, never rushing for the post when it comes until somebody calls out my name."

"I also never linger after visits, although sometimes the urge to do so becomes quite terrible. I am struggling to suppress my emotions as I write this letter."

● And later: "Your visit last month was quite unexpected and that may be one of the reasons why I enjoyed it so much. At my age I would have expected all the urges of youth to have faded away. But it does not appear to be so. The mere sight of you, even the thought about you, kindles a thousand fires in me."

● Extracts from Higher than Hope 'Rolihlala We Love You' by Fatima Meer and published by Skotaville.

Two ANC men

(11A)

STimes
17/7/88

killed

Sunday Times Reporter

TWO ANC terrorists were hunted down and killed on Friday by SADF reaction units near the Mozambican border after the landmine explosion earlier this week in the Kruger National Park

the latest skirmish took place at noon on Friday near the area where the first two were cornered and killed on Thursday.

A total of four terrorists were killed in the follow-up operation in remote areas of the park

Another two were followed but managed to escape over the border into Mozambique

An SADF spokesman said

The SA units suffered no losses and returned to their bases

'Witdoeke' scare grips Natal reserve

17/7/88

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press

CP Correspondent

THE dreaded "Witdoeke" vigilantes have allegedly invaded Natal

Refugees from Molweni, a tribal reserve with a population of 300 000 about 15km from Hillcrest, have identified a "serious attack" on Sunday as the work of the vigilantes

10 people feared dead in alleged vigilante attack

Unrest Monitoring Action Group (Natal Coastal) director Roy Ainslie said he had been receiving scattered reports in the past

two weeks of armed men with white headbands patrolling Molweni, causing "hundreds, perhaps thousands of people to be on the

move" and allegedly causing about 10 deaths

"They are brazen, absolutely fearless," he said. One refugee said the Wit-

doeke ordered immediate evacuations and then plundered the uninhabited homes. It is not yet known how many people were killed or injured in Sunday's clash.

"While they were busy ransacking one house, the police arrived. The police entered the house and the Witdoeke overturned the police vehicle and set it alight," said one man, who asked to remain anonymous because he feared for his life.

"That's news to me," responded Hillcrest police station commander Warrant Officer Faure when asked for comment.

"At the moment two groups are arguing over some family squabble. It's their national pastime. We arrested people but witnesses disappeared. Being who they are, they're very easily intimidated," he said.

A head of a family of five said they had time only to "grab the dirty washing and the babies. We walked all the way to KwaMashu, (about a 15km walk) because we were too scared to use the public transport".

Kinnock understands ANC violence but says sanctions the answer



Neil Kinnock

BRITISH opposition Labour Party leader Neil Kinnock said this week he believed the use of violence by the ANC in South Africa was understandable, but unproductive.

The Labour Party chief told a news conference in Lusaka after meeting ANC leaders that the issue of violence highlighted the need for worldwide mandatory economic sanctions against South Africa as the best non-violent way of ending apartheid.

"The ANC is well aware of the hostility that I and my party have for the use of violence for political ends," he said.

"The issue of the path of violence remains in my view unproductive," he added.

He was commenting on a spate of recent bomb attacks in South Africa on civilian targets.

Kinnock said attacks on civilians were regrettable but said they should be understood in the context of a situation where the South African government was itself using violence against civilians to stamp out all opposition to its white minority rule.

"Where there is a complete absence of opportunity for civil and political expression, there will be elements who will seek to pursue other measures," he said.

He was speaking at the end of a four-day visit to Zambia, first stop of a 10-day tour of Southern Africa. He is also visiting Botswana, Mozambique and Zimbabwe.

South Africa says ANC members often enter its territory via Botswana.

However, Botswana says it does not knowingly allow the ANC to launch raids from inside its border.

The issue has heightened tensions between the neighbours in recent weeks.

South African security forces are attempting to stem a wave of recent bombings blamed on the ANC.

Botswana, meanwhile, fears another South African raid and has arrested five white South Africans on security charges in the past month.

Two of the men were picked up after a shooting incident with Botswana police last month. If convicted, all five could face life in prison.

Botswana's diamond mines and abundant cattle herds have made it one of black Africa's most prosperous nations.

However, Botswana remains heavily dependent on South Africa economically.

Botswana says it cannot afford to impose sanctions against South Africa, but that it will not discourage other nations from doing so.

British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and US President Ronald Reagan have opposed calls for more economic sanctions, saying black South Africans and the neighbouring black states would suffer most from any economic hardships that are created.

Kinnock leaves Botswana on Wednesday for Mozambique and then travels to Zimbabwe.

Meanwhile, British government Ministers and Tory backbenchers are angry about the way Kinnock has used his tour of the frontline states to attack Thatcher's opposition to sanctions against South Africa.

They have accused Kinnock of breaking a long-established convention that politicians on overseas visits do not criticise their own governments.

Downing Street officials said Thatcher would treat Kinnock's attacks on her with disdain.

The officials said Thatcher had both in government and opposition never used an overseas trip to attack her political opponents at home.

Home Office Minister of State John Patten said, "This shows that Kinnock, who has opted out of effective leadership of the Labour Party for the delights of foreign travel, has lost all grip on political reality - his criticism of the British government breaks with all normal conventions and is an absolute disgrace."

The Minister for Overseas Development, Christopher Patten, said Britain

was giving the frontline states R400-million a year for economic and social development.

"Our aid for positive measures is bankable. Kinnock's rhetoric is cheap," said Patten.

Tory Michael Mates said politics was the worse for the convention being breached by "Kinnock's ravings".

"It is very disturbing that a man in his position should break this long-held and important convention," he said.

"You do not sell your country short, but this is what he has done" - Sapa

British stance clear on Mandela issue - envoy

CP Reporter

THE British government's attitude to the release of ANC leader Nelson Mandela was spelt out by the Minister of State in the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, Lynda Chalker MP, in the House of Commons on June 8, a spokesman for the British Embassy in South Africa said this week.

According to the spokesman, Chalker said: "We have long called for the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela. Our continuing and long-standing support for Mandela's immediate and unconditional release will again be voiced if there is not the most welcome 70th birthday present for Mandela."

The spokesman added that:

- Chalker repeated her appeal for the release of Mandela in the House of Commons on July 6.

- The Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, told the House of Commons in the foreign affairs debate on June 30 that the British government would be continuing its efforts to help secure the release of Mandela.

- The British Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher, has made it clear that these efforts would continue until Mandela was released.

The Minister for Overseas Development, Christopher Patten, said Britain

BLACK PUPILS BOYCOTT SCHOOLS

'Needless disruption of learning' must stop

THE National Council of Trade Unions and the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania have called for an end to the "needless" disruption of learning and urged all students and pupils to return to school.

In a joint communique issued at the end of a meeting held in Harare at the weekend, the two organisations expressed concern at the number of school boycotts which have been taking place in black schools recently.

By SAM MABE
reporting from Harare

They urged the encouragement of all pupils to return to school, to remain in school and to "work vigorously to acquire knowledge and skill."

They also urged black parents and organisations of the "oppressed" to form and strengthen local education committees and structures to improve the quality of education.

A spokesman for the BCMA said "Our goal in engaging in the liberation struggle is to run the country and we can only run it if we have the personnel to do so.

"Otherwise we will have de jure, but not de facto independence if we lack professional, academic and technical skills to run the country.

"There seems to be a serious misunderstanding of what the liberation struggle is all about. Running a country is serious business. You cannot even become a soldier if you cannot read

mathematics or tell the difference between north and south or east and west. You need to know gun ranges — and there are countries that won't train people unless they have reached a certain level of education."



MR JAMES Mndaweni

... at talks.

The Nacvu delegation was led by the federation's president, Mr James Mndaweni and the BCMA delegation was led by the organisation's chairman, Mr Mosebudi Mangena.

The two organisations exchanged views on their assessment of the internal situation in South Africa and agreed that divisions within the liberation organisations and the labour movement were a "luxury the oppressed and exploited masses of Azania cannot afford."

Cops hand out burial permits

POST and Telecommuni-
cation Workers' Union
(Potwa) shop steward, Mr
Patrick Banda, was buried
yesterday amid a strong
police presence in
Industria, Johannesburg.

Mr Banda died a week
ago after allegedly
blowing himself up, but
this is disputed by his
family

Thousands of mourn-
ers gathered at the dead
man's house in Naledi to
attend the funeral
service. There was a
heavy police presence at
the house and thousands

were restricted from
following the funeral
procession to the
Croesus Cemetery

People already seated
in four buses were told to
get off by the police

The police issued 200
mourners with stamped
South African Police
permits.

Buses were seen going
to the graveyard with
three passengers in it,
some carrying only one

Police prevented the
Press from entering the
graveyard, but police
vehicles and a video crew
were allowed in

A police spokesman
said yesterday that the
funeral went off "with-
out incident."

According to Potwa
members, Mr Banda was
to be a witness in a trial
expected to start at the
Rand Supreme Court
today

The restriction on the
funeral was gazetted on
Friday in terms of the
'emergency regulations.'

Students in birthday march

8/27/88 1817/88 By Claire Robertson (11A)

LUSAKA — Thousands of students from the University of Zambia were due to march the 7 km from their campus to the Freedom Statue in central Lusaka today to mark Nelson Mandela's 70th birthday

The African National Congress said yesterday that it was hoped the Zambian president, Dr Kenneth Kaunda, and the ANC president, Mr Oliver Tambo, would address the rally (11A) (11A)

This afternoon, ambassadors from the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and East Germany were scheduled to present civilian awards intended for the jailed ANC leader and ANC officials will receive honorary doctorates from Soviet and East German universities on Mandela's behalf at an East German embassy reception

SA children study Marx in Cuba

By Bruce Cameron
Political Staff

STW
15/1/84
HAVANA — Cuba has established two schools for Namibian children and has 56 South African pupils in schools on its second largest island — the Isle of Youth

The Cubans have a total of 16 031 foreign children at school on the island which was formerly known as the Isle of Pines

The two Namibian schools have 931 pupils sent by Swapo. The South African students are sent by the ANC

The two Namibian schools are known as Hendrik Witbooi, for secondary pupils, and Hosea Kutaco, for primary pupils

The South Africans are included in schools with pupils from a variety of countries

Most lessons are in Spanish with pupils receiving a six-month crash course in the language on their arrival. The Dean of Education for Cuba, Dr

Evelio Campos, said in an interview that pupils worked on farms attached to the schools in addition to their normal schoolwork.

The children received special lessons in the language, history and geography of their home countries.

Apart from this they did normal school subjects taken by Cuban children, including lessons in Marxist ideology

Examples of essays in Spanish were shown to *The Daily News*. One of the pupils Desiderius Nohape (no age given) from Namibia said when she completed her schooling she wanted to be an industrial engineer

"I am very concerned about the very important development of our country. Our country is under the apartheid regime. The resources are controlled and stolen for foreign countries. When Namibia is free it will be a major country"

Dr Campos said most of the children were interested in agronomy or medicine

Time to
18/7/85
free him
— Beeld

Political Reporter

The Government-supporting Nasionale Pers morning newspaper in the Transvaal, *Beeld*, today called on the Government to release ANC leader Nelson Mandela

In a leading article, *Beeld* argued that it had perhaps become time to estimate the cost of keeping Mr Mandela in jail

"In the first place, by being in jail for more than 25 years he has acquired a status larger than life

"Furthermore, the jailed Mandela is worth more to the ANC's propaganda war than a free Mandela would have been. He himself will find it difficult to maintain the image of a living legend he has acquired

"The Government and South Africa suffered more from his imprisonment than Mr Mandela and his following. The white man especially was heavily burdened by his imprisonment.

"If a 'more' suitable time for his release is awaited, we can state now that that time will never come

"A last question," asks *Beeld*. "Do we really want to imprint into our history that we let an old man die in jail while there was the opportunity to negotiate with him on the aspirations of his people? That, perhaps, is the most pressing question that has to be answered"

CAP-71-13 RT 7138 (11) 1986

ANC bodyguard was to have been state witness

JOHANNESBURG — The ANC has no idea who killed the former bodyguard of ANC leader Mr Oliver Tambo in Soweto earlier this month.

Police have said that Mr Sydney Jabulani Msibi, 31, gunned down outside a shop in Pimville, had joined the movement in the seventies.

He was abducted by SA agents in Swaziland in 1986 and later 'turned'.

The ANC said the last it had heard about Mr Msibi was when he was abducted from Swaziland in 1986 by the SAP.

"After his release in '86, he never came back to the ANC and we do not know what his activities in SA were," it said.

In a statement, police said the state had intended calling Mr Msibi as a witness in the case against alleged treason accused Mr Ebrahim Ismail Ebrahim and two others. In this trial, Mr Msibi would have been an important witness.

Police said Mr Msibi had previously given evidence for the state against Mokgapudi and others, a case heard in Pretoria Regional Court.

200 000 at 'Free Mandela' call

Own Correspondent

LONDON — In one of the biggest anti-apartheid demonstrations, more than 200 000 people gathered in Hyde Park yesterday to call for the release of Mr Nelson Mandela.

The rally was the culmination of an intensive two-month campaign which kicked off with the Free Mandela concert at Wembley.

More than 30 000 people joined the 25 "Mandela Marchers", who set off from Glasgow on June 12, on the final leg of their journey to Hyde Park. The column of marchers brought traffic in central London to a halt.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu made an impassioned appeal for the release of the jailed ANC leader.

"Southern Africa needs Nelson Mandela. The world needs Nelson Mandela," he told the gathering.

He said Mr Mandela was a remarkable man who, in spite of not having spoken in public for 25 years, still inspired the people of SA who saw him as their leader.

"What more does the SA government have to do that it has not done . . . they have without compunction applied the most severe restrictions on the media. It carries out acts that would make totalitarian governments green with envy. It has abrogated the rule of law. It detains people without trial. The South African government even detains children."

The president of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, told the gathering: "There is one simple message going out today and that is that the world will not rest until Nelson Mandela is released and apartheid is destroyed."

Other speakers included Commonwealth secretary-general Sir Shridath Ramphal, British film director Sir Richard Attenborough and Swapo secretary-general Mr Andimba Toivo ja Toivo.

Political leaders from around the world sent birthday greetings to Mr Mandela yesterday.

Italian Foreign Minister Mr Giulio Andreotti said he was speaking for all Italians in hoping that Mr Mandela "may soon return in full freedom to give an authoritative contribution to the cause of peaceful

change in South Africa".

Greek Prime Minister Mr Andreas Papandreu appealed for Mr Mandela's release to mark his 70th birthday today.

The Prime Minister of Canada, Mr Brian Mulroney, sent birthday wishes from the Canadian people, and said the jailed leader's suffering was for all the victims of apartheid in South Africa.

In what it calls an exceptional move, the Swiss Embassy in Pretoria sent a message reiterating its desire to see apartheid abolished through dialogue between the government and the opposition as a whole.

Egypt made a fresh appeal for Mr Mandela's release and called for a tightening of sanctions against the Pretoria regime.

West German Foreign Minister Mr Hans-Dietrich Genscher sent birthday greetings, saying he hoped the leader would soon be freed.

The five Nordic countries sent a birthday telegram and pledged to continue working for his release.

Nigeria demanded the unconditional release of Mr Mandela and other political prisoners.

China urged SA to free the ANC leader and other anti-apartheid campaigners, and lift a ban on anti-apartheid organizations. — Sapa-Reuter

JZZZEECJY - Ear -



There are too many holy cows—
and too many blunders go on
because we are afraid to speak



It is reported that the proceeds of the star-studded concert held in London commemorating Mandela's birthday will go towards building a multi-million rand anti-apartheid centre in London. Maybe it is time that we acknowledge certain feelings in the townships.

The centre to be built sends shivers down our spines. Does this mean the struggle of South Africa is here to stay? I remember when we were growing up how we listened with hope to the drums of

Sanctions disinvestment, political inter-organizational violence, school boycotts, rent boycotts, cultural boycotts, sports boycotts, violation of human rights by the system, by liberation organisations, parents abusing children as well as children abusing parents, and much more.

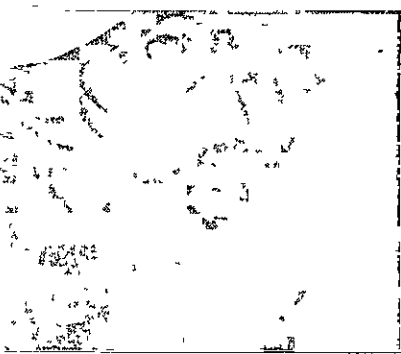
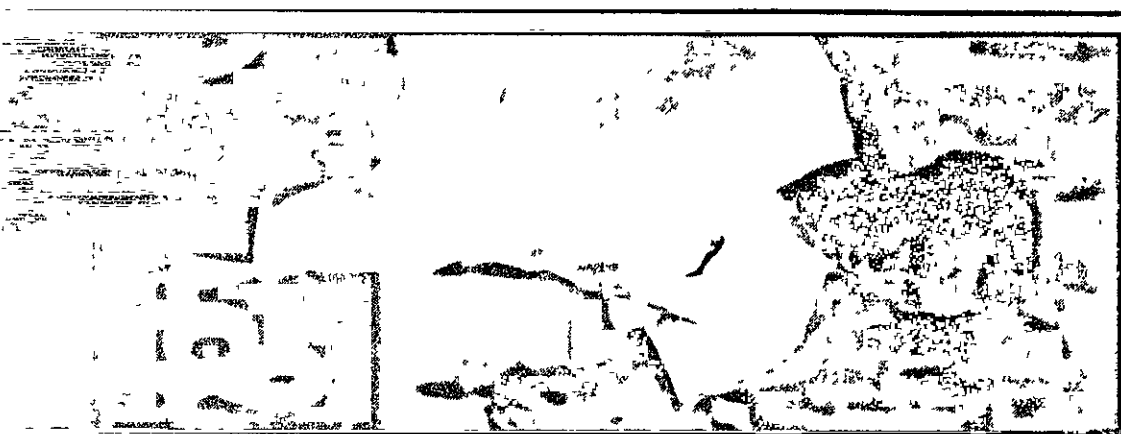
Everybody knows that there is a great deal of discontent over many issues, but nobody dares to speak openly.

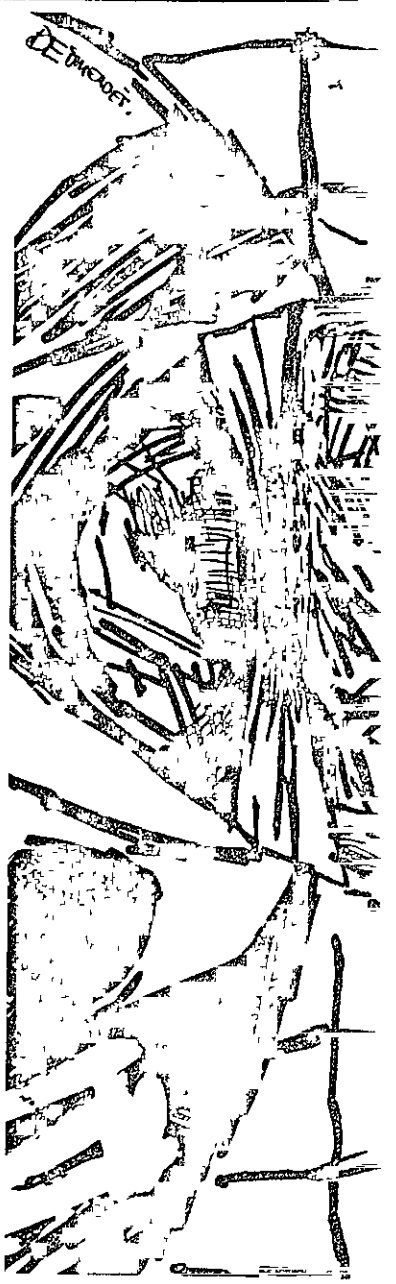
How many black people were against the Liberation now education

In this article, taken from **Frontline** magazine, **NOMAVENDA MATHIANE** strongly criticises liberation strategies which have been adopted by what she describes as self-sustaining organisations, many of which are out of touch. Also under attack is the hypocritical stance taken



Miriam Makeba... her comments were out of date.





It is reported that the proceeds of the star-studded concert held in London commemorating Mandela's birthday will go towards building a multi-million rand anti-apartheid centre in London. May be it is time that we acknowledged certain feelings in the townships.

The centre to be built sends shivers down our spines. Does this mean the struggle of South Africa is here to stay? I remember when we were growing up how we listened with hope to the drums of ubuntu beating at the borders. We felt the winds of change blowing down Africa and it was so obvious that change would come in our lifetime. Somehow that great momentum has come to a halt.

Organisations meant to be working to bring about our liberation have lost touch with what is happening back home. They have been away for so long that the South Africa they speak of is different from the one we know.

I listened with awe to an interview with Miriam Makeba, whom I admire greatly. She spoke of people in South Africa living in hovels. Certainly when she left, the majority of blacks were living under terrible conditions. But now even people who live in shacks such as Mshengulile would resent their dwellings being referred to as hovels.

One of the disturbing factors is that these bodies are seen as a self-sustaining industry.

Another aspect is, do they really know what we want? If they are fighting for the rights of the underprivileged blacks how do they justify the campaign against black sportsmen participating at international level? How are we to feel when sportsmen such as Jomo Sono - our hero, a beacon of hope to millions of underprivileged boys, a pride of many a mother - is denied the right to do what he knows best? When he is denied the glory to beat the white man at his game.

There are too many holy cows that we refuse to touch - and too many blunders that have been allowed to go on because we are too scared to speak.

Sanctions disinvestment, political inter-organisational violence, school boycotts, rent boycotts, cultural boycotts, sports boycotts, violation of human rights by the system, by liberation organisations, parents abusing children as well as children abusing parents, and much more.

Everybody knows that there is a great deal of discontent over many issues, but nobody dares to speak openly.

How many black people were against the "Liberation now, education later" syndrome, yet were not prepared to denounce it publicly? Behind the conspiracy of silence we saw a great exodus of students either to homelands or private schools.

How many were against the gory business of necklacing, but were too scared to condemn it publicly? How often does one listen with amazement to those blacks who have become barometers of ghetto opinion speak pro-disinvestment at white parties and say something quite different when lounging in the shebeens? How many of us have glibly lied to visiting Americans and to the embassy people in order not to be seen as moderates?

Years ago, when people were still talking of calling for sanctions and disinvestment, one used to be impressed with statements such as "We are prepared to suffer to achieve liberation." Yes, noble statements indeed. Unfortunately these measures are no longer a thought, but a reality and the tune is changing.

I listened recently to someone I held in very high esteem speak of what impact sanctions and disinvestment already have had in this country, isolating it from the rest of the world. When I asked him where he stood, he coldly told me disinvestment was all right so long as his company was not involved.

And there lies the rub. In a country where one is immediately branded a sell-out for speaking against boycotts or sanctions, is it surprising that we choose to speak in forced tongues?

Of course we want change and yet for

that we are prepared to sacrifice not our lives, but the truth. We see strategies that are bringing us nowhere nearer our liberation, but we do not speak out for fear that the Bureau of Information will be too happy to use those statements in their favour.

We do not speak out, because then we will be labelled collaborators and friends of Pretoria. We suffer the pain of seeing a lot go wrong, but we are too chicken to voice our opinions in public.

There is a myth that because we are anti-government, therefore we must unquestioningly be pro any measure imposed by the movements.

Everybody knows that this is not, in fact, true. We are against the government and the system and are also against school boycotts and necklacing. Even the children know that for a fact. Everybody states their view strongly to their neighbour, but if we are asked for a public view we all suddenly toe the line.

We want liberation and not reforms. Many of us have said it and meant it that we are prepared to die for liberation. But we do not want to die necklacing or burning people's homes. Nor do we want to increase the number of the martyrs.

We are prepared to be part of real change. Cosmetics, reforms and all such

In this article, taken from Frontline magazine, NOMAVENDA MATHIANE strongly criticises liberation strategies which have been adopted by what she describes as self-sustaining organisations, many of which are out of touch. Also under attack is the hypocritical stance taken by some blacks - self-appointed barometers of ghetto opinion - who say one thing at white men's parties and another in the shebeens.

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We are prepared to be part of real change. Cosmetics, reforms and all such

half measures are not the change we want.

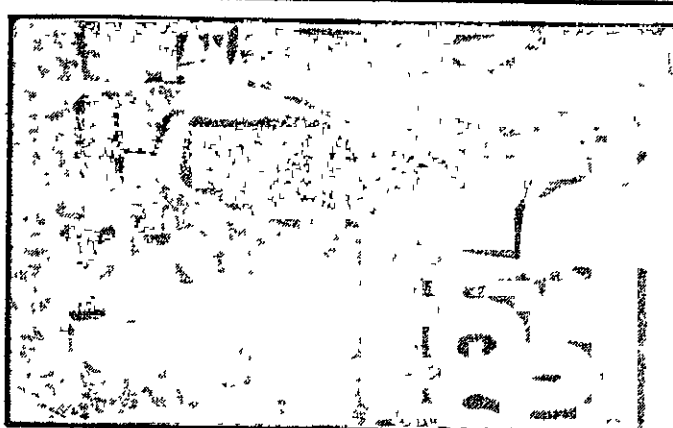
But we do not think the present strategies go anywhere towards bringing about successful revolution. We are prepared to follow leaders to the bush so that our children and those who will come after us can be free, but we must believe that the leaders know where they are leading us.

We want the government to be pressured and not bolstered. We want pressure to be brought against the system, but we want that pressure to be effective, not just harmful with no effectiveness. When liberation comes, it should find us prepared, which we cannot be without jobs or lack of education.

To the majority of us, the struggle is not something we fantasise. When Jomo Sono speaks of being part of the oppressed majority, he is not echoing an



Miriam Makeba...her comments were out of date.



Jomo Sono... a beacon of hope denied his right.



Nomavenda Mathiane... a conspiracy of silence.

empty slogan. He has had to struggle as a black boy and a black man in this country to reach world acclaim.

As black people in this country, we live the struggle in the ghetto every day of our lives. We know the effects of receiving an inferior education. We know what it is to be first fired and last hired. We witness black students coming out of high schools with meaningless matric certificates.

When we raise issues we are not trying to score points, but want the situation corrected. For how long are we to keep quiet as other people, some of whom without the vaguest idea of what we want, speak on our behalf?

If history will judge the present youth harshly for the blunders it has incurred, then it will judge the adults even harder for not leading when they were supposed to

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Post-apartheid SA: 'Workers know their duty'

W/E AR 45 16/7/88

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DALE LAUTENBACH
Political Staff

THERE is no room in the post-apartheid South Africa for idle people, according to trade union leader Mr Cyril Ramaphosa

Addressing about 400 people yesterday on The Freedom Charter and the Economy, the secretary-general of the National Union of Mine Workers said the application to the economy of the principles laid down in the charter would unleash "enormous productive forces" which had been "fettered by apartheid".

The two-day conference on the Freedom Charter, which continues today, is hosted by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa and, according to a spokesman for this organisation, there were about 1 000 applications to attend

Idasa is considering holding similar conferences in other centres following the popularity of this meeting

Mr Ramaphosa said the reality of apartheid was about much more than just separation: it was about inequality.

Workers understood that with the right to control the means of production came with a duty to produce, and that the material benefits envisioned in the charter would be realised only through their own labours.

Workers were prepared to work even harder to secure better education for their children and to ensure a decent living

Speakers were in broad agreement that the charter did not enshrine a specific economic doctrine or the socialism that its detractors feared.

Whites had the idea that in the future expropriation would be the order of the day, said Mr Ramaphosa

"Nothing could be further from the truth"

When freedom had been attained, a just economic dispensation would have to be thrashed out, he added

University of Witwatersrand political scientist Mr Mark Swilling said South Africa could not wait for an economic blueprint before it addressed its problems

Solutions to the present chaos would lie in a creative process and not in some predetermined document.

LP calls for repeal of new apartheid laws

APC Times 1/7/81
Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Labour Party reiterated its "no budge" policy on the Group Areas Act and rejected the recently announced Group Areas amendment Bills in the strongest terms at the Transvaal LP Congress in Potchefstroom on Saturday.

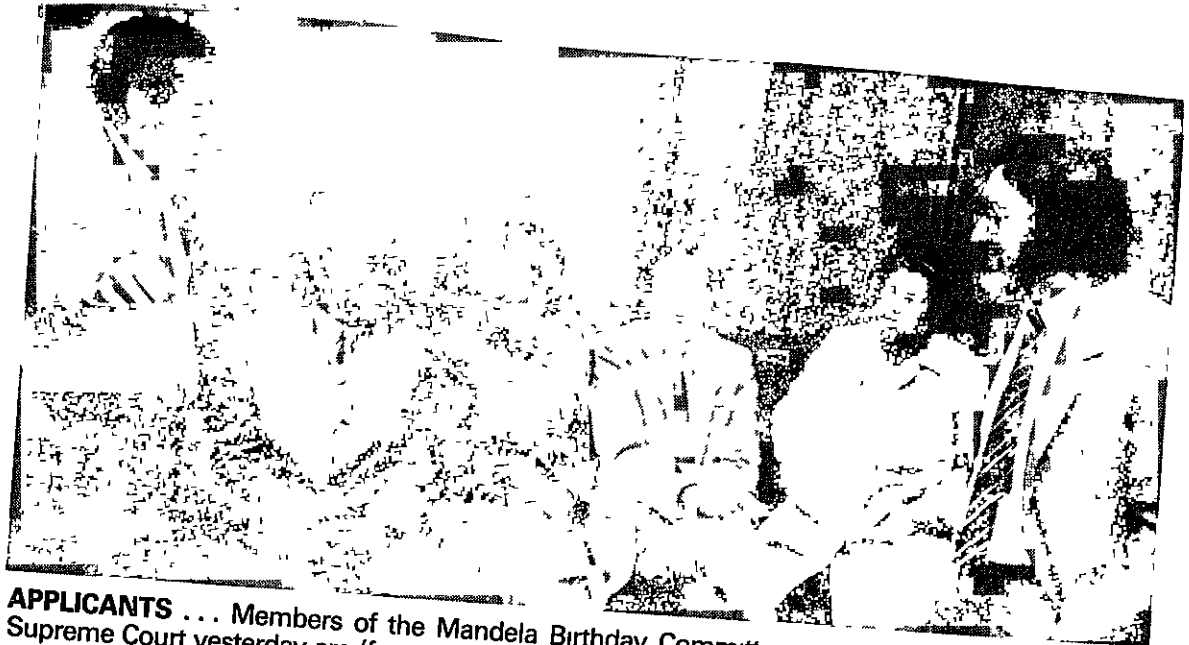
Congress confirmed the party's opposition to the Group Areas Act by calling for the repeal of the Act in its totality, Transvaal LP leader Mr Ismail Richards said yesterday.

There was fierce rejection of the proposed Free

Settlement Areas Bill, Local Authorities Affairs in Free Settlement Areas Bill and the Group Areas Amendment Bill. "We cannot support this new disguised apartheid legislation," Mr Richards said.

In other resolutions congress called on the ANC "to abolish their violent strategy".

Congress also wished Mr Nelson Mandela well on his 70th birthday, "thanking him for his contribution in the struggle and calling on authorities to release him immediately", Mr Richards said.



APPLICANTS ... Members of the Mandela Birthday Committee and court spectators in the Supreme Court yesterday are (from left) Professor Jakes Gerwel, Mr Christmas Tinto, Mrs Mary Burton, Mr Franklin Sonn, Mrs B Tinto and Mr Essa Moosa.

RICHARD BELL

Court overrules ban

By CHRIS BATEMAN

THE Cape Supreme Court late yesterday granted an urgent application to set aside a police order prohibiting Nelson Mandela birthday celebrations being held at the University of the Western Cape.

After hearing argument for over two hours, Mr Justice Howie took 15 minutes to decide on setting aside the order, issued late on Saturday by police Divisional Commissioner Brigadier Roy During in terms of the Public Safety Act.

Mr Justice Howie also awarded costs to the Mandela Birthday Committee. He reserved giving his reasons to enable the committee to take advantage of the remaining daylight Counsel for both parties, committee members and senior policemen filed from the building soon after 4pm. The application was brought jointly by the committee and its convener, the Rev Alan Boesak, patron of the United Democratic Front.

Submitting his reasons for banning the UWC function, Brigadier During said he had received information that "black youths" had decided to attack state vehicles and buses with stones during the celebrations.

He added that he had "no reason" to believe that the gathering would not be attended by black youths and it was therefore "more than probable" that stone-throwing would take place.

Mr Les Rose-Innes (for the applicants) said that the "vague and unsubstantiated" stone-throwing information was put forward as the "single factor that takes this

matter over the brink".

"Except for this jump of absurd illogicality, nowhere does he say why the celebration of this birthday would have any effect on the safety of the public," Mr Rose-Innes added.

Brigadier During also said that according to press statements at least 10 000 people were expected to attend the UWC gathering and that if only a portion of these turned to violence the results would be "shocking".

Mr Rose-Innes said that with the exception of police intervention, all events arranged to celebrate Mr Mandela's birthday had taken place peacefully and without incident.

Interrupted video

Eight people taking place in a fun run from Tokai to a Guguletu sports stadium on Saturday were arrested without warning and later released without charge. That morning security forces surrounded the same Guguletu sports stadium where various sporting events were to be held and had prevented anyone from entering. The venue was changed and events had proceeded peacefully, Mr Rose-Innes said.

Police had also interrupted a public screening of a video of the Mandela Wembley Concert at UWC until they were informed that the viewing had been organized by the University of the Western Cape Association of the Democratic Educationists, UWCADE.

Mr Rose-Innes said Mr Mandela was revered by millions of South Africans and had received congratulatory birthday mes-

sages from throughout the world. Mr G E Griesel, assisted by Mr Charles Louw and instructed by Mr C Kohler, appeared for the respondents Mr Essa Moosa instructed for the applicants.

Organizers decided against a symbolic switch of celebration venues from UCT to UWC when it was realized that time had run out and the UWC hall had been booked out by a gospel group from 7pm.

CHARL DE VILLIERS reports that Mr Dullah Omar, vice-president of the National Association of Democratic Lawyers, said last night "The overturning of the police ban was much more than a moral victory. It showed that the police acted unlawfully on a massive scale."

"Yesterday we tried to persuade and show the police that the Guguletu sports festival was lawful. They, however, merely thrust aside our argument."

Referring to the last-minute ban on the Western Cape functions, Mr Omar said "I think the police had shown an element of bad faith" by deliberately sabotaging the event at the last minute, "whether we lost the application or not".

Not only was it "terrible" that the concert organizers had no redress to compensation for the losses suffered by the banning, but "terrifying" that the police — because of emergency indemnity — could "happily" act in contravention of the law, he added.

Mr Omar said that the inter-faith church service at St Francis in Langa would "definitely" continue today.



Mr Amichand Rajbansi

Gunman attacks Rajbansi's house

118
27/6
ARGUS
18/7/88

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — A gunman in a moving car opened fire on the house of the chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Delegates, Mr Amichand Rajbansi.

Two police constables guarding the house in Arena Park, Chatsworth last night, dived for cover and the gunman, who had fired one shot, sped off before they could return fire.

Mr Rajbansi was not at home. His wife Asha was in the house with her five children and mother.

ATTEMPTED MURDER

This was the second attack on Mr Rajbansi's home. In August 1985 a hand grenade was thrown at his home, shattering windows. He was not injured.

Major Charl du Toit, SAP public relations officer for Port Natal, today confirmed the incident and said police had opened an attempted murder docket.

Mr Rajbansi said the incident did not bother him: "Everything possible was done to drop me politically — except the bullet."

Bishop Tutu slams Maggie

LONDON (11/19) About 200 000 people turned up at Hyde Park yesterday to celebrate Nelson Mandela's 70th birthday — and hear Archbishop Desmond Tutu launch a virulent attack on the Thatcher government Archbishop Tutu

charged the British and other Western governments of collaborating with apartheid and asked what more had to happen in South Africa before they took "effective action"

"Can you imagine the White House, Number 10 or Bonn reacting with the same equanimity if it was a Mr Mugabe detaining children."

He urged the people of Britain to "send a message to your government to campaign with us for a reprieve for the Sharpeville Six to campaign with us for the

release of Nelson Mandela and all political leaders now

"We say campaign with us so no government will want to collaborate as they do with apartheid"

Meanwhile, hundreds of South Africans and Zimbabweans shared a birthday cake, sang, and danced for more than three hours in Harare to celebrate the 70th birthday of Nelson Mandela

Fourteen Zimbabwean children helped to blow out the 70 candles on the cake, eight of their South

African counterparts sang "happy birthday" to the African National

Soviet leader, Mikhail Gorbachev, wished Mandela a happy birthday and appealed for his release

Concert defied Govt ban

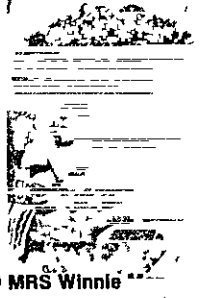
COPS HALT

MANDELA

SHOW

REPORTS, pictures and comment in this edition may be censored in terms of the Government's state of emergency

11A ~~11A~~ Sowetan 18/7/88



MOVE MILDLY

SA Press Association

A LARGE contingent of riot police moved on to the University of Cape Town campus yesterday afternoon to halt a cultural festival attended by about 700 people in honour of jailed ANC leader, Nelson Mandela's 70th birthday.

The UCT concert, held in the Jameson Hall, was the only known public celebration inside South Africa to have temporarily evaded a series of security bans on events commemorating Mandela's birthday today.

A festival organiser, Moulana Faried Essack, yesterday said the convenors had taken a snap decision on Saturday night to shift the festivities to UCT following a police ban on a weekend festival scheduled to have been held at the University of the Western Cape.

Banning order

At about 3.20pm riot policemen, under command of a Colonel Kellerman and backed up by at least seven vehicles, stationed themselves at the foot of the Jameson steps while a police helicopter circled overhead.

Shortly afterwards, UCT principal, Dr Stuart Saunders and vice-principal, Professor J V O Reid, arrived on the scene and told the concert convenors that the Divisional Commissioner of Police had banned the meeting.

At 3.30pm the colonel ordered people attending the function to disperse within 15 minutes.

Mr Dullah Omar, a member of the Mandela Birthday Campaign, told the crowd to continue celebrating Mandela's birthday in their churches and homes, saying:

"Nothing in the world is going to stop us from rallying to our leaders."

The crowd, called to discipline by Moulana

To Page 3 >

To Page 2

Mandelamania

From Page 1

Faried Essack, sang Nkosi Sikelel'i Afrika before peacefully filing from the hall.

Dozens of black, green and gold balloons were released as the police helicopter continued

circling the campus and a police video crew filmed the departing crowds.

Plainclothes policemen intercepted four Worldwide Television news and Visnews crew members and confiscated a video film.

Snatches of "happy birthday" were heard as the people moved towards their buses and the UCT hostels.

A police liaison officer for the Western Cape, Lieutenant H J Opperman, last night confirmed the police presence at UCT yesterday, but declined to comment on police actions.

A METAL found

Bombs rock meeting

TWO explosions went off at a Sofasonke Party meeting held in White City, Soweto, yesterday. No one was injured.

This is the second time there has been an attack at a Sofasonke Party meeting in less than three months. Two people were killed and several injured when gunmen attacked the crowd with handgrenades and AK47

By MASHUBE MFOLOE

rifles at a meeting in Orlando West, Soweto, on May 22.

The impact of yesterday's explosion shattered windows of a nearby house and a side window of a car.

The first explosion went off behind a business centre a few metres from the venue of the meeting. The meeting

was in progress. The second occurred after a device was hurled from a distance and landed in a yard.

A resident told the Sowetan that the explosion went off within a short space of time. "The last explosion caused panic to my children playing 'outside,'" she said.

"I just heard a loud

18/7/88



Special Mil.
BENSON & HEDDIE

STAY W TAST

A LARGE contingent on to the University yesterday afternoon festival attended by honour of jailed A Mandela's 70th birth

The UCT concert, held was the only known place in South Africa to have temporary security bans on Mandela's birthday today

A festival organiser, yesterday said the concert decision on Saturday night UCT following a police ban scheduled to have been held in Western Cape.

Banning

At about 3,20pm riot police of a Colonel Kellerman arrested seven vehicles, stationed the Jameson steps while a plane flew overhead.

Shortly afterwards, UCT Saunders and vice-principal arrived on the scene and told that the Divisional Commissioner



A METAL found at the scene minutes after the second blast

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To Page 3

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member who wished not to be named, said members "were not intimidated by such acts." "We will rather die, because we have a challenge ahead of us," he reiterated.

Bang 12/7/88 (11/7) From Page 1

Albus 18/7/88 (114) ~~114~~

Ban on Mandela celebration set aside

Staff Reporter

THE Supreme Court has set aside the police prohibition of Nelson Mandela birthday celebrations at the University of the Western Cape

Mr Justice Howie heard an urgent application and 15 minutes after hearing argument he set aside the ban on the UWC celebrations ordered by police Divisional Commissioner Brigadier Roy During late on Saturday night.

Costs were awarded to the applicants, the Mandela Birthday Committee and its convenor United Democratic Front patron the Rev Allan Boesak

The judge reserved reasons for his judgment so that the applicants might take advantage of the remaining daylight and the hearing was over by 4 pm yesterday

Brigadier During said his reasons for banning the proposed UWC event in terms of the Public Safety Act were that "black youths" intended attack-

ing State vehicles and buses according to information he had received

Counsel for the applicants Mr Les Rose-Innes called this an "absurd illogicality". The police could offer no reasons why the events should not have continued beyond this vague and unsubstantiated information about stone-throwing, said Mr Rose-Innes. This was not sufficient evidence to suggest a threat to public safety, he said

Mr Rose-Innes pointed out that other birthday celebrations had taken place peacefully and without incident where the police had not intervened. He made this point to counter Brigadier During's argument that 10 000 people were expected at UWC and if there was violence in a crowd of this size the results would be "shocking".

Mr G E Griesel, assisted by Mr C Louw and instructed by C Kohler, appeared for the respondents Essa Moosa and Associates instructed for the applicants

Support for Mandela

(Continued from page 1)

fused to make a public appeal for the release of Mandela to mark his 70th birthday

She has also declined to meet Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, president of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, who also addressed the rally

The crowd at the rally were also shown a "video message" from Mrs Winnie Mandela in which she said a celebration of her husband's birthday was a celebration of "the cause of our people".

Other speakers included Andimba Toiva Ja Toiva, secretary-general of Swapo, and film director Sir Richard Attenborough

All called for the release of Mr Mandela. A band played two anti-apartheid songs from a stage bedecked in traditional African motifs. ANC and Swapo flags and banners were waved in the crowd

The rally followed a mass march through the suburbs of London led by demonstrators carrying "Free Mandela" banners

At the head of the march were the group of 24 who yesterday finished a 35-day march from Glasgow to London to drum up support for the rally.

In Lusaka, students of the University of Zambia were due to march the 7km from campus to the Freedom Statue in central Lusaka today to mark Mandela's birthday

At the national convention of the US Democratic Party starting in Atlanta, Georgia today, the Rev Jesse Jackson confirmed that there would be a tribute to Mandela.

He said Mrs Mandela had been invited to the convention with Mr Lech Walesa of the Solidarity movement in Poland, but "it does not seem either one of them could make it"

He found it significant that Mandela had had several opportunities to leave jail. "He will not leave unconditionally," he said. "He really is the king of principle politics."

Gold fix \$437,65

Business Staff

GOLD was fixed at \$437,65 an ounce in London today, against \$438,65 on Saturday. It ended at \$440 in Hong Kong, against Saturday's \$441,86. In Johannesburg the rand traded at R2,4580/4610 to the dollar (40,65 US cents), against Friday's close of R2,4395 (40,99). The dollar closed at 135,15 yen in Tokyo, its highest level in Japan this year

● See pages 10 and 11.

38 die in crash

SAO PAULO — (Brazil) — Thirty-eight people drowned and dozens were injured when a bus braked to avoid three cows and was struck from behind by a second bus and pushed into a lake — Sapa-AP

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Mandela turns 70

Tyson's gift



Heavyweight greetings! Zinzi Mandela dons the boxing gloves sent by world champion Mike Tyson to mark her father's 70th birthday.

Now Nat newspaper calls for Mandela's release

By PETER FABRICIUS
Political Staff

PRESSURE for the release of Nelson Mandela on his 70th birthday today is now being supported by the National Party Press

Though the Government has not ruled out the possibility of releasing the jailed African National Congress leader in the future, it is clear it will not respond to the pressure from around the world and from a wide range of opinion in the country

Today the Transvaal morning newspaper Beeld, a traditional National Party supporter, surprised the Government with an editorial adding its voice to the clamour for the release of Mr Mandela

Beeld said Mr Mandela was more of a problem to the Government in jail than he would be out of it and warned that history would judge the Government harshly if it allowed "an old man to die in prison while there was still a chance of negotiating with him"

HUMANITARIAN

Mrs Helen Suzman of the Progressive Federal Party said the Beeld editorial was a "hopeful sign"

The Minister of Information, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, put the Government point of view in a weekend statement in which he said humanitarian considerations were playing a part in the Government's thoughts on whether or not to release Mr Mandela.

But he added that "humanitarian considerations must always be weighed against the possibility that civil uprising, violence and terrorism could follow such a release"

This statement, couched in ambivalent terms, and other sources suggest the Government does not believe the situation in the townships is stable enough to free Mr Mandela yet

But the Government also does not want to paint itself into a corner by taking up a position which will prevent his release in the future

ON THE WATERFRONT

An Argus picture essay — page 9.

Staff Reporters

MESSAGES of support from world leaders have poured in as the 70th birthday celebrations for jailed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela reach a climax today

Following yesterday's huge rally at Hyde Park, London, which was addressed by Archbishop Desmond Tutu and attended by more than 30 000 people, activities and celebrations are planned in more than 30 countries

However, local celebrations have been severely curtailed by a nationwide clampdown by security police and a ban by police on rallies and parties

An interfaith church service is scheduled today at St Francis Church, Langa

UCT concert halted

An impromptu concert at the University of Cape Town was halted by police when it was shifted from the University of the Western Cape after celebrations planned by the Mandela Birthday Committee were banned at that venue

While lawyers obtained a Supreme Court order setting aside the banning of the UWC meeting, a large contingent of riot police moved on to the UCT campus and halted the concert

The move was condemned by the Mandela Birthday Committee, which said the Supreme Court order applied to all similar meetings yesterday

Other events restricted by police at the weekend included concerts in Johannesburg and Durban, a soccer match between the Mandela XI and the Delmas Dazzlers, and a tea party scheduled for after the match

The Roman Catholic Archbishop of Cape Town, Archbishop Stephen Naidoo, said that by banning birthday festivities the Government was making itself look "quite ridiculous", and raised the question "what will they ban next?"

Basic to human life

Celebrating a birthday was a human event "very basic to human life"

"Instead of repressing further what few rights we have left the authorities would do better to join all South Africans in profound reflection on the injustices in our society and on the immense suffering they cause," Archbishop Naidoo said

Two Cape Town bishops, the Rt Rev Geoffe Qunlan and the Rt Rev Edward MacKenzie were due to deliver birthday greetings from the Archbishop of Canterbury Dr Robert Runcie, to Mandela at Pollsmoor Prison today

Dr Runcie said in his message that he and other bishops gathered in Canterbury for the Lambeth conference "send birthday greetings on a day when you and your family are in our prayers"

● The Cape Democrats posted 800 birthday cards and distributed pamphlets yesterday in Tokai (which neighbours Pollsmoor prison) entitled "Do you know your neighbour" outlining Mandela's life and activities

● Lone Black Sash members picketed roads in the Southern suburbs this morning with posters saying "Free Mandela" and "Release all political prisoners and detainees" One member was picked up by police and held for an hour before being released.

Among world leaders who yesterday called for Mandela's release were Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev and the prime ministers of Ireland, Australia and New Zealand

Prime Ministers Charles Haughey, Bob Hawke and David Lange said in a joint statement

that Mandela's release would demonstrate the genuine desire of the South African Government to take part in a peacefully negotiated settlement between blacks and whites in the Republic

The Foreign Ministers of Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden paid tribute to Mandela as a man who has "come to symbolise the struggle against this deeply inhuman and unfair system (of apartheid)"

Will continue

The Nordic Ministers add "We hope that the time is not far off when you will be able to celebrate your birthdays in freedom in a South Africa liberated from the bonds of apartheid"

"We will continue to demand your release from prison as well as the release of all other political prisoners, and we will continue to support the struggle against apartheid in South Africa"

At a chilly, windswept Hyde Park in London yesterday Archbishop Tutu launched a virulent attack on the Thatcher Government

He charged the British and other Western governments of collaborating with apartheid and asked what more had to happen in South Africa before they took "effective action"

He urged the people of Britain to "send a message to your Government to campaign with us for a reprieve for the Sharpeville Six to campaign with us for the release of Nelson Mandela and all political leaders now"

Mrs Thatcher has so far refused (Turn to page 3, col 1)

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pleas



Nick Price, left, the overnight leader on 206, with Seve Ballesteros, who lying second two shots off the pace, watch intently as the other members of their three-ball, Craig Stadler (not in picture) puts out the 17th hole of third round of British Open at Lytham St Annes Full report, page 14.

Pick 6 pools boosted by three carryovers

Racing Staff

RACING punters are in for a treat this week with three Pick 6 carryovers

The first carryover of R24 194,25 falls due for the meeting at Clairwood tomorrow, and the card, selections and perms for the meeting are on page 12 of today's Argus

The next two carryovers are due on Wednesday, the amounts being R23 165,25 for the meeting at the Vaal and a tidy R216 992,25 for the local meeting at Durbanville

There was a similar Pick 6 carryover to the Durbanville meeting last week, and this week's carryover could again boost the pool to the R500 000 mark

● The jackpot ratings for Wednesday's Durbanville meeting are on page 12, and the fields, selections and perms for the meeting will appear in tomorrow's Argus

R1-m haul of dagga

Crime Reporter

POLICE seized dagga believed to be worth more than R1 million from a pantechnicon in Epping Industria today

Major Muller Haggard, head of Cape Town's Narcotics Bureau, said members of his unit and of the dog unit raided the pantechnicon about 1am when it arrived at a transport firm in Bofors Circle

He said the company had been unaware the pantechnicon was being used to ship drugs

Police found 62 bags of dagga, weighing about 1 100kg, among furniture in the pantechnicon

Two men, aged 34 and 36, were arrested and will appear in court soon

This is the second big drugs seizure in the Western Cape this month. Narcotics agents from Paarl stopped a multimillion rand shipment destined for Cape Town in Sir Lowry's Pass two weeks ago

SA jumps the gun to put athletics back on the track

LONDON — South Africa is set to break back into international athletics by buying up the leading Europeans and Americans who fail to make it to the Olympic Games

South African promoters have finally lost patience with the International Amateur Athletic Federation and are preparing to break their blockade, imposed when South Africa was suspended in 1976

Agents for the promoters are in Europe and the United States, armed with huge sponsorships and ready to offer them to any top athlete willing to risk suspension by competing in South Africa

The South African Amateur Athletics Union, who have abided by IAAF rules since their expulsion in the hope of being invited back deny they are behind the recruiting. But their president, Mr Charles Nieuwoudt, said "Obviously some provincial and club officials are going ahead with these bold plans."

FRUSTRATED

"Athletes have said they want to come to South Africa to see for themselves and if they wish to compete here we would allow it"

Mr Danie Malan, chairman of the Eastern Province Track and Field Association,

vice-president of the SAAAU, said "Athletes and officials here have been frustrated for too long if the IAAF will not give us a chance to compete, South Africa must go out to find competition"

Senior athletics officials in the Northern Transvaal, home of most of South Africa's best athletes, are believed to be behind the moves. Major corporations, who receive a massive tax rebate on sponsorship used to import foreign sportsmen, are thought to be backing them

OLYMPIC TRIALS

Mr Malan believes the first top athletes to compete in South Africa since 1974 would fill his 15 000-capacity stadium "But then they would fill every stadium in the country" he said

American athletes have already been approached, including blacks, and they have promised an answer after their Olympic trials, which began in Indianapolis at the weekend. An agent will be there talking with others

Promoters in the South Africa expect the first of those lured by money to compete in their early season meetings in October

Walt Whitman's Poetry

Cape Times 18/7/88 (119)

700 celebrate at UCT — then police step in

By CHARL DE VILLIERS

ABOUT 700 Capetonians were the only South Africans publicly to celebrate the 70th birthday of jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela at the weekend.

But that was only for a few hours. The impromptu UCT concert, held in the Jameson Hall, evaded a series of nationwide security clampdowns for about four hours until banned by police.

As more than 200 000 people gathered in London for a massive rally honouring Mr Mandela's birthday — which is today — most of the public events planned for the weekend in South Africa fell foul of the security forces.

While city lawyers acting for the Mandela festival conveners battled in the Cape Supreme Court yesterday afternoon to overturn a ban on the University of the Western Cape festivities, a large contingent of riot police moved on to UCT to break up the concert.

ON RECORD

- Mandela — prisoner or jailer?
- Court gives concert go-ahead
- 200 000 celebrate in Hyde Park

And about 1½ hours after Mr Justice C T Howie's decision to set aside the police order prohibiting Mr Mandela's birthday celebrations, UWC, the original venue for the celebrations, was quiet, with small numbers of students arriving for a gospel concert. A festival organizer, Moulana Faried Essack, said the conveners had taken a snap decision on Saturday night to shift the festivities to UCT after the UWC ban. About 3 20pm yesterday riot policemen under command of a Colonel Kellerman and backed by at least seven vehicles, stationed themselves at the foot of the Jameson steps while a police helicopter circled overhead.

Soon afterwards UCT principal Dr Stuart Saunders and vice-principal Professor J V O Reid arrived and told the concert conveners that the divisional commissioner of police had banned the meeting.

"We take the freedom of expression very seriously here," Dr Saunders said later. "I see no reason why people cannot hold the birthday party. It was a very peaceful, happy gathering."

At 3 30pm the police colonel ordered people at-

★ Cape Times, Monday, July 18, 1988 3

From page 1

tending the function to disperse within 15 minutes. Mr Dullah Omar, a member of the Mandela birthday campaign, told the crowd to continue celebrating Mr Mandela's birthday in their churches and homes, saying "Nothing in the world is going to stop us from rallying to our leaders."

The crowd sang Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika before peacefully filing from the hall. Dozens of black, green and gold balloons were released as the police helicopter continued circling the campus and a police video crew filmed the departing crowds.

Plainclothes policemen intercepted four World-wide Television News and Visnews crew members and confiscated a video film.

Police last night confirmed the police presence at UCT yesterday, but declined to comment on police actions.

Earlier, acting in terms of the emergency regulations, police on Saturday flung a cordon around the UWC campus. Later that day police surrounded and sealed off a Guguletu stadium where a Mandela sports festival was to have been held and ordered spectators to leave.

A team of "Freedom Runners", wearing T-shirts with slogans marking the ANC leader's birthday, was briefly detained on Saturday at roadblocks sealing off the main road past Pollsmoor Prison.

Persistent organizers have scheduled a church service in Cape Town today and a news conference in Johannesburg that is expected to include Mandela family members.

Other events also restricted at the weekend included:

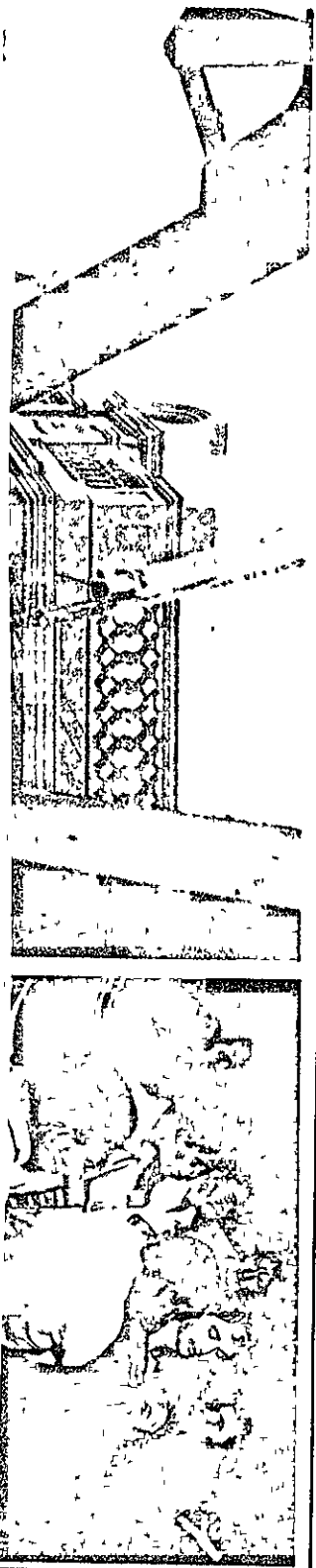
- An outdoor concert in Johannesburg was banned.
- An indoor concert at the University of Durban-Westville was also banned. A large contingent of security forces manned roadblocks and sealed off both access routes to the university on Saturday.
- In Johannesburg a soccer match featuring the Mandela XI and the Delmas Dazzlers was banned — as was the tea party to be held afterwards.
- The Transvaal Indian Congress cancelled a public meeting it had scheduled in Lenasia on Saturday. A TIC official, Mr Ashwin Shah, said the executive had decided to call off the meeting "in the present climate."

Mr Mandela also won't be celebrating today. He and his wife, Mrs Winnie Mandela, rejected a government offer of an extended family visit to prison to mark his birthday because they would accept no privileges that were denied to other prisoners.

Meanwhile two leading Sunday newspapers, skirting emergency regulations banning any call for Mr Mandela's release, said keeping the ANC leader in jail was not the solution to South African problems.

"The answer is simple — set him free and place the ball in the ANC court," the Sunday Times said.

The Sunday Star said "Starkly put, Mandela must be released if the urgent search for peaceful solutions is not to prove a tragic charade."



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Cape Times 18/7/88 (119)

Four scenarios for S Africa — and all the players in the game

"At least I can count on you to protect me if the violence comes, can't I, Cephas?" The white Johannesburg housewife, unnerved by stories of nearby riots, looked up from the newspaper at her longtime servant

"Ma'am," he replied slowly, "you're the first one I'm going to shoot"

Yes, I thought that might grab your attention. And so obviously did the author, for it is the opening gambit to his study of resistance movements, mainly the African National Congress. Fortunately the rest of the work is quite unlike the above. It is credible, unemotive and hugely relevant in this country, especially for the blindfolded white population.

Stephen M Davis, an American policy analyst and journalist, spent six years talking to and studying the ANC in this and in neighbouring countries. He adopts a position which is as factual and as balanced as possible — though it will probably be seen by the ANC and the Government as hostile to themselves.

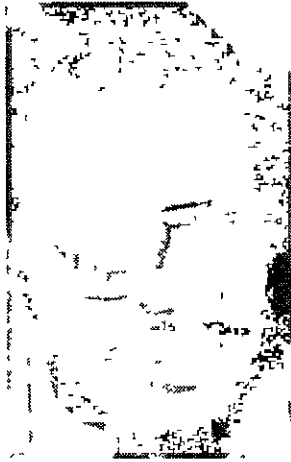
Warped view

As the author points out, the popular South African view of the current situation is as warped as a rugby match with only one team playing. This book allows a look at the full game.

No matter which side you are shouting for, you need to know all the players — not just the big names such as Dr Pixie Sema and Alfred Zuma, Chief Luthuli and Chief Buthelezi, Nelson Mandela and Robert Sobukwe, Potlako Leballo and Desmond Tutu, Steve Biko and Martin Ramokgadi, Oliver Tambo and Alfred Nzo. You also need to know more about the new activists, the lesser acronyms, the various hierarchies.

Apartheid Rebels provides much of these in its backgrounding, and adds four scenarios for the future.

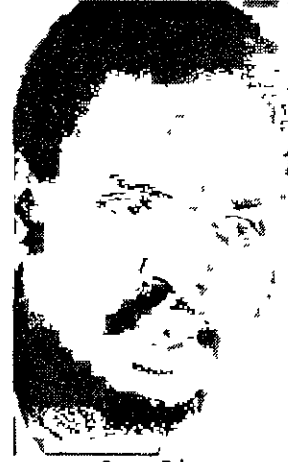
The first is the strategy of government *entrenchment*, a strategy



Chief Buthelezi



Alfred Nzo



Steve Biko



Chief Luthuli

Reviewed by HARVEY TYSON

Apartheid's Rebels, by Stephen M Davis (A D Donker, R34,95)

"The popular South African view of the current situation is as warped as a rugby match with only one team playing"

already in vogue. It consists of introducing numbers of reforms, considered token by the ANC, while the Government tries to suppress dissent and promote anti-ANC blacks by co-option into new political structures. The author sees this as having little hope of heading off civil war, or even of preserving white power.

A new euphoria

A second possible scenario is *crackdown*. Here the Government and/or allies to the Right (or a military junta) abandon even mild reform and turn to wholesale oppression. He argues that this would probably vindicate armed resistance, and strengthen the cause of revolutionaries.

A third scenario is *revolution*, which he sees "as likely as it is hopeless".

Finally there is *negotiation* to a post-apartheid state.

The author assumes that real negotiation is not possible while Nelson Mandela is in jail, and he accepts that there are dangers for government in releasing him. The 70-year-old leader would create a new anti-apartheid euphoria and

could unite divided black political groups. He would have sufficient stature to hold together the factions of the ANC and hugely increase its membership and strength.

BUT this power would exist only so long as there were no real negotiations. The instant the ANC were invited to engage in genuine negotiation, "the power of the alliance as a whole would come under siege," says Davis.

"An ANC that has had the liberation stage all but exclusively to itself for more than 25 years may be forced to cope head-to-head" with negotiating competitors such as Inkatha and the black consciousness movements.

"If, however, Pretoria were to act as its record might predict, with blunt heavy-handedness, it would probably persuade the anti-apartheid parties to overcome their differences and work as a bloc. The more the NP acts as an enlightened and credible partner for moderate-to-conservative black elements — in short, quite differently from the way it has acted in the past — the better chance it has of causing ruptures among blacks and forging a reformist alliance without the Con-

gress that could attract international and domestic applause."

The ANC would be faced with having to reactivate its violent struggle, possibly in the face of greater internal and foreign criticism, or to contest the result through political channels designed by its (black and white) opponents.

Realistic outcome

Davis concludes "Should the ANC enter into an all-parties conference, the least likely outcome would be an agreement that assured its coming to power. The most realistic outcome might be a compromise between the NP and conservative blacks that could attract significant international and domestic support, setting the ANC back years if it were to resume its guerilla warfare."

"The sooner genuine negotiations occur, 'the weaker the Congress will be', he argues — and 'the more time the ANC has to build up its popularity and war resources, the weaker the Government will be'."

Davis's prediction, however, is that the Government will stay with its current "co-option" plans, and the ANC will not compromise either. So peace will come "grudgingly, and after seasons of bloodshed, as a fruit of exhaustion." It's an unhappy ending, but a useful study.

Mandela's voice 70 years later

Sowetan 18/7/88

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ON why he joined the ANC in 1944 (from the court record of his 1962 trial for organising the 1961 general strike)

"Its policy was one which appealed to my deepest inner convictions. It sought for the unity of all Africans, overriding tribal differences among them. It sought the acquisition of political power for Africans in the land of their birth. The ANC further believed that all people, irrespective of their colour, all people whose home is South Africa and who believe in the principles of democracy and of equality of men, should be treated as Africans."

On revolution (as contained in his presidential address to the ANC in 1953, delivered by Robert Resha because of the author's banning order):

"Here in South Africa, as in many parts of the world, a revolution is maturing. It is the profound desire, the determination and the urge of the overwhelming majority of the country to destroy forever the shackles of oppression that condemn them to servitude and slavery. To overthrow oppression has been sanctioned by humanity and is the highest aspiration of every free man."

On the role of the Youth League on ANC policy (from the record of the 1956/60 mass treason trial).

NELSON Mandela, the jailed honorary president of the African National Congress, chose to call his second book, *The Struggle Is My Life*. Mandela has lived to see his declaration of commitment turned around by the international community which has found his life virtually one with the struggle for political rights in South Africa. Mandela celebrates his 70th birthday today inside Pollsmoor Prison. He has been jailed for 26 years. The Mandela of today is unknown to his supporters. The Mandela of the '50s and '60s was almost as much of a mystery until recently, when the prohibition on possessing his writings was lifted. This is what these writings and court records reflect of the man whose birthday is being celebrated on several continents.

FOCUS

"Up to the time the Youth League was formed and until 1949 the only methods of political action which were adopted by the ANC were purely constitutional — deputations to see the authorities, memoranda and the mere passing of resolutions. We (in the Youth League) felt that policy had been tried out and found wanting."

Organise

"We thought that the ANC, its organisers and field workers should, as it were, go out on the highways and organise the masses of the African people for mass campaigns. We felt that the time had arrived for the congress to consider the adoption of more militant forms of political

action — stay at homes, civil disobedience, protests, demonstrations."

On his attitude to Communism (from the record of the 1956/60 treason trial):

"From the little knowledge I had at the time about Communists (1945-7) I regarded them as people who were hostile to African nationalism, which I regarded as being extremely important from the point of view of mobilising the African people."

"I was also under the view that the Communists opposed organisations like the ANC and that they would work to subvert both its policies and its campaigns. I was reluctant but (in 1950) I came to work with them (Communists in the ANC) and I discovered that the views I held about them were not justified. I don't know if I did become a Communist. If by a Communist you mean a member of the Communist Party and a person who believes in the theories of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and who adheres strictly to the discipline of the party, I did not become a Communist."

On the Programme of Action (founded on the Youth League's policy of militant direct action) and negotiation (from the 1956/60 treason trial):

"The methods of the Programme of Action do not exclude the idea of negotiation. Obviously,

negotiation can only take place where both parties have something to give. If I launch a strike in order to attain certain objectives and, assuming the authorities ask for discussions, it may be necessary for me to call off the strike. I can negotiate on the basis that I have something to offer."

On the Defiance Campaign (from the 1956/60 treason trial):

"We were afraid that defiance (of apartheid laws) would immediately attract the wrath of authorities and that they would endeavour to intimidate the African people by being very harsh on the first volunteers and the only way in which they would have that opportunity was if there could be disturbances."

Discipline

"We made it a fundamental principle of the whole campaign that all volunteers should scrupulously observe the necessity for discipline and we took this precaution (of screening volunteers) to eliminate completely the possibility of people being provoked into violent action."

On the Soviet Union and socialism (from the 1956/60 treason trial):

"I am impressed by the entire absence of the colour bar in the Soviet Union. I am impressed by the fact that the Soviet Union has no colonies in Africa and, as far as I know, in any part of the world. I am also impressed by the stand the Soviet Union has taken on imperialism and the strides which she has made in the fields of industry and science. All that impresses me is the ideal of a socialist society but I have no intention of copying anything that has been done in any other country."

On the Freedom Charter (June 1956, a year after the adoption of the Charter at the Congress of the People):

"While the Charter proclaims democratic changes of a far-reaching nature it is by no means a blueprint for a socialist state but a programme

for the unification of various classes and groupings among the people on a democratic basis."

"It is true that, in demanding the nationalisation of the banks, the gold mines and the land, the Charter strikes a fatal blow at the financial and gold-mining monopolies and farming interests that have for years plundered our country and condemned its people to servitude."

"But such a step is imperative because the realisation of the Charter is inconceivable — in fact impossible — unless and until these monopolies are smashed and the national wealth turned over to the people."

On the reaction to non-violent rules observed in the three-day strike which coincided with the declaration of a republic on May 31 1961.

"Of all observations on the strike none has brought forth so much heat and emotion as the emphasis we put on non-violence. Our most loyal supporters unanimously and strenuously disagreed with this approach and with the assurances we gave that we would not use any form of intimidation whatsoever to induce people to stay away from work."

"It was argued that the soil of our beloved country has been stained with the priceless blood of African patriots murdered by the Nationalist Government in the course of peaceful and disciplined demonstrations to assert their claims and legitimate aspirations."

On the descent to violence (from an address delivered in Addis Ababa in January 1962, two months after the founding of Umkhonto we Sizwe):

"In all our campaigns we repeatedly stressed the importance of discipline, peaceful and non-violent struggle because we felt there were still opportunities for peaceful struggle and we did not want to expose our people to situations where they might become easy targets for the trigger-happy police of South Africa."

"But the situation has now radically altered. South Africa is now a land ruled by the gun. The Government is increasing the size of its army, navy, air force and police. Officers of the South African army have visited Algeria and Angola where they were briefed exclusively on methods of suppressing popular struggles. All opportunities for peaceful agitation have been closed."

5 Jan 1987 1188
11A

'Govt would be mad to let Mandela die inside'

The Star's Foreign News Service

UTRECHT — Archbishop Desmond Tutu has told a Dutch television interviewer that 'it would be a mad government that would let Nelson Mandela die in jail'

"I doubt myself whether anyone would be able to control people if that were to happen," he said

Cape Town's Anglican archbishop was being interviewed in London for a special programme on Dutch television commemorating the 70th birthday of jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela

Asked whether he believed Mandela would be released before his death, Archbishop Tutu replied "I doubt myself whether anyone would be able to control people if that were (not) to happen. And I hope that the Government will know that he is totally indispensable for a negotiated settlement of the crisis of our country, so that we can have a new South Africa where black and white will be able to live amicably together"

The Archbishop of Cape Town, the Most Rev Desmond Tutu, addressed thousands yesterday in London's Hyde Park at a rally to mark Nelson Mandela's birthday today.

● See Page 6.

Mandela's 70th birthday ia celebrated worldwide

1119 SEP 18 7/88

Public celebrations marking the 70th birthday of jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela are being held in many countries today

Mandela has been in prison for 26 years after being jailed for life when he was convicted of sabotage and conspiracy to overthrow the Government

Birthday greetings have poured in from around the world

Among those to send messages were Soviet leader Mr Mikhail Gorbachev, West German Foreign Minister Mr Hans-Dietrich Genscher, Canadian Prime Minister Mr Brian Mulrooney, Greek Prime Minister Mr Andreas Papandreou and the Foreign Ministers of Norway, Denmark, Sweden, Finland and Iceland

China, Nigeria, East Germany, New Zealand, Ireland and Australia are among other nations which have also sent messages or issued statements calling for Mandela's release

The Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr Robert Runcie, announced at the weekend that Anglican bishops throughout the world are to say prayers for Mandela

Mandela spent his birthday in Cape Town's Pollsmoor prison

His wife, Winnie, called off a special visit to her husband, saying she would not accept special privileges from the Government

Japan, South Africa's biggest trading partner, has also called for the unconditional release of Mandela

There has been no official comment from the White House.

Yesterday, tens of thousands of demonstrators thronged London's Hyde Park for a pro-Mandela rally, and similar gatherings were held in Amsterdam and Rome

Police refused to grant permission for outdoor gatherings, including a concert planned for the weekend at Johannesburg's Fun Valley.

In Cape Town, about 700 people attended a music festival at the University of Cape Town in defiance of a blanket ban on yesterday's celebrations

Riot police arrived on campus and declared the festival illegal. The crowd dispersed peacefully after being given 10 minutes to leave

Later, the Cape Town Supreme Court declared the blanket ban on celebrations to be invalid

● See Pages 2 and 6

Gunman opens fire ^{1/A} on Rajbansi's home

Own Correspondent

Star 18/7/88

DURBAN — A man in a passing car last night opened fire on the house of Mr Amichand Rajbansi, the chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Delegates

Two South African Police constables who were guarding the house in Arena Park, Chatsworth, had to duck for cover, but before they could return fire the gunman sped off

Mr Rajbansi was not at home at the time. His wife, Mrs Asha Devi Rajbansi was in the house with her five children and mother

Police were quickly on the scene and a description of the attack vehicle distributed to patrols

This is the second attack made on Mr Rajbansi's home. In August 1985 a grenade was thrown at his home, shattering windows. He was in the study at the time, but escaped injury

Major Charl du Toit, SAP public relations officer for Port Natal confirmed the incident, saying police had opened an attempted murder docket

The car from which the shot was fired was described as a mint-coloured Ford Granada and police believe the gunman was an Indian

Mr Rajbansi said the incident did not bother him. "Everything possible was done to drop me politically - except the bullet"

"It seems that the 2 000-page bombshell which I am to present to the James Commission has frightened some people who want to 'get me out of the way'"

Boesak speaks in UK

8 Feb 18/788 The Star Bureau

(118)

LONDON — Apartheid will not be removed totally from the lives of South Africans while the National Party was in power, Dr Allan Boesak told British television viewers last night

Questioned on the issue of churchmen "meddling" in politics, Dr Boesak said that if he were to declare the South African Government God-ordained tomorrow, "PW would embrace me and he would forever thank me for 'meddling in politics'"

Dr Boesak said he was appalled by the Christian glorification of violence through the ages but that, "as non-violent methods became increasingly suppressed and acted against in South Africa", the issue became less clear. However, he believed that violence "not only runs away with what you do, it runs away with your heart"

Conference delegates hail Mandela

31A
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Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Nelson Mandela's birthday was not forgotten by the 400 delegates to the conference on the Freedom Charter organised by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa.

Under green, yellow and black balloons in the foyer of the University of Cape Town building where the conference continued yesterday, delegates jostled each other in a queue to buy and send birthday greeting cards to the imprisoned leader of the ANC.

Again and again, speakers referred to others who should be addressing the conference but were prevented from so doing by the State. Mandela was one of these and others mentioned included Wits academic Mr Raymond Suttner.

UCT academic Professor Denis Davis said if anyone should be talking about the Freedom Charter it was Mr Suttner.

● At its Transvaal regional congress held in Potchefstroom at the weekend, the Labour Party urged the release of Mandela and all other political prisoners.

It unanimously passed a resolution congratulating Mandela on his 70th birthday today.

Police halt 'Mandela show'

CAPE TOWN — Riot police armed with batons and wearing gas masks halted a music festival at the University of Cape Town, where a multi-racial crowd defied the authorities by staging the show to mark the 70th birthday of black leader Nelson Mandela

Shortly after the festival was halted, a blanket ban on events commemorating Mandela's birthday was declared invalid by a Cape Town Supreme Court judge, who held that the police had acted in bad faith

Anti-apartheid lawyers, who had urgently challenged the ban, said the decision came too late for Sunday but could allow some celebration today

The UCT concert, the only known public celebration inside South Africa for the country's best-known prisoner, was hastily organised in defiance of a blanket Government ban

ST 10/11 84
TEN MINUTES WARNING (11/8)

Police arrived about three hours after the concert started

Concert organiser Mr Faried Essack told about 700 black and white revellers that the police had decided the concert was illegal and that the crowd had 10 minutes to leave

People left the hall peacefully, shouting "Happy Birthday" and releasing black, green and gold balloons, the colours of the outlawed African National Congress of which Mandela is a leader

Just before the concert was abruptly ended, lawyer MR Dullah Omar, an official of the anti-apartheid United Democratic Front, told the crowd to continue celebrating Mandela's birthday in their churches and homes

"You and I will fight together We shall ensure that one day the doors of Pollsmoor prison shall be opened by the people," he said

In the Transvaal on Friday, a court banned a planned soccer match between a Mandela XI and the Delmas Dazzlers, an invitation team of treason trialists, today

Roodepoort magistrate Mr DC van Greunen

granted an application by the police for the match to be banned

The Transvaal Indian Congress cancelled a public meeting it had scheduled in Lenasia on Saturday to mark "Mandela Day"

A TIC official, Mr Ashwin Shah, said yesterday the executive had decided to call off the meeting because it feared that speakers might be detained and those who attended harassed

A handwritten notice of the cancellation was hung on a gate at the Patidar Hall in Salvia Street, Lenasia, where the meeting was to have taken place

People who drove past the hall unaware that the meeting had been called off were greeted by the sight of one of the strongest security presences seen in the Indian township

In other related developments on Saturday, security forces in Johannesburg, Cape Town and Durban took steps to prevent Mandela's birthday from being celebrated by sealing off Pollsmoor Prison and other venues where people planned to gather

● In Honeydew, north of Johannesburg, what was meant to be a party of friends at a house turned into a day of roadblocks, police and Casspirs

Specially invited guests gathered under the eye of the police

Roadblocks were set up en route to the house and, according to witnesses, whites were allowed through but many blacks were turned away

● In Cape Town, four runners were arrested and police isolated Pollsmoor prison, thwarting plans to start a "freedom run" there

A cultural festival scheduled for yesterday at the University of the Western Cape was banned on Saturday

People were barred from attending a sports festival at Gugulethu Stadium on Saturday

● In Durban, the entrances to the University of Durban Westville were blocked after the Mandela birthday concert was banned — Own Correspondent and Sapa

200 000 at Hyde Park Mandela rally

By Chris Whitfield,
The Star Bureau

(11A)

LONDON — About 200 000 people turned up at Hyde Park here yesterday to celebrate Nelson Mandela's 70th birthday — and hear Archbishop Desmond Tutu launch a virulent attack on the Thatcher government

Archbishop Tutu accused the British and other Western governments of collaborating with apartheid and asked what more had to happen in South Africa before they took "effective action"

"Can you imagine the White House, Number 10 or Bonn reacting with the same equanimity if it were a Mr Mugabe detaining children?"

POLITICAL LEADERS

He urged the people of Britain to "send a message to your government to campaign with us for a reprieve for the Sharpeville Six to campaign with us for the release of Nelson Mandela and all political leaders now

"We say campaign with us so no government will want to collaborate as they do with apartheid"

The enthusiastic crowd in a windswept Hyde Park was also shown a "video message" from Winnie Mandela. She thanked the people for coming and said a celebration of her husband's birthday was in fact a celebration of "the cause of our people"

Other speakers included Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, president of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, Mr Andimba Toivo Ja Toivo, secretary-general of Swapo and film director Sir Richard Attenborough

The band Simple Minds played two anti-apartheid songs from a stage bedecked in traditional African motifs

The organisers, the Anti-Apartheid Movement, said 250 000 people had turned up for the rally. Police on the scene said they thought the figure was lower

● Writing in the *Church Times*, the official mouthpiece of the Church of England, Archbishop Tutu said that an increasing number of South African Christians now believe "that those of their brothers and sisters who have taken up arms (against apartheid) have been justified in doing so"

However, the archbishop added that there was widespread support for the view that the church as a whole "can never embrace violence"

"So we must therefore move beyond the violence/non-violence debate and demonstrate our commitment to non-violent action by putting our bodies where our mouths are"

The Anglican Church, he said, was united in its aim, which was "the total uprooting of apartheid from church and national life"

stop
the
times

The device, the brain- child of a former Rhode- cannot do much damage

which gives

ANC men 'would not be extradited'

By Alan Cooper (11A)

MMABATHO — Political offenders in South Africa — members of the African National Congress or other prohibited organisations — cannot be extradited from Bophuthatswana

This was stated in the National Assembly by the Minister of Justice, Mr Godfrey Mothibe, when proposing an amendment to the Extradition Bill last week

Answering a question whether any political offenders such as members of the ANC would be extraditable in terms of the Bill, he

said they would not and that only criminal offenders were liable

Introducing the Bill, the Minister said that in 1986 the TBVC states entered into a convention of extradition. This convention deviated from some provisions of the existing Extradition Act and totally from the existing agreement on extradition.

The enabling provisions were needed to amend the principle Act to harmonise it with the convention otherwise the convention would be null and void.

"This action was necessitated by the cumbersome manner in

which extradition was requested," he said. STEV 18/7/85

In terms of the old agreement, it was in some cases impossible to extradite offenders or, if it were possible, the procedure followed was so complicated that it took extremely long periods to have the offenders extradited

The result was that at the time of the actual trial of the offender witnesses could no longer be traced or, if available, they could no longer remember very well what had happened in relation to the crime, he said.

11A

Swazi police hold 3 ANC men

Cape Times 19/7/88
MBABANE. — Swazi police arrested three members of the ANC after a shoot-out on Saturday afternoon at a youth centre here, a police spokesman confirmed yesterday

The spokesman said one of the men was captured on the spot and the other two arrested later, hiding out in two houses in the town

A source added that police confiscated a loaded revolver and two loaded AK47 rifle magazines found in the men's possession

The arrests follow the arrest last Wednesday of four ANC members after a shoot-out with police at Pigg's Peak. — Sapa

ATLANTA (Georgia) — The Rev Jesse Jackson turned world attention briefly on South Africa by marking the birthday of jailed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela

He said it served to highlight apartheid and South Africa's "ruling the (Southern African) area with terror", a situation that America had to address

"We declared South Africa a terrorist state," he said "We must implement that policy, applying it against that terrorist state"

Independence

Mr Jackson said he had included in the party's manifesto a relief plan for the Third World, enlisting US allies in a long-term plan for growth in Africa and Latin America

"That is why we have agreed to list South Africa as a terrorist state, to end aid to Savimbi in Angola, and to enforce comprehensive sanctions against South Africa Even as we aid the frontline states, we become more independent from South African control of economies"

Apart from Mr Jackson's references to apartheid, scant attention was paid to South Africa yesterday as delegates prepared for the opening of their convention last night

But his repeated references to the issue show a determination to have Democratic policy instituted without any dilution

Aides to presidential candidate Mr Michael Dukakis insist that the two men differ only slightly in their policies on Southern Africa Mr Dukakis does not, however, seem as intent on such dramatic action against South Africa as Mr Jackson

Mr Dukakis and Mr Jackson set course for reconciliation in a two-hour meeting hours before the Democratic national convention started here on a high note

Concessions

"I seek no job, no salary, no title," said Mr Jackson, who was angered last week at Mr Dukakis passing him over for the vice-presidency Mr Dukakis appointed Senator Lloyd Bentsen of Texas instead and Mr Jackson heard about it from newsmen

The question commentators are asking now is "What exactly does he want?"

The Dukakis-Jackson talks remained confidential, but it is widely thought Mr Dukakis must have made several concessions yesterday to the civil rights leader, including a pledge to appoint Jackson aides, to key posts at local, state and federal levels in a Dukakis administration

Both men described their negotiations as "very good", with Mr Dukakis expressing admiration for the rival he defeated "I want Jesse Jackson to play a major role in this campaign I want his millions of supporters They're going to be an essential part of the coalition we build coming out of this convention"

● See page 10

From ALAN DUNN, The Argus Foreign Service

Mandela's birthday marks
apartheid says Jackson

PFP, Worrall slate refusal to free Mandela

Star 19/7/88

114

By Esmaré van der Merwe,
Political Reporter

Opposition parties on the political Left today strongly criticised the Government's refusal to release jailed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela who celebrated his 70th birthday in Pollsmoor Prison yesterday.

The Progressive Federal Party spokesman on black affairs, Mrs Helen Suzman, said the Government was "extremely illogical" about Mandela's possible release.

Independent Party leader Dr Demis Worrall said the Government was "totally confused".

Mrs Suzman said the Government was playing "right into the hands of the ANC" by refusing to release him.

While the State President, Mr P W Botha, and various top Cabinet Ministers had stated that it suited the ANC better to have Mandela in jail than freed, the Government still preferred to keep him imprisoned.

Its attitude "does not boost confidence that it will be competent to handle his release".

Mrs Suzman said Mandela was a key figure in a negotiated settlement concerning political rights for South Africa's black population.

Reacting to last night's statement by Information Minister Dr Stoffel van der Merwe that the Government did not see its way clear "at this stage" to

release Mandela, Mrs Suzman said he should have been released years ago.

"What civilised country keeps a man in jail for more than 25 years?" she asked.

"This really is the moment to release him and to use him in a negotiating process about the country's political future."

Dr Worrall said the Government had backtracked on its initial stance that political prisoners would be released after denouncing violence.

FUELLED EXPECTATIONS

The release of ANC leader Mr Govan Mbeki last year fuelled expectations that Mandela's release would follow, and that had been the Government's intention.

"The fact is that the Government has moved away from that position, which illustrates its total confusion. Its attitude demonstrates its inability to act pro-actively and to anticipate things."

He reiterated the IP's viewpoint that Mandela should be released immediately because he "unquestionably is a major factor in the South African situation" and had served his time.

His continued imprisonment was an obstacle to the negotiation process.

However, the IP was critical of the Nationalist Government's failure to get the negotiation process started even if Mandela were released.

In that regard, his release "will be wasted".

● See Page 3.

BIRTHDAY CAKE ... Mr Nelson Mandela's 70th birthday was celebrated by about 800 people at a church service in Langa yesterday — and there was even a cake, baked by women of the United Women's Congress.

Pictures: ADIL BRADLOW

Mandela release ruled out

CAPE TOWN'S 1977/88

THE government has ruled out the immediate release of Mr Nelson Mandela, the Minister of Information, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, said last night.

But it was hoped that one day Mr Mandela — who celebrated his 70th birthday in Pollsmoor Prison yesterday — could be released to participate in the building of a new South Africa.

Dr Van der Merwe was commenting during an SATV interview on calls for Mr Mandela's release, including from the Johannesburg government-supporting newspaper Beeld.

The Mandela case was reviewed regularly with a view to

his possible release, but while taking humanitarian considerations into account, the government had to consider the possible consequences of his release, he said.

In Cape Town rallies and celebrations marking Mr Mandela's birthday were held at the universities of Cape Town and the Western Cape with only isolated violence incidents reported.

A heavy police presence was reported during yesterday's celebrations, including a service at St Francis Church in Langa.

During the service, which was addressed by Dr Allan Boesak and Mr Dullah Omar, messages of

support were read out from Mr Oliver Tambo, president of the ANC, from jailed ANC members at Pollsmoor, the British and the Netherlands Council of Churches and from the Rev Jesse Jackson.

Present at the service were diplomats from Switzerland, the US, the Netherlands, Denmark, Britain, Canada and Greece as well as Sir Richard Luyt, Mr Jan van Eck the MP for Claremont, and restricted UDF leader Mr Christmas Tinto.

At UWC other messages of support were read out from the SA Communist Party leader Mr Joe

To page 3

From page 1

Mandela CAC Taps

Slovo, Cosatu, Swapo, foreign governments, including East German Chancellor Mr Erich Honecker, India, Canada, Cuba, Finland, Nicaragua and a number of East European and Caribbean states.

An Anglican Church delegation led by the acting Vicar-General, Dean Edward King, were allowed past three police roadblocks to get into Pollsmoor Prison yesterday and delivered a letter to the head of the prison from the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr Robert Runcie, and the archbishops meeting at Lambeth.

The prison chief assured the clergymen that Mr Mandela would receive the letter, Dean King said.

A Prisons Services spokesman declined to say out of "respect for the privacy of prisoners" whether Mr Mandela had received any visitors.

In one of the few violent incidents reported yesterday, the windshield of a Transport Services truck was shattered and several cars were dented when a few students marched in Modderdam Road after a rally at UWC.

At UCT, several hundred students sat on the steps of Jameson Hall while an attempt to launch 70 balloons into the sky to mark each of Mr Mandela's years.

Pollsmoor Prison was sealed from the rest of the world by roadblocks manned by policemen.

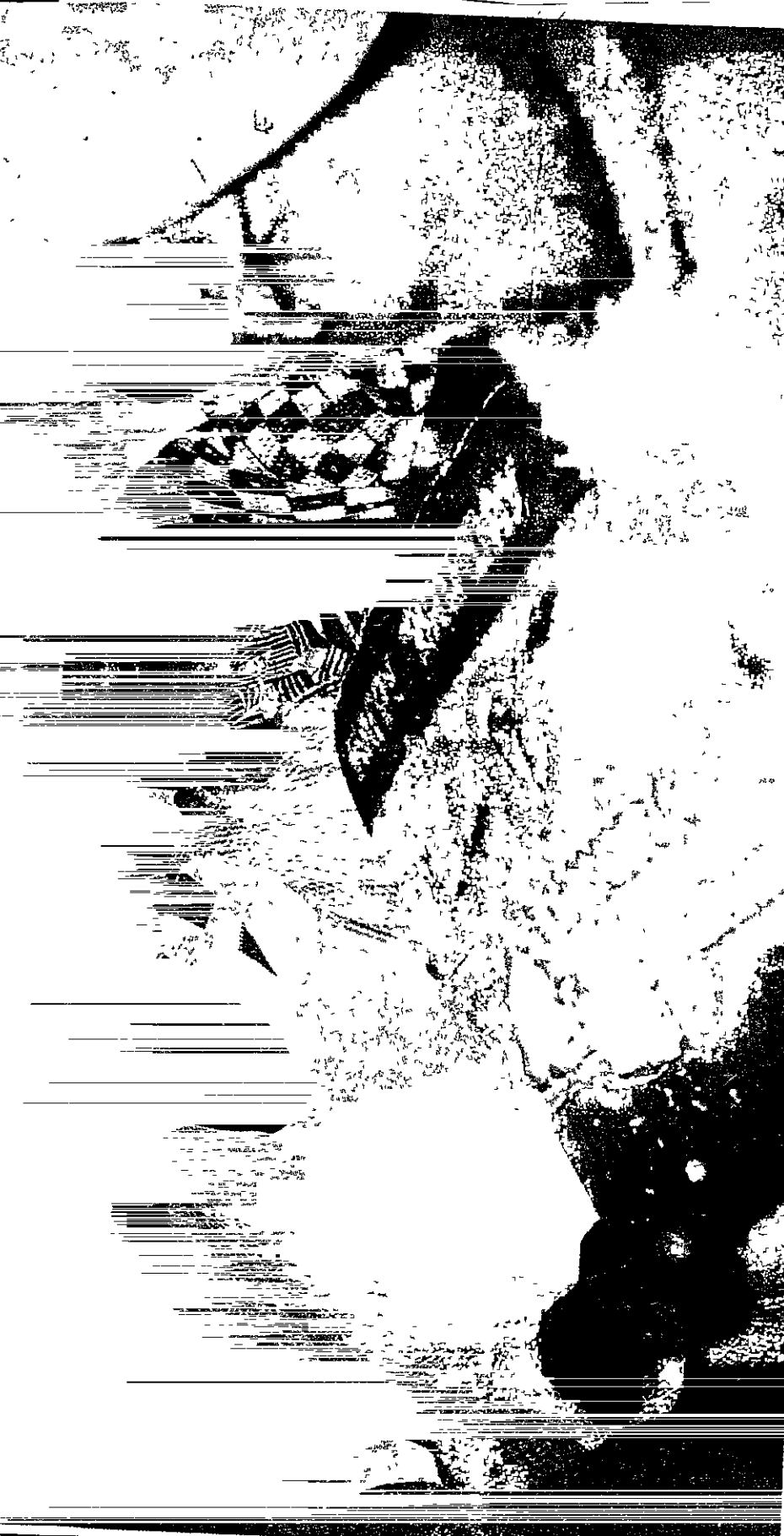
New Zealand yesterday introduced a scholarship for the ANC as part of its celebrations of the birthday. The fund would enable a nominee of the ANC to study at a tertiary institution in New Zealand.

In Harare, police with batons formed a cordon around the SA trade mission when 900 students staged a demonstration to mark the birthday — Staff Reporters, Own Correspondents and Sapa

Soccer star salutes Mandela

AMSTERDAM — United Nations Secretary-General Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar has asked Dutch soccer star Ruud Gullit to an international conference on apartheid in Oslo next month.

Gullit, who led the Dutch team to victory in last month's European championship, and who is an outspoken opponent of apartheid, has dedicated his 1988 Footballer of the Year award to imprisoned South African black nationalist leader Mr Nelson Mandela — Sapa-Reuter.



CLERGYMEN HIT OUT

THE continued incarceration of Mr Nelson Mandela was a "crime against humanity" which phatically rejected the "propaganda" which portrayed the ANC as a terrorist organisation according to a statement read at the multi-denominational service at St Francis Church, Langa, to mark Mr Mandela's 70th birthday. Addressing Mr Mandela, the statement said. "We understand the motivations which led you and other imprisoned and exiled leaders to embark on an armed struggle to enable the liberation of your people".

11A
19/7/88

Release of Mandela not yet possible — Stoffel

sta 19/1/83
11A

The Minister of Information, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, said on television last night that the Government did not see its way clear "at this stage" to release imprisoned ANC leader Nelson Mandela, despite internal and worldwide external pressures

Mandela was 70 years old yesterday

"No matter how much international pressure is brought upon us, we have to live with the consequences of our actions. We must do what is right from our own perspective," Dr van der Merwe said

He said the Mandela case was "reviewed regularly" with a view to his possible release.

"First, one must remember Mr Mandela is a prisoner sentenced for high treason. When someone gets sent to prison he is, on the one hand, punished for his deeds while, on the other hand, his imprisonment serves to ensure that this type of thing does not re-occur in the society

"As far as the Government is concerned, his punishment has already been met"

He hoped that a stage would be reached when Mandela could be released so that he could participate in a process where all South Africans worked together towards a new future.

Referring to a front-page article in the Johannesburg, Afrikaans daily, *Beeld*, which called for the release of a Nelson Mandela "more powerful in Pollsmoor by virtue of his martyrdom", Dr van der Merwe said the Government had considered that implication.

"It is easy for a newspaper editor to reach a certain conclusion, but one must remember that an editor does not have the intimate knowledge of the circumstances surrounding the issue the Government has"

Ideal circumstances for Mandela's release would be his and others' willingness to support an honest effort to create a new South Africa where all people could take part in the political process, Dr van der Merwe said

— Sapa

Attempt made on MP's life

Soweto 19/7/84 *110*
AN ATTEMPT was made at the weekend on the life of chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Delegates, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, when a gunman in a moving car opened fire on his house.

Two South African Police constables who were guarding the house in Arena Park, Chatsworth, had to duck for cover, but before they could return fire the gunman sped off.

Mr Rajbansi was not at home at the time. His wife, Mrs Asha Devi Rajbansi, was in the house with her five children and mother.

This is the second attempt made on the life of Mr Rajbansi. In August 1985 a hand grenade was thrown at his home, shattering windows. He was in the study at the time, but escaped injury.

Major Charl du Toit, SAP Public Relations Officer for Port Natal yesterday confirmed the incident and said police had opened an attempted murder docket.

It is believed that just after 7pm a mint-coloured Ford Granada motor car was driven slowly towards the house and a gunman — believed to be an Indian — fired one shot.

The two policemen from the SAP's guard unit, Constable P Govender and Constable K Chetty ducked for cover. The car had gone before they could return fire.

Release him says Beeld

THE pro-Government Afrikaans daily newspaper, *Beeld*, said in its editorial yesterday, there would never be a better time to release jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

Beeld argued Mandela served the ANC's "propaganda war" better in jail than he would as a free man. The newspaper said South Africa and the Government, especially whites, were suffering more as a result of his continued imprisonment.

The "loads" of birthday wishes and cards from "all corners of the world" to congratulate Mandela on his 70th birthday yesterday proved he had acquired a status "larger than life" during his 25 years in jail. He would find it hard to keep up this image if he was released, *Beeld* said.

— Sapa

11A

7/21/88

S. G. Cole

ANC leader to stay in prison,

THE Government has refused to free jailed black nationalist Nelson Mandela in spite of a chorus of international appeals for a release coinciding with his 70th birthday

The Information Minister, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, said "No matter how much international pressure is brought upon us, we have to live with the consequences of our actions

"The situation at present precludes the Government from considering the release of Mr Mandela"

He said he hoped Mr Mandela could be freed one day and the Government kept the issue under review

It was the Government's first direct response to pleas from dozens of countries, including the

US, the Soviet Union, Britain, Japan and West Germany, to free Mr Mandela

People attended two meetings in the Peninsula to celebrate Mr Mandela's birthday and demand his release

About 1 500 students gathered in the Main Hall at the University of the Western Cape at lunchtime yesterday and more than 750 people attended an emotion-charged interdenominational service at St Francis Church in Langa

Later yesterday Dr Allan Boesak said in a statement on behalf of the Nelson Mandela Birthday Committee that Mr Mandela's continued imprisonment "means a continued irresolution of the South African crisis"

says Minister

In London there was a blunt response to an attempt to deliver 32 000 signed cards to the South African Embassy calling for Mr Mandela's release

An embassy spokesman said it was not policy to receive petitions at the embassy. When Anti-Apartheid Movement representatives were told this they "just dumped them at our front door"

The cards, packed in 25 boxes, were kicked across the pavement by an embassy employee who came out of the building

Later another man walked out of the embassy and gathered the boxes into a plastic rubbish bag — Staff Reporters, The Argus Foreign Service and Sapa-Reuter

1/19
Star 19/7/88

Police arrest 3 ANC suspects after shootout.

MBABANE — Police have arrested three suspected members of the ANC after a shootout at a youth centre, a police spokesman confirmed yesterday.

The spokesman said one of the men was captured on the spot and the other two arrested later when they were found hiding in two houses in Mbabane.

A source added that police confiscated a loaded revolver and two loaded AK-47 rifle magazines which were found in the men's possession.

The arrests follow the detention last Wednesday of four suspected ANC members after a shoot-out with police at Pigg's Peak.

One of the four is still recovering in Mbabane government hospital and the others, including those arrested at the weekend, are in detention pending their appearance in court — Sapa.

Mandela: Govt under attack

Soweto Jan 1977/84
(11A)

GOVERNMENT action which prevented certain activities to mark the 70th birthday of the imprisoned

life president of the African National Congress, Nelson Mandela on Sunday, were widely

condemned by his family and various organisations, writes MATSHUBE MFOLOE.

At a Press conference held in Johannesburg yesterday, his wife, Winnie, said she was disappointed by the Government's cancellation of concerts organised in Mandela's honour.

Mrs Mandela said the planned family visit to Mandela at Pollsmoor prison was cut short because the Government had given the family only a few hours to see him.

"We have never asked for favours from the Government, neither have we asked to be treated separately," she said

Detention

Mrs Mandela said her family was saddened by the "sudden detention" of people who had organised activities to mark her husband's birthday

Messages of goodwill, including a message from Mr Oliver Tambo, were received by the Mandela family. A number of messages from various countries called for Mandela's release.

A spokesman for the Black Student Society, Mr James Maseko, said the release of Mandela will remain an issue which the Government cannot ignore.

Sowetan 14/7/88

BRIEFS

Bishops pray

CANTERBURY — Anglican bishops from throughout the world were to say prayers for Mr Nelson Mandela on his birthday, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr Robert Runcie, announced at the weekend.

Dr Runcie was addressing the opening session of the Lambeth Conference, the ten-yearly meeting of archbishops and Diocesan bishops from the worldwide Anglican communion — Sapa

Runcie greets Hyde talks

LONDON — More than 100 000 people turned up at Hyde Park here Sunday to celebrate Nelson Mandela's 70th birthday — and hear Archbishop Desmond Tutu launch a virulent attack on the Thatcher government.

Archbishop Tutu charged the British and other Western governments of collaborating with apartheid and asked what more had to happen in South Africa before they took "effective action."

Message

TWO Cape Town bishops, the Right Reverend Geoffe Quinlan and the Right Reverend Edward MacKenzie were due to deliver birthday greetings from the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr Robert Runcie, to Mr Mandela at Poolsmoor Prison yesterday.

Dr Runcie said in his message that he and other bishops gathered in Canterbury for the Lambeth Conference "send birthday greetings on a day when you and your family are in our prayers."

Honour

DUBLIN — South Africa's jailed black nationalist leader Nelson Mandela will be awarded the freedom of the city of Dublin to mark his 70th birthday.

A city council spokesman said there was no financial gain attached to the honour, which had been given to 58 people since the first one was awarded in 1876 — Sapa-Reuter

Standards

KUALA LUMPUR — A detained Malaysian opposition leader yesterday accused Prime Minister Datuk Seri Mahathir Mohammad of double standards in urging the release of Nelson Mandela while several Malaysians were in detention — Sapa-Reuter

11/7

Sowetan 19/7/88

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11/7

YOUTH CONGRESS

HONOURS MANDELA

Sowetan 19/7/80

118

20 000 pack OFS stadium

THE Free State Young Congress yesterday said it held a cultural festival in Tumahole, Parys, in honour of jailed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela's 70th birthday on Sunday.

Fryco president Mr Smangaish Mahlakazela, said the event was held at the Tumahole Stadium and attracted close to 20 000 people

There was no police interference and local leaders delivered speeches in honour of Nelson Mandela

The Tumahole event is one of the two known public celebrations in the country to have evaded security bans on events commemorating Mandel-

SOWETAN Reporter

la's birthday

The other concert was held in the Jameson Hall at the University of Cape Town on Sunday afternoon. Police halted the celebrations initially scheduled for the University of the Western Cape

The Fryco president, who is also the chairman of the Mandela Birthday Committee, said two other celebrations scheduled for Qwaqwa and Mangaung in Bloemfontein were banned

March

LUSAKA — Thousands of students from the University of Zambia were due to march the 7km from campus to the Freedom Statue in central Lusaka yesterday to mark Nelson Mandela's 70th birthday.

'BIRTHDAY IS A HUMAN EVENT'

THE Catholic Archbishop of Cape Town, Stephen Naidoo said that by banning birthday festivities the Government was making itself look "quite ridiculous," and raised the question "what will they ban next?"

Celebrating a birthday was a human event "very basic to human life"

"Instead of repressing further what few rights we have left the authorities would do better to join all South Africans in profound reflection on the injustices in our society and on the immense suffering they cause," Archbishop Naidoo said

- The Cape Democrats posted 800 birthday cards and distributed pamphlets in Tokai (which neighbours Pollsmoor Prison) entitled "Do you know your neighbour?" outlining Mandela's life and activities
- Lone Black Sash members picketed roads yesterday morning with posters saying "Free Mandela" and "Release all political prisoners and detainees"

MISS Zinzi Mandela, daughter of the African National Congress life president, Nelson Mandela, read a birthday message from Oliver Tambo, at a Press conference in Johannesburg yesterday. Nelson Mandela turned 70 yesterday, marking his 25 years stay in prison. Mr Tambo's letter may not be quoted as he is a listed person.

JAIL FOR 'SICK MA

A CAPE Town man who suffered psychological stress while in detention for two years was sentenced to two years imprisonment in a Pretoria Regional Court yesterday for refusing to testify against seven alleged members of the Pan Africanist Congress and Qibla — a Mushm organisation.

Abdul Aziz Kader refused to testify and submitted that he would be psychologically destroyed because of the stress he sustained during lengthy periods of interrogation in the hands of the security police.

He was arrested on June 17, 1986 and admitted to the Groote Schuur Hospital in Cape Town after being held in solitary confinement for nine weeks. The court heard that he was depressed and suffered from acute stress when he was admitted.

He has been in detention ever since and is still receiving psychiatric treatment.

The magistrate, Mr J H Bekker said Kader had already told the court that it was against his Islamic religion to testify against the accused. He also told the court that he would be ostracised by the community if he testified for the State.

Mr Bekker rejected medical evidence that Kader would suffer from psychological stress if he testified. He said that there was no evidence that Kader was assaulted by the police while in detention. There was also no evidence that the interrogation was brutal.

He ruled that Kader had failed to provide a just reason why he did not want to testify.

Kader refused to testify against Mr Mabatu Enoch Zulu, Mr Ndoba Gcanga, Mr Vincent Mathunjwa, Mr Setsiba Paul Mohohlo,

Refused to give evidence

the Reverend Daniel Nkopodi, Mr Achmad Cassiem and Mr Yusuf Patel

Mr Percy Sonn, who appeared for Kader, yesterday submitted in mitigation that the court must take into account that his client was a sick

person who had been in detention since June 17 1986

Before passing sentence, Mr Bekker said he had taken into consideration the fact that Kader had been affected by the recent death of his mother and aunt and that he had psychological problems while in detention. He also took into account that Kader had been in detention under the Internal Security Act since June 17, 1986.

Killed by robbery

A PART-TIME worker at a fast food outlet in Rockville, Soweto, was shot dead by three robbers who made away with R500 cash on Saturday night.

Mr Simon Muganzi (29), was about to close George's Fish and Chips in Vundla Drive, when three armed men entered the shop and demanded money. Three shots were fired and one hit Mr Muganzi on the right side of the body. He died on arrival at

Baragwanath Hospital. Mr Muganzi was among 17 people who lost their lives in various acts of violence in Soweto at the weekend.

The Soweto police PRO, Major Fanyana Zwane, said of the 17 people killed, five had bullet wounds while the rest had either knife wounds or those caused by sharp instruments.

Four armed robberies were

reported cases. In one robbed of cash.

Fourteen and police three of the cars in one case.

Major Zwane were mandrax.

DESIGNER FASHION
GENUINE LEATHER

R95,99

Silence ^{ARBUS} after ^{19/7/88} Sacos ^{11A} chief quits

Staff Reporter
OFFICIALS of the South African Council on Sport were keeping quiet today over the reasons for the resignation of the president, Mr Frank van der Horst, from the national executive.

Acting president Mr Yusuf Ebrahim said Mr van der Horst had resigned "because of administrative difficulties over a certain period of time".

Mr van der Horst resigned at an extraordinary meeting of the 10-man executive on Saturday.

In a brief statement today, he said he had quit "to maintain the unity of the organisation".

He said that in the face of the non-racial sports body's intensifying struggle against sport apartheid, it was "important not to have differences of opinion in our ranks".

He added: "The struggle for freedom is greater than any individual."

He would nevertheless continue his work with Sacos, he said.

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Messages from Pope, Reagan, EC

ATLANTA (Georgia) — The Rev Jesse Jackson turned world attention briefly on South Africa yesterday at the Democratic convention by marking the birthday of the jailed African National Congress leader, Nelson Mandela

He said it served to highlight apartheid and South Africa "ruling the (Southern African) area with terror", a situation that America had to address

Speaking at a news conference Mr Jackson said Democratic policy on South Africa should be activated "We declared South Africa a terrorist state," he said "We must implement it, our policy and the terrorist policy, applying it against that terrorist state"

At Lorenzago di Cadore in Italy Pope John Paul expressed admiration yesterday for Mandela

The Pope, on a private holiday in the northern Italian mountains, spoke of "the great respect he had for the human story of this man", chief Vatican spokesman Joaquin Navarro-Valls said

The White House on yesterday urged the South African Government to free Mandela and other political prisoners

"For the last 26 years, Mr Mandela, a pre-em-

inent figure in the struggle against apartheid, has been imprisoned in South Africa," spokesman Marlin Fitzwater said in a statement.

"He is widely recognized as the embodiment of black aspirations in South Africa, and while he and other political leaders remain in prison, South African Government plans for political reform are not likely to gain any significant support from the black community," Fitzwater said.

The statement was issued in California where President Reagan is on holiday at his Santa Barbara ranch

In Paris, President Francois Mitterrand said that Mandela had devoted his life to the ideals of "justice, dignity and liberty"

In Bonn, Chancellor Helmut Kohl sent a message to President Botha calling for Mandela's release on humanitarian grounds

The EC Foreign Ministers' meeting in Athens called for Mandela's immediate release. "The

Twelve Call on the South African Government to release Mr Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners unconditionally and immediately," a statement said — The Star Bureau, Sapa-Reuter and The Independent News Service

● See Page 4.

11A

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Phalaborwa and Ermelo

Son didn't hold talks with ANC, says Boshoff

Pretoria Correspondent ^{Stevenson} described as yesterday "incorrect" by Mr Boshoff's father, Afrikaner-Volkswag (AV) leader Professor Carel Boshoff, who is married to Dr Hendrik Verwoerd's daughter, Anna.

"It's wrong to call my son a liberal simply because he visited Zimbabwe yesterday," he said.

"Reports that he was part of a group which allegedly negotiated with the ANC in Harare are equally incorrect," Professor Boshoff, who is a member of the CP, said.

He was commenting on reports that Carel Jun had been a member of a party of South African students, which "held talks with" the ANC, in the course of a visit to Harare last week.

"The truth of the matter is that my son was one of a group of 17 students who visited Harare at the invitation of Dr Frederik van zyl Slabbert's Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa)."

"They spent five days in Harare."

"It was in this informal situation that he happened to meet a few members of the ANC. In no way can Carel be said to have had talks with them," Professor Boshoff said.

Doctor's body washed ashore after diving trip

By Inga Molzen

The 27-year-old Potchefstroom medical doctor, who drowned near Hermanus on Friday afternoon, "loved the sea" and went diving in his spare time, his father Professor Stephanus Barnard said.

The body of Dr "Fanie" Barnard was recovered from the rocks at Skulphoek on Saturday after it was found by a Sandbaai resident. Dr Barnard, who was accompanied by a colleague from Groote Schuur Hospital, Cape Town, Dr Basil van Rooyen, had been diving after work for perlemoen (abalone).

Professor Barnard, dean of education at the Uni-

versity of Potchefstroom, said: "They worked together at the hospital. After operating all morning, they decided to go diving off Hermanus. Waves flung him against the rocks — what happened after that no one knows."

He said his son, one of 12 doctors chosen for "Rekkies" (the Reconnaissance Commando of South African Defence Force), was completing the second year of his compulsory national service.

Professor Barnard said Fanie, who studied medicine at the University of Pretoria, completed his internship at the Potchefstroom Hospital.

As far as the AV was concerned, it was not prepared to "talk to terrorists".

It was possible that Carel Jun was not a member of the Conservative Party — but he certainly "supported its ideals" and was chairman of the Afrikaner-Volkswag (AV) branch at the University of Pretoria, Professor Boshoff said.

Heartfelt greetings

5 Feb 1971 108

In Johannesburg it was the closest thing to a public celebration of Nelson Mandela's 70th birthday — a lone saxophonist playing on his gleaming instrument, a mammoth portrait of Mandela hanging behind him and a mixture of journalists and activists tuned in to his every pained note

Jazz Pioneers member Ntebejana Philiso was the only one of the artists scheduled to play at Sunday's concert to honour Mandela who had a chance to give the Press a taste of what the public would have heard had the Government allowed the Fun Valley gathering to go ahead.

He played a short piece entitled "The hearts are sore" before the conference broke up with activists singing Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika and cameramen pressing in a tight huddle around the fist-clenched Mandela family.

ROUND THE WORLD

It is an image that will undoubtedly go around the world where Mandela's 70th birthday has been widely coupled with calls for his release and with huge public displays that have been forbidden inside South Africa

The magnitude of the international appeal struck home as members of the Mandela United soccer team trailed into the press conference, behind Mrs Winnie Mandela, carrying eleven huge airmail sacks of greetings from the Netherlands.

Selected messages of support from around the world were read. Their sources were diverse. They included the head of the Socialist International, Dr Willi Brandt, the British Trades Union Congress, the French President Mr Francois Mitterrand, Australian Premier Mr Bob Hawke, the Canadian Government, the Soviet Coalminers'

By JO-ANNE COLLINGE

"The hearts are sore", sobbed a haunting piece by lone saxophonist Ntebejana Philiso. It showed what we missed with the banning of the birthday concert. But international concern was conveyed by all the birthday cards.

Union, Harvard College in the United States.

The messages were addressed to Mr Mandela, many telling him directly of his unequalled international stature as a political prisoner. He was told he was "the impressive symbol of the determination of South Africans to achieve freedom". He was saluted for his "sincerity and unbending determination" which had enabled him to endure 26 years in jail. He was told that "the fact that you still live in prison (is) an obligation on us who live in freedom" to fight apartheid

COLOURFUL CARDS

Other messages came from the ANC, from the South African Congress of Trade Unions and from various groups inside South Africa

Members of the Mandela United Football Club showered the load of Dutch greetings before the press. Colourful birds, and hearts and flowers streamed forth.

Mrs Mandela said she had wished South African celebrations to have been as joyful and untroubled.

In answer to a journalist, she said the family would not have welcomed a protest that would have meant thousands of people exposing themselves to retribution and harassment

Top E Cape townships snub black councils

CAPE TOWN 20/7/88
Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH — Only one of the six major black local authorities in the Eastern Cape was being run by its own mayor and councillors, a Cape Provincial Administration spokesman for the department of local government said.

This comes after disclosures that the Ibhayi City Council in Port Elizabeth had virtually ceased to exist and that it was being run by a white administrator, Mr Barry Erasmus, with former councillors acting as advisers. The former councillors were still getting council allowances.

Mr J. Le Roux, deputy-director for local government at the CPA, said only Rini Town Council in Grahamstown was being run by councillors.

Mr Le Roux said Mr Erasmus, as administrator for both Ibhayi City Council and Kwanobuhle Town Council, was in charge of civic affairs for 347 000 people in Port Elizabeth and 129 000 people in Kwanobuhle, including Kabah and Despatch townships.

He said Ilingelihle in Cradock and Graaff-Reinet's black local authorities were also being administered by white administrators.

Humansdorp's townships were being run by appointed board members under the control of an administrator, said Mr Le Roux.

Jackson misses Mandela party

ATLANTA — Nelson Mandela's 70th birthday was celebrated at a Democratic convention fringe meeting on Monday with songs, speeches and a cake, but without the guest most of the crowd wanted to see — Jesse Jackson.

More than 500 people turned out at a school to honour Mr Mandela

"Nelson Mandela represents the courage of the people of South Africa who are struggling for liberty," Angolan Foreign Minister Mr Afonso van Dunem, an official guest of the Democratic Party, told the meeting

The celebration had a special resonance because of this city's position in the history of the American civil rights movement. The late Dr Martin Luther King, who led the movement, was born in Atlanta and is buried here

Mr Jackson, who spent the morning patching up his rift with the man who beat him for the Democratic presidential nomination, Mr Michael Dukakis, did not make the party

A spokeswoman said the afternoon had been devoted to a briefing for journalists on international issues and preparing his speech to the convention yesterday. — Sapa-Reuter

Govt speaks
on Nelson
Mandela

SOWETAN, Wedne

NO FREEDOM AS YET

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Sowetan
20/7/88

THE Government has ruled out any chance of the immediate release of jailed ANC leader, Mr Nelson Mandela, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, Minister of Information, Broadcasting Services and the Film Industry, said on Monday night.

But it was hoped that one day Mr Mandela — who celebrated his 70th birthday in Pollsmoor prison on Monday — could be released to participate in the building of a new South Africa.

Dr van der Merwe was commenting during an SABC TV interview on worldwide calls for Mr Mandela's release, including from the Johannesburg Government-supporting newspaper, *Beeld*

The Mandela case was reviewed regularly with a view to his possible release, but while taking humanitarian considerations into account, the Government had to consider the possible consequences of his release, he said

In Cape Town, rallies and celebrations marking Mr Mandela's birthday were held at the universities of Cape Town and the Western Cape with only isolated violent incidents reported.

A heavy police presence was reported during Monday's celebrations, including a service at the St Francis Church in Langa attended by an estimated 700 people, including diplomats from seven countries.— Sapa.

Mandela's birthday *Star 20/7/85* a chance missed' (119)

By not granting Nelson Mandela's release, the Government missed a golden opportunity to celebrate his 70th birthday, the president of the Methodist Church of Southern Africa, Dr Khoza Mgojo, said yesterday

Mandela is a member of the Methodist Church

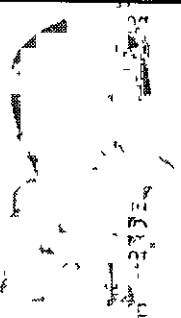
The celebration of his birthday "could have opened the door to the greater celebration of negotiation for the peaceful future for which South Africans of all races, creeds and political persuasions yearn", Dr Mgojo said

In Geneva, the Rev Frank Chikane, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, said the Government could not free Mandela and maintain apartheid at the same time

"If they freed him, they would have to open negotiations with him," Mr Chikane told a press conference at the headquarters of the World Council of Churches

In Lusaka, United States and British embassies and residences were put under paramilitary guard as about 4 000 students and ANC members marched through the streets to mark Mandela's birthday -- Religion Reporter, The Star's Foreign News Service and The Star's Africa News Service

The world cries for the release of Nelson Mandela, but the Government remains unmoved. **JOE LATAKGOMO** ponders on possible scenarios if he were to be freed.



Visions of SA after Mandela is released

Very few South Africans would have missed the significance of the past Monday. It was the birthday of Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela, leader of the African National Congress. With this day, came renewed calls for the release of Mr Mandela, from Washington to Tokyo. From Toronto to Helsinki. The calls came thick and fast.

But back home, the South African Government seems determined to stick to its guns. There seems to be no indication they are about to release Mr Mandela — at least not in the foreseeable future — and the raised hopes of a few years ago seem to have receded into the distant memory.

Various scenarios have been presented as to why the Government is unbending. There is no doubt that they are very concerned about keeping Mr Mandela in jail. They do not wish to see him dying in the cells, but then, Government sources indicate that they have to weigh up this risk against the risk of freeing him. On this score, the politicians and the security apparatus differ privately.

Iran 'replay'

First, the security forces seem to believe that the release of Mr Mandela could provide a possible replay of the Ayatollah Khomeini's march back into the city. Although there seems no logical basis for this comparison, it nevertheless is seen as a possibility.

The scenario goes like this: Nelson Mandela is freed. He is given a massive welcome in Cape Town, then flies on to Johannesburg where blacks in the tens of thousands turn up to welcome him. Soweto explodes into political frenzy, and a rally is organised for Orlando Stadium. Still more thousands turn up — 100 000 or more cram into the stadium to hear Mr Mandela speak.

He urges *aluta continua*, and the country goes up in flames. The revolution has come. The security forces tell the politicians: "We told you so. For this reason, Nelson Mandela cannot be freed."

The second scenario is of Mr Mandela being freed somewhere in the big crowd that welcomes him from Cape Town to Johannesburg, a white right-winger puts a bullet through his head. Once more, the country goes up in flames.

Assassination bid

The third scenario which has been discussed is the fear that the assassin may not be a right-winger at all. The Government believes that Mr Mandela in jail is providing far more value to the ANC than if he were released. They feel that if he were free, he may put a damper on the ANC's strategic planning. One option would be for him to be assassinated — and his martyr status kept.

Add all this to the white political dimension, and one may begin to understand just how the Government mind works. First, it would be difficult for them to justify releasing Mr Mandela while there are bombs going off in civilian areas — or anywhere for that matter — particularly considering the white right-wing backlash that the Government has experienced. There is the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging. Then there is the swing to the Conservative Party, who would see this as the first step towards capitulation.

The most important reason why the Ayatollah scenario is most unlikely is the fact that, in the Ayatollah's case, he had the security forces' support. In Mandela's case, the contrary would be true.

Credible leaders

Secondly, the religious fervor that united the Iranians does not exist here. Indeed, while various organisations may have broad grassroots support, the divisions in the black political scene militate against similar unity.

While there is no doubt that there will be massive welcome, receptions for Mr Mandela, it is unlikely that they will result in a revolution. Indeed, this could be the one act that will indicate the Government's willingness to negotiate with credible black leaders. It will also send signals to the world that South Africa is committed to fundamental reform.

However, to assume that the release of Mr Mandela could provide an instant solution to the political stalemate in the country would be the height of naivete. There are obviously other actors, and the Government should be looking at the collective good that must come from involving all these actors in the search for a solution.

Wits police

slap ban on

Mandela

statement

Cap. Times 21/7/88

11/2

PRETORIA — The Witwatersrand divisional police commissioner has ordered in terms of the media emergency regulations that copies of a publication issued by Learn and Teach Publications, "The Historic Speech of Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela at the Rivonia Trial", be seized.

Police said last night that the publication was apparently being distributed free of charge.

Though Mr Mandela's statement was part of the Rivonia trial court record, its "one-sided" publication did not offer a balanced version of the facts, police said.

Mr Mandela's statement was unsworn and its truthfulness could therefore not be tested.

Police wished to emphasize that Mr Mandela admitted in his statement:

- To being a founder member of Umkhonto we Sizwe, which was responsible for terror attacks,

- That he planned sabotage and supported violence,

- That he had studied revolution and warfare and had received military training abroad,

- That he had arranged for recruits to receive military training abroad, and

- That there was cooperation between the ANC and the SACP and that he had been influenced by Marxist thoughts — Sapa

119 85 CIA TIMB 2/17/88

SA embassy address on Mandela Place?

CANBERRA — South Africa's embassy may soon be located on a street renamed in honour of Mr Nelson Mandela, the black activist imprisoned in South Africa since 1962, a government spokesman said yesterday.

A proposal to change the street's name from Rhodes Place to Mandela Place is under consideration, said a spokesman for Territories Minister Mr Gary Punch, whose office has authority over street names.

Rhodes Place is in honor of Cecil Rhodes.

The proposal came from the secretariat of the Labour Party and has the endorsement of the Australian Council of Churches, the spokesman said.

A spokesman for the South African Embassy declined to discuss the matter.

Australian Prime Minister Mr Bob Hawke was among those who called for the release of Mr Mandela on his 70th birthday on Monday.

Mr Mandela, a leader of the African National Congress, who turned 70 on Monday in Pollsmoor Prison, was jailed in 1962 and sentenced in 1964 for sabotage and plotting overthrow the government. He was jailed for life.

Polish communist leader General Wojciech Jaruzelski sent birthday greetings to Mr Mandela, the party daily Trybuna Ludu said yesterday.

"Please be assured of our support and solidarity with your heroic struggle", Gen Jaruzelski said. "We wish you health and the quickest regaining of freedom."

In Atlanta, Democrats hailed Mr Man-

dela on Tuesday night amid vows of strict economic sanctions against the government's racial segregation policies.

California Congressman Ronald Dellums, addressing the Democratic convention, sparked an ovation when he shouted "Happy Birthday Nelson Mandela, you will be free."

Mr Dellums vowed "The most strict sanctions on South Africa in the history of this country" would be proposed.

"To those who say sanctions hurt, say, yes sanctions hurt but apartheid kills," he said.

Congress is considering legislation that would impose strict economic sanctions on South Africa but the provision faces uncertain future with President Reagan opposing it. — Sapa Reuter

114 130
APR 21/7/88

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TOLD LIES PASTOR TELLS TERROR TRIAL

South African 21/7/88



Alleged courier for PAC

A CHURCH minister facing charges of terrorism yesterday said he "lied" when he told a magistrate two years ago that he intended informing the police about members of the banned Pan Africanist Congress he had transported from Botswana into South Africa.

Reverend Daniel Nkopodi, who was attached to the AME Church in Lobatse before his arrest on April 9, 1986, also said he did not tell the truth when he testified before Mr. Ezak Potgieter in the Groot Marico

Magistrate's Court on April 11 that year

He told the court that after giving a number of PAC members a lift from Botswana to South Africa, he later intended to tell the police where they had hidden their weapons

Mr Nkopodi and six other alleged members of the PAC and Qibla — a Muslim organisation — have pleaded not guilty before Mr J H Bekker in the Pretoria Regional Court to 24 counts of terrorism and defeating the ends of justice

The other accused are Mr Mabatso Enoch Zulu, Mr Ndoda Ganga, Mr Vincent Mathunywa, Mr Paul Setsiba, Mr Achmad Cassiem and Mr Yusuf Patel

Examined by Mr Gerald van Tonder, his lawyer, Mr Nkopodi lied when he told Mr Potgieter that following an agreement with Sello Mogale, he transported members of the PAC from Botswana into South Africa on three occasions

Statements

According to the statements he made before court, he conveyed them to Rustenburg, Zeerust and Mabopane

Mr Nkopodi said he did not tell the truth when he told the court in Groot Marico that after transporting PAC members into the Republic he became worried and intended to inform the police who they were, where they were and where they had hidden their weapons

Mr Nkopodi, who is also alleged to have been a courier for the PAC, denied being a member of the outlawed organisation and told the court "I was never a member of a political organisation. I am a pastor of the AME Church."

PAN-AFRICANIST CONGRESS

Getting active again

Last Sunday's roadblock shootout near Lichtenburg between police and two alleged Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) insurgents, who were killed, marks the first confirmed skirmish of this kind between the PAC and SAP in decades. The obvious question now is whether this spells an upsurge by the ANC's smaller, hitherto ineffective, black power rivals.

There has been growing evidence of a renewed PAC thrust in recent months, with the organisation claiming responsibility for a few bombings.

In 1987, say the police, 85 PAC terrorists were captured, in previous years there was scarcely any sign of them. They have accounted for at most 1%-2% of terror attacks in SA in the Eighties. This seems to be changing, with the advent of "armed propaganda" (invented by the ANC) all of its own. Suddenly, there are what Wits political historian Tom Lodge refers to as "all kinds of pointers to a revival of the PAC and aligned groups." Early this year, for example, a group of former Congress of SA Students (Cosas) members, who are released from Robben Island, joined Africanist groups.

Currently, there are at least three PAC terror trials in progress at Pretoria, Johannesburg and Piet Retief under the Internal Security Act. Security Police Chief Brigadier Herman Stadler was due to give evidence this week in the Johannesburg trial. The Pretoria trial involves Enoch Zulu of the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla), the PAC military wing. Zulu's autobiography *Lest we forget* is on sale in SA.

Apla's commander is Philip Kgosana. He has Ethiopian military training, and by all accounts is an impressive figure and a most able administrator who, until he rejoined the PAC last year (he was expelled 20 years ago), held senior posts with various UN organisations such as Unicef.

The PAC has always been a latent force in SA, with its policy of black leadership of "the struggle," its definition of whites as settlers, and its fundamental demand for the return of the land to blacks tapping a powerful emotional vein. Many would say this appeal should not be underestimated — especially if black-white polarisation worsens and black political impatience deepens. In that case, it is not inconceivable that the PAC could emerge with at least local or regional areas of popular support.

Despite evidence of a PAC resurgence, however, it does not necessarily foreshadow the eclipse of the ANC, whose appeal remains more universal, says Lodge. The PAC is decidedly more socialist, rejecting the ANC's "two-stage" idea of revolution. It is

critical of the ANC's alleged preparedness to compromise on economic, social and political issues. The PAC also stresses the agrarian or land issue and claims its military operations will be targeted rurally.

After its heyday in the early Sixties, and an attempted revival under its now imprisoned president Zeph Mothopeng in 1977, the PAC was almost consigned to irrelevance.

The reasons for a more active PAC seem to lie in the fact that it has, after years of internal squabbles, now stabilised under its new chairman Johnson Mlambo and vice-president Vusi Makhe. Perhaps another factor stems from the vacuum created by the State's containment of the ANC and its fraternal groupings.

However, the PAC is estimated currently to have only some 750 trained guerrillas in its ranks, compared to the ANC's 2 500-10 000 in Umkhonto we Sizwe. Apla receives training at three camps in Libya controlled by the Libyan Bureau for Waging Revolution. Iran, too, is said to provide military training for the organisation whose exile home is Tanzania, and which, some have alleged, has operational bases in Zimbabwe. While the latter point is plausible in view of the PAC's ideological affinity with the ruling Zanu party's Maoist links, it remains speculation. However, such links underscore continuing international support given to SA's revolutionary movements. The PAC has not, however, been popular in SA's neighbouring states — notably Mozambique, Zambia and Angola.

Inside SA, the political tendency closest to PAC Africanism is found in the Black Consciousness movement, which includes Azapo. But not all BC sympathisers support it. Whether it can mobilise widespread support among black civilians remains to be seen — but it is now a factor to be reckoned with. ■

(113)

Call to free black editor

See website 2/17/88

NEW YORK — The American branch of PEN, the most distinguished literary organization in the US, has appealed to President P W Botha for the release of journalist Zwelakhe Sisulu

Susan Sontag, author and intellectual, has written to the State President on behalf of the 2 100 members of PEN urging him to release Mr Sisulu "immediately and unconditionally "

Hospital

She notes in her letter that Mr Sisulu, editor of the *New Nation*, has been detained without trial for 19 months and is in hospital for treatment of depression

Appeals for his release have been made by Amnesty International, the Committee to Protect Journalists and International PEN

Mr Sisulu was a journalist on the *Rand Daily Mail*, the *Sunday Express*, the *Eastern Province Herald*, and the *Post* He attended Harvard University as a Nieman Fellow in 1985

Nactu big Indaba

Scwefun 2117186

THE National Council of Trade Unions' non-political affiliation stance is one of the issues that will be discussed by Nactu's Durban and Amanzimtoti local committee at the union's

Durban offices on Sunday.

Nactu's co-ordinator, Mr Kessie Moodley has said that 13 affiliates that made up the committee would discuss the pros and cons of remaining "neutral" in the political arena, while having a commitment to the national liberatory struggle.

He said other issues to

be discussed were the worker control of the union and the relationship between Nactu and Cosatu, the biggest union grouping in the country.

"There is an increasing frustration within the labour movement that the principle of the workers controlling the union and federation is not actually taking place," he said.

114

NELSON ROLIHLEHLA MANDLELA

A BIRTHDAY GREETING

We the undersigned are clergy, church layworkers and professional theologians in South Africa.

We write to honour you on this your 70th birthday.

As Christians we acknowledge Jesus Christ as the supreme Lord from whom all human authority derives. Under His Lordship we are called to resist all illegitimate authority and share in the total liberation of humanity from all that denies complete human life. In South Africa this means struggling against the tyranny of Apartheid and for a country free of injustice, exploitation and discrimination.

We believe this struggle is established in history by Jesus Christ and continued by human beings imitating Christ's obedience and compassion.

We recognise this obedience and compassion in your lifetime of commitment to struggle — and in your

other imprisoned and exiled leaders to embark on an armed struggle.

We regard it a mark of your leadership that you choose to remain in prison rather than accept PW Botha's offer of conditional release.

We agree that a peace process can only be initiated by the apartheid government's rejection of the violence of apartheid and the repression with which they maintain it. As such negotiations are only possible when the state demonstrates its intentions by

- unconditionally releasing all political prisoners and detainees;
- unconditionally unbanning all the organisations of the people;
- allowing exiles to return without restriction;
- dismantling all apartheid structures, laws and institutions without reserve.

ANC, PAC still not in step — Kaunda

(11A) The Star's Africa News Service 2/17/88

LUSAKA — There are still deep suspicions between the ANC and PAC, President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia said this week

He told a press conference that the Frontline states had failed so far to bring the two organisations to a closer co-operation — because of “deep-rooted problems”.

He said that when representatives of the two South African organisations — both exiled in their country — were invited to attend meetings of the Frontline states, it was clear that neither would say what their plans and actions were.

“They fear telling it all when the opposition is there, and it is clear they don't trust each other,” President Kaunda said.

He also made it clear at the press conference that his government has turned down diplomatic overtures by Israel for the resumption of diplomatic relations

Rajbansi gets death threat ^{Star 21/7/88} 110

DURBAN — A man claiming to be the gunman who fired a shot at the home of Mr Amchand Rajbansi on Sunday telephoned him yesterday to warn "Next time I won't miss"

Mr Rajbansi, Chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Delegates, said the man sounded like an Indian. He said he received the call at about 7 am and was treating it very seriously.

"The man claimed to be the gunman and said he was giving me the chance of stepping down as chairman of the Ministers' Council, otherwise he would

kill me. I've reported the matter to the South African Police.

"In religion there's a saying that you don't bow down to the devil. I won't allow anyone to intimidate me or my family," he said.

On Sunday, a man in a Ford Granada motor car fired a shot at Mr Rajbansi's Chatsworth home.

Two police constables from the SAP's guard unit on duty at Mr Rajbansi's house had to duck for cover before they could return fire. The gunman had sped off. Police are investigating — Own Correspondent

Hangings: Time for repeal?

MANY years ago, a young man was sentenced to death for helping to ambush and murder a powerfully-built man. The trial judge refused to allow him an appeal against the death sentence.

In a desperate bid to save his life, his family scraped together funds to contract another lawyer to fight an appeal. When the new lawyer visited his client, he noticed the condemned man was crippled and his hands were deformed. The Appeal Court acquitted the condemned man, without even hearing legal argument.

Examples of such judicial error are found all over the world. It illustrates the intrinsic dangers of capital punishment. Statistics show that capital punishment is no deterrent to murder. But the lobby in favour of capital punishment still remains strong — and many are still sentenced to death. But what about what has commonly become known as "politically-motivated offences"?

In the United States the race of the person on trial is a factor when the death sentence is considered, according to Professor John Dugard, of the University of the Witwatersrand.

Political crimes

"There is no reason to believe the situation here will be different. In addition to political causes, it is a known fact that homicide and murder reach high proportions in societies which are unsettled, industrialising and experiencing an increasing level of urbanisation."

But, said Dugard, the high rate of execution was also linked to other identifiable factors. In South African courts there was a possibility of judicial error, especially when those on trial were black.

"Trials are held in either English or Afrikaans, not in the accused's own language. There is always the possibility of faulty translations," Dugard said.

The defence could call for an interpreter but the

essence of evidence could be lost in translation.

It appeared, he said, that the Government cared more for a civil case than one which involved a capital crime.

In terms of the regulations governing the Legal Aid Board, a person in a civil case, like divorce, would be appointed an attorney and an advocate whereas in capital cases the court only appoints an advocate.

This was highly inadequate and often a young advocate's first appearance in court was pro deo — when the advocate was not skilled in cross-examining witnesses. There was also no provision for pro deo counsels to research the background of the case — something that was essential to convince the court of extenuating circumstances.

'Common purpose'

Compounding the problem, he says, is that in South Africa there is no automatic right of appeal. The Minister of Justice has stated that of those sentenced to death between 1983 and 1987, only 55.9 percent were given leave to appeal.

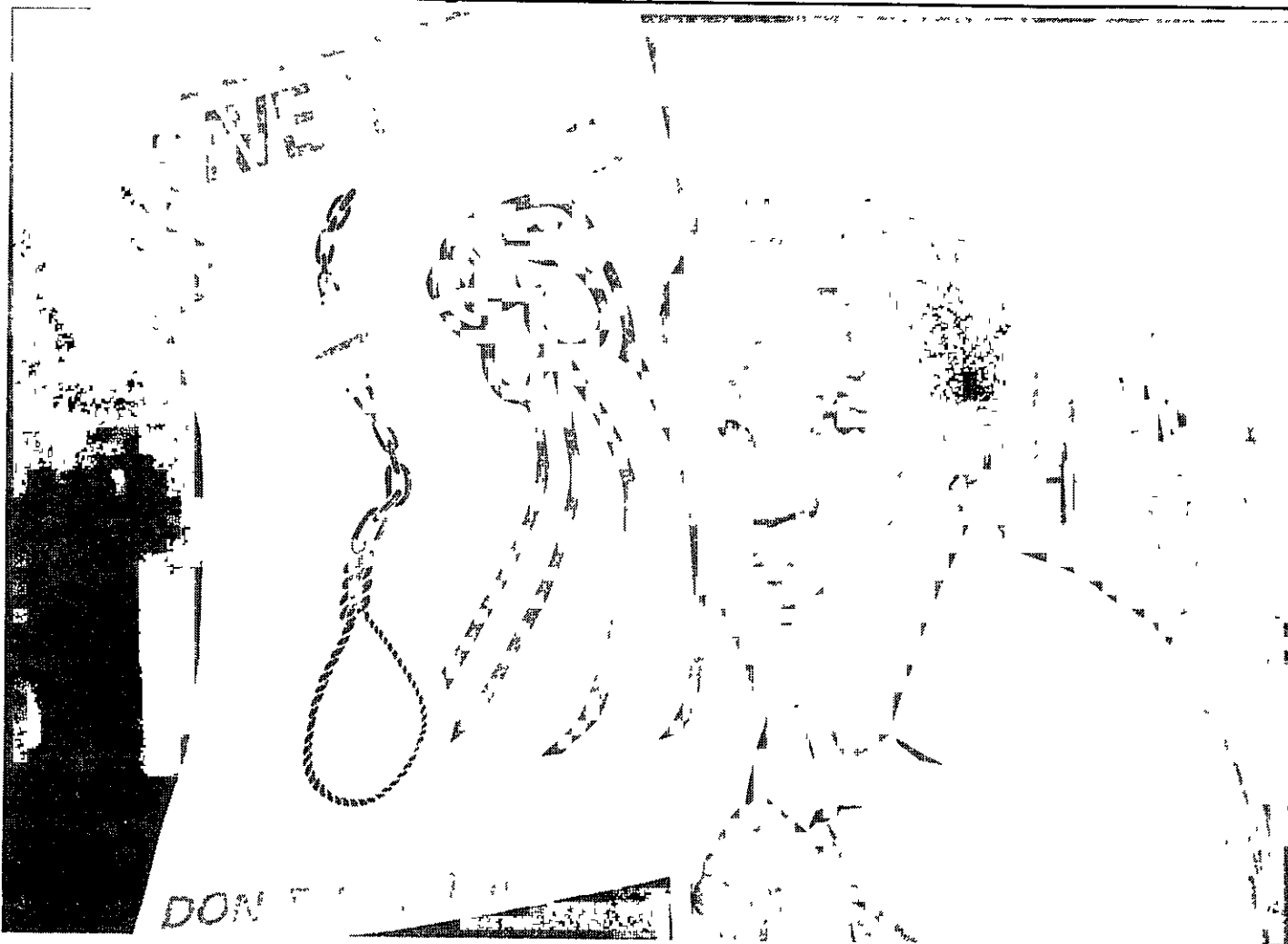
"Judges can be placed in three categories. There are those opposed to the death sentence, those who see the application of the sentence as routine and finally there are those who see it as a desirable deterrent."

The differences in the sentences "for murder in not vastly dissimilar circumstances" given to the "Sharpeville Six" and six members of the conservative Zulu Inkatha organisation was a case in point.

The "Sharpeville Six" were all sentenced to death on the basis of the legal doctrine of "common purpose", for being part of the crowd involved in the murder of a black town councillor. The six Inkatha members were given effective sentences ranging between one-and-a-half years to three-and-a-half years for the murder of an elderly woman.

But in the end, Dugard argued, the extensive use of the death penalty really

On June 23 this year, the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, revealed in Parliament that 994 people had been sentenced to death in the five years between 1983 and 1987. Of these nearly 60 percent — or 593 — were executed. What the Minister did not mention, however, is that South Africa probably hangs more people than any other country in the world — and the number is rising. By May this year 59 people had been executed compared to three in the United States. PRESS TRUST reports that 274 people are awaiting execution on Pretoria Central Prison's deathrow.



A protester at a recent rally against the death sentence

rested on the attitude of the authorities to capital punishment.

"The real reason why there are so many executions in South Africa is the Government's attitude."

Thus, he said, was reflected in the laws of the land and their implementation.

"There are seven capital crimes in this country so the courts are obliged to consider imposing the death sentence in a large number of cases." And while there were very clear procedures and guidelines for reprieve, clemency was very seldom granted.

Statistics show that the

State President commuted 115 death sentences between 1983 and 1987.

Said Dugard "PW Botha's reason for not wanting to commute death sentences is that he does not want to interfere in the 'due process of the law'. But this is very misleading."

Death sentence

"He knows that there is an entire chapter in the Criminal Procedure Act devoted to reprieve and which clearly states he has the right to intervene in that process."

"And while the retention of the death penalty is

probably used for reasons of retribution — to present a picture of 'kragdadigheid' (power) — it means they are completely out of step with the legal systems of Europe."

Dugard said the Government had also missed the boat as far as public opinion was concerned.

"If you had to look at opinion polls in the West and here in South Africa you would find that at least 60 to 70 percent of all the people in the country would vote for the retention of the death sentence because it is the layman's crude way of thinking about punishment."

"But in Britain the government sees itself as enlightened and leaders of public opinion and they have changed the law."

'Kragdadigheid'

Against this background, Dugard said, he remained pessimistic that the death sentence would ever be abolished. But this should not deter the ordinary person from campaigning for abolition since there were a number of practical steps that could be taken to at least reduce the number of death sentences in South Africa.

These, Dugard said, would probably be taken

up by the Society for the Abolition of the Death Penalty at its re-institution and would include campaigning for adequate legal counsel, the automatic right to appeal and that the presiding judge be assisted by assessors able to speak the language of the accused.

However, it appears that even this is going to be an arduous task. White South Africans are seldom mobilised into action except when there were white lives at stake — as demonstrated by a current petition calling for clemency for the lives of two white policemen, sentenced to death for murder.

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UNIVERSITY OF THE WESTERN CAPE



group Ntsikane at the UCT concert before it was disrupted by police

Robbie Jansen

ANYTHING GOING ON?



for Mandela

Children release balloons at Langa

By RYLAND FISHER

IT WAS planned to be some of the most spectacular political events Cape Town had ever seen

But police interference almost turned the Western Cape celebrations to mark the 70th birthday of imprisoned African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela into much publicised non-events

For three days the Mandela Birthday Committee tried to keep a few steps ahead of the security forces in a race both were determined to win

The warmup to the weekend activities took place two weeks ago when police detained nine organisers sending many others into hiding

Last Wednesday, World Alliance of Reformed Churches president Dr Allan Boesak retaliated at a press conference

We will celebrate, he said, in spite of all the repression and the obvious fear of the government we will go ahead

Concerts banned

In Johannesburg and Durban police banned concerts and even a soccer match and teaparty

They appeared to employ different tactics in the Western Cape where events were not banned until the last minute

But detentions continued and by Friday 10 people almost the entire organising committee of a sports festival in Guguletu were detained

The next morning, the stadium at NY49 was surrounded by police. No one was allowed in, in spite of the organisers producing a receipt to prove they had hired the stadium

The sporting activities went ahead in another venue in Langa, a snail's pace push for the organisers

Earlier the organisers had to rule out Pollsmoor Prison as the starting point of a proposed freedom run after security was stepped up around the prison. Five athletes began the run from a nearby shopping centre before they were arrested and released without being charged

Later that day, police banned a concert at the University of the Western Cape

Roadblocks were set up near the campus and sealed off by police

But in a bid to outwit the police, the organisers moved the concert to the University of the Western Cape at the same time applied to the Supreme Court to allow the concert to go ahead

As word spread, about 700 people gathered at UCT to celebrate for four hours before police arrived to end the concert just after midnight

At about the same time, the Supreme Court had reversed the ban on the concert. By that time it was too late to allow the concert to continue the party

Out in force

The police appeared to have learned from Monday Mandela's birthday, when they banned a concert at UWC, and several hundred people were arrested in Langa

Police were out in force at Langa to continue the party

The organisers ended their activities with a conference at UWC's Senate Building. The now defunct Coloured Representative Council was also present

But the celebrations were far from over. Cape Democrats hosted a party at the University of the Western Cape, while patrons at a city night club watched the Mandela concert on London

In the end, those celebrating Mandela's birthday had to have outlasted the police with their activities

They ensured that Mandela's birthday was not unheard, unseen or uncelebrated in Cape Town



inside the church



Phumzile Ncguka



Toyi-toyi inside the church



Members of Marimba group Ntsikane at the UCT concert before it was disrupted by police

THE PARTY THE GO



Dr Allan Boesak holds up a birthday cake for Mandela



Children release balloons at Langa

By RYLAN
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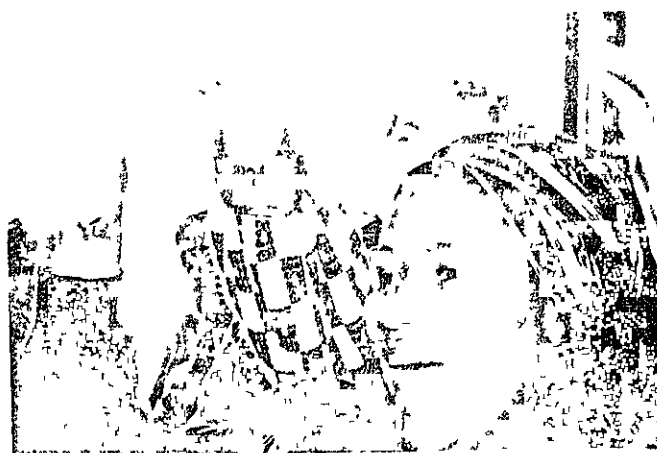
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21-27/88



LANGA CHURCH SERVICE. Outside the church



Phumzile Ncguka

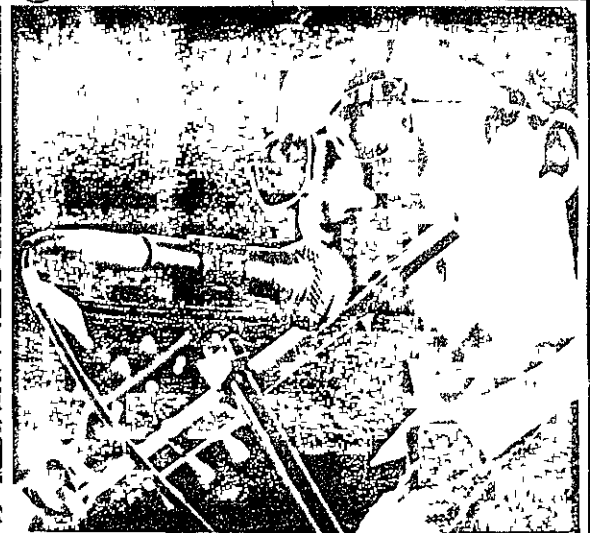
(11A) contestation



Robbie Jansen



Tina Schouw



Raakwys

GOVERNMENT STOP!

PICTURES:
NATALIE GOLDSMITH
&
RASHID LOMBARD

ISHER

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Later that day, police banned a music festival planned for
the University of the Western Cape on Sunday

Roadblocks were set up near the university and the
campus was sealed off by police the Sunday morning

But, in a bid to outwit the police, the organisers had
moved the concert to the University of Cape Town and at
the same time applied to the Supreme Court to reverse the
ban

As word spread, about 700 people filed into the Jameson
Hall at UCT to celebrate for four hours before the police
arrived to end the concert just after 3pm

At about the same time, organisers learnt that the
Supreme Court had reversed the police ban on the UWC
concert By that time it was too late to go back to UWC to
continue the party

Out in force

The police appeared to have given up the fight by
Monday, Mandela's birthday when rallies were held at UCT
and UWC and several hundred people attended a church
service in Langa

Police were out in force at Langa but allowed the service
to continue

The organisers ended their activities with a press
conference at UWC's Senate Building, which used to house
the now-defunct Coloured Representative Council

But the celebrations were far from over That night the
Cape Democrats hosted a party addressed by Eddie Daniels
who spent time on Robben Island with Mandela and
patrons at a city night club watched a video of the recent
Mandela concert in London

In the end, those celebrating Mandela's birthday appeared
to have outlasted the police with their determination

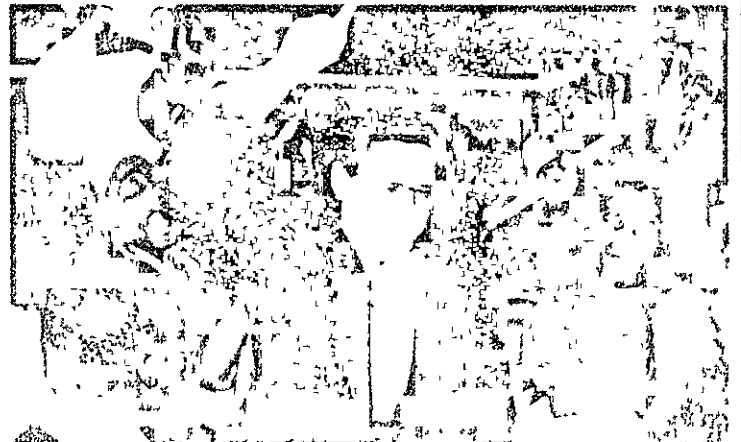
They ensured that Mandela's birthday was not in Boesak's
words "unheard unseen or uncelebrated" in the Western
Cape



Freedom runners minutes before their arrest



Toyo-toyo inside the church



Dr Allan Boesak joins in

WHAT NEXT

Mandela's last chance to get out of Pollsmoor

DOES anybody around here have contacts with McGyver? I scheme he's the last chance Mandela has of getting out of prison. I mean, what more can the world do to have Mandela freed?

We could of course hire Rambo, but ideologically, Rambo is more likely to bust a few Contra convicted of multiple rape and murder out of a Nicaraguan jail than Mandela out of Pollsmoor. In fact, Rambo's the kind of guy

who would offer his services to the South African government - for half the gross national product of course - to make sure that Mandela doesn't get out. Fortunately Mr Bimbo's probably too busy debating with Hollywood directors about how to get the Cubans out of Angola before they decide to do something silly - like leave by themselves - to worry about anything at the moment.

All these Free Mandela

concerts have certainly done wonders for raising international awareness about Mandela. Sure there were those who rocked up at the Wembley Stadium box office and asked "Cor blimey, must we pay? But we thought that this was a free Mandela concert. Do you realise that we could report you to the Bureau for False Advertising for this? By the way, when is Mandela playing?"

And then I can just hear the

conscientised, punk-hairstyled, reformed soccer hooligan with his Free Mandela T-shirt next to him saying, "Actually mate, Mandela won't be playing for a while, not unless he joins a prison band"

Even Michael Jackson supports the freeing of Mandela and he's BAD - real bad! In fact, according to his latest album, Michael Jackson is WORSE! I wonder who the South African government thinks is

worse, Michael Jackson or Jesse Jackson! Whatever, like the SA government, MJ seems to go from bad to worse, only he does it with a greater following

I think it's true to say that Mandela fever has overtaken yuppie flu as the most contagious disease at the moment and it seems to be affecting everybody, irrespective of their political persuasion. You have to be a yuppie to catch yuppie flu, but you can be anybody - from a Tutu to a Stevie Wonder to even Margaret Thatcher - and get Mandela fever.

But Mandela fever has different symptoms for different people though. If you're Sir Geoffery Howe, you'll be as boring as ever but at least a few more people will listen to you when you say that Mandela is important to the political future of SA. Then if you're Stoffel van der Merwe, you'll go into automatic drive and rehash coffee-stained statements about Mandela being a sentenced prisoner, about life imprisonment meaning life imprisonment and about the links between renouncing violence and humanitarianism, neither of which are exactly strong points of the government he serves.

If you're a group called Amampondo and you've done a few naughty things like play in Taiwan and Israel, you accept an invitation to the biggest Free Mandela concert around, shout a few "Viva Mandelas" and then hope for an international album release. If you're a political activist at a Free Mandela concert at UWC, you'll be trying to bob to the rhythms of a new group quietly wishing Basil was there. Problem is, Basil's at the Nico putting the Swan Lake ballet to moppie music. I'll say this for Bas, he'll play his song for Winnie and probably end it with a "viva Mandela" even at the Nico. But I can just hear someone in the audience say, "Darling, what does 'viva Mandela' mean?" to which his wife will respond, "I don't know dear, but wasn't that a nice tribute to Winnie the Pooh?"

I notice that Mandela fever even struck an astrologer who has a weekly column in one of the local newspapers. I don't know much about astrology but as far as this ouk is concerned, he has the unique power of telling us what we all know are the dominant white perceptions of people like Tutu and Mandela and then saying that he got it from the stars, Venus and Saturn. Well, before he wrote the astro profile on Mandela, he must have taken a trip to Mars (you can replace that with Pretoria) and he must have been heavily under the influence of Uranus (with an emphasis on the last two syllables). Mr Mandela, I suppose you can't have all the stars supporting you. Maybe the pop stars are enough.

'Afrikaners best placed to understand Charter'

THE legal system in South Africa had failed completely, advocate Zack Yacoob, counsel for the defence in the Delmas treason trial, told the Freedom Charter conference at the weekend.

The conference, at the University of Cape Town and sponsored by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa), was attended by a broad cross-section of about 450 delegates.

Advocate Yacoob, speaking in the debate on "The Freedom Charter and Equality Before the Law", said it was impossible for people to be equal before the law while one category of people had the right to vote and another category did not.

No equality

There could not be equality before the law until there was a degree of equality among people in their backgrounds and material conditions.

Referring to trials on the Internal Security Act, Yacoob said there were "many inequities" in the present legal system.

"How can a trial ever be fair if people who give evidence in the trial are people who have been under the control of the police for months beforehand?"

Section 30 of the Internal Security Act empowered the Attorney General to issue a certificate refusing bail to an accused on the grounds that bail would be prejudicial to State security.

Another cause for concern was that in-camera witnesses were becoming more frequent.

More laws

"When people's identities are not known to the general public they can say exactly what they like in court," said Yacoob.

Judges in South Africa did not make laws but were compelled to implement them. Under the State of Emergency more and more power was being taken away from



Van Zyl Slabbert

Parliament, while power was being exercised by a small number of officials who were making more and more laws.

"If the legal system in any country can allow this, then it has reached the stage where it needs to be restructured and restructured very quickly," said Yacoob.

National Democratic Movement leader Mr Wynand Malan, speaking on "The Freedom Charter and the Future - A Critical Appraisal", said only a very small percentage of those people who regarded the Charter as being a Marxist document had actually read it.

Afrikaners

"If any national group in South Africa today could understand the language of the Freedom Charter, it should be the Afrikaner," said Malan.

Afrikaner history was a parallel of what was happening at present in liberation politics.

"My appeal to all is to participate in the interpretation of the Freedom Charter - which is presently widely being done - as part of the political

process so needed in our country today," said Malan.

Professor Hermann Giliomee, of the department of political studies at the University of Cape Town, said the Freedom Charter had become a pivotal document in the South African political debate. But it should not be elevated to the status of the sole authentic statement of all the people and classes.

Too diverse

"We are too diverse a nation to be bound by one Charter," he said.

Speaking in the debate on "The Freedom Charter and the Economy", Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, general secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers, said many prophets of doom had predicted a bleak future for a post-apartheid South Africa where people would want to share but there would be nothing to share.

"It is this misconception which lies at the bottom of white fears of a democratic future based on the Charter," he said.

Workers understood that the productiveness of their labour would have to rise tremendously if enough

economic surplus was to be generated.

"There shall be no room for the idle in a South Africa based on the Freedom Charter," said Ramaphosa.

Happy marriage

Mr Bhekis Sibuya, of the Black Management Forum, said six percent of the South African population at present owned about 80 percent of the country's wealth.

South Africa did not need either capitalism or socialism but a "happy marriage" of both systems.

"From the look of things, the probable economic framework in a post-apartheid South Africa will be heavily socialistic," said Sibuya.

Mr Fanyana Mazibuko, director of Johannesburg's University Preparation Programme, said during the debate on "The Freedom Charter and Equality in Education" that the Charter implied that people would be educated enough to govern wisely.

The Charter said there would be work and security but this clause would prove meaningless in a Charter-based South Africa unless people had been trained and educated to take up the jobs promised them.

Most serious

One of the most serious problems facing education at present was that many children going to school did not have proper homes to return to afterwards.

Educationist Dr Neil McGurk said South Africa did not have the resources to provide a quality provision of education to all based on the present provision to whites.

"White education is in serious demise," he said.

Closing the conference, Idasa director Dr Frederick van Zyl Slabbert said it was important for whites to realise that they could get involved in the struggle for freedom and a new society.

"There's more going for democracy outside Parliament than there is within it," he said.

"The rules have changed and we have to adjust to that. For whites this is much more painful."

21-27/7/88

Prison's attitude to Mandela hardening

From MONO BADELA

JOHANNESBURG. — Mrs Winnie Mandela this week dismissed speculation of an early release for her husband saying government attitudes to the 70-year-old jailed ANC leader had, in fact, hardened.

Addressing a large press conference here on Monday to mark her husband's 70th birthday, she said Nelson would remain in prison at least for the "next few years".

She also announced that she would be paying a routine 40-minute visit to her husband on Saturday.

"There was no conducive climate for Mandela's release," she said.

"It does not seem to be on the cards for the next few years"

She said that if the authorities were planning to release him they would create a climate for his release

Mandela said the attitude of prison authorities had "hardened". Suddenly he was not being allowed to be with

his fellow prisoners. No explanation had been given for his being kept alone.

"They do not even allow him to have little chocolates from his grandchildren," she said.

Mandela said her husband had to apply to the authorities if he wanted to visit, say, Walter Sisulu. And if this was allowed it would be for only 40 minutes.

She confirmed that she abruptly called off her planned visit to Pollsmoor Prison scheduled for

Monday mainly because of the government's clampdown on the Concert For Peace planned to mark the celebrations.

"Yes, it became quite clear on Friday that if we could not enjoy the day with the rest of the country then it was irrelevant for us to see him for six hours behind bars."

Her husband was in "perfect health and was completely aware of all the tributes accorded him by the international community."

Winnie Mandela said her family

came to realise that Pretoria had no intention of a goodwill gesture towards the family by offering the special six-hour visit.

Wits academic Mark Swilling also feels that Mandela would not be released.

"Not now. Stoffel van der Merwe is a hardliner," he said.

"He represents the hardliners. They think they can outflank the democratic movement with a pincer move on the one hand - mass repression - and on the other upgrading the townships. Therefore there is no need for the government to negotiate or talk with Mandela."

At Winnie Mandela's feet was strewn a deluge of more than 50 000 birthday cards from wellwishers in The Netherlands. They had been brought specially from Amsterdam in 11 canvas mailbags.

Behind Mandela hung a giant yellow and red banner with the slogan "Comrade Nelson Mandela, the nation salutes you."

Die Beeld

Among the many messages received was a special one from ANC president Oliver Tambo.

Meanwhile the Government-supporting newspaper in the Transvaal, Die Beeld, this week joined the rest of the world in calling on Pretoria to release Mandela.

In a leading article, Beeld argued that it was perhaps time to estimate the cost of keeping Mandela in jail.

"In the first place, by being in jail for more than 25 years he has acquired a status larger than life," it said.

"Furthermore, the jailed Mandela is worth more to the ANC's propaganda war than a free Mandela would have been.

"The Government and South Africa suffered more from his imprisonment than Mandela and his following. The white man especially was heavily burdened by his imprisonment.

"If a 'more' suitable time for his release is awaited, we can state now that that time will never come."

Old man die

"A last question," asks Beeld. "do we really want to imprint into our history that we let an old man die in jail while there was the opportunity to negotiate with him on the aspirations of his people? That, perhaps, is the most pressing question that has to be answered."

Information Minister Dr Stoffel van der Merwe was quick to retort. In a television message, he told the country that "it is not an opportune time to release Mandela."

He added: "We will not be pushed by the outside world to do so. His release can lead to violence, it can lead to the death of innocent people. Therefore we must be pretty sure that order will remain in the country."

Mandela has been in prison for more than 25 years after being jailed for life when he was convicted of sabotage and conspiracy to overthrow the Government.

The SA Prisons Service said they were satisfied that Mr Mandela, like any other prisoner, was treated professionally and in accordance with accepted norms and standards.

500 pack Pinetown restaurant

DURBAN. — In spite of the bannings, restrictions, detentions and harassment, three "Free Mandela" concerts were held here and in Maritzburg right under the noses of the authorities.

Two were held on Sunday at Pinetown and Maritzburg after the published concert at the University of Durban-Westville (UDW) scheduled for Saturday, July 16.

The third concert was held at UDW under the auspices of the SRC on Monday night.

Although not advertised, more than 500 blacks and whites packed a restaurant in Pinetown to listen to Sakhile, the jazz group from Soweto.

Joyous mood

The manager of the restaurant, Mr Ben Pretorius, said he believed news about the event reached the people through "bush telegraph".

Mr Archie Gumede, co-president of the UDF, was among many prominent leaders who attended the lunch-time concert.

The blacks and whites were in joyous mood and they sang, danced and shouted slogans in support of Mandela and other leaders in the national democratic struggle.

The concert was brought to a close with Sakhile rendering a musical version of Nkosi Sikelel i'Afrika.

Later that evening Sakhile travelled to Maritzburg to hold a similar concert at Eddels Sports Club. Sakhile also performed to an enthusiastic crowd at the University of Durban-Westville on Monday night. — PRESS TRUST



Cutting the cake at a Mandela birthday celebration party of the Cape Democrats at Kenilworth, Cape Town, on Monday is Eddie Daniels, who spent 15 years on Robben Island with Nelson Mandela.

Police caught offside as event goes on

AT LEAST one celebration managed to escape official intervention.

The Free State Youth Congress held a cultural festival at Tumahole, outside Parys, to honour Mandela on Sunday.

This was in spite of the clampdown on all events including sports features, festivals and house parties scheduled to mark the occasion.

The event at Tumahole Stadium attracted about 20 000 people. The police were caught offside and there was no interference.

Two other celebrations scheduled for the weekend, in QwaQwa and Manguang in Bloemfontein, were banned.

A "mysterious" veld fire raged through the property of foreign TV journalist Roger Harris in Honeydew on Sunday night.

His smallholding was to have been the venue for a soccer match on Saturday afternoon between a Mandela XI and the Delmas Dazzlers, an invitation team of treason trialists, two days before the Mandela birthday.

Both the match and the tea party arranged for after the match were banned by the authorities.

Games switched after banning

SPORTS games in honour of Nelson Mandela's 70th birthday got underway in Guguletu at the weekend after a four hours' delay.

The games, originally scheduled to take place at the stadium in NY 49, were switched to a sportsground in NY 116.

This was after security forces barred people from entering the stadium. Thousands, including people from Mossel Bay, George

and Beaufort West, were turned away.

At the alternative venue, an enthusiastic crowd of about 350 watched the Oscar Mpetha XI beaten 3-1 by Real Tembisa in an keenly-contested soccer match.

More than 700 people this week attended a multi-denominational church service at Langa.

The service, at the St Francis Adult Centre, was marked by

freedom songs, political slogans, poetry, and a statement, signed by 150 clergymen, calling for Mandela's immediate release.

Youths pasted Mandela posters on the wall before the service began.

Later, the crowd burst into applause when singing members of the United Womens' Congress brought in a cake with green, gold and black colours. It was

decorated with the words: "Happy Birthday 70".

Dr Allan Boesak lit a candle next to the cake and some began toyi-toying as they followed Dr Boesak holding the cake shoulder-high.

Messages of support were read from ANC president Oliver Tambo and Jesse Jackson. A 15-minute video of Mandela's life was shown.

The 5 who're still inside

temper, yet he always wore a smile for those he lived with. His main interest was the section's garden, whose charge he took over from Mandela. Water for the garden of flowers and vegetables was a scarce commodity. He secured rain-water for his garden by placing drums under each gutter.

Motsoaledi, a Marxist through and through, was uncompromising in his beliefs. He had revolutionary theory at his fingertips and readily made himself available to anybody seeking his tuition on subjects like Lenin's "Strategy and Tactics".

Trained in the handling of explosives, I found him the coldest on the question of violence as a method for the elimination of oppression.

He often made jocular reference to the Biblical phrase, "Blessed are the poor for theirs is the kingdom of heaven". Motsoaledi did not read extensively but was knowledgeable on most subjects.

Grey-haired Raymond "Ndobe" Mhlaba, the

●From Centre Pages

man closest to Mandela, was a listed communist who went to church on Sundays. I am not sure whether he went to church out of religious conviction or for a break in the prison routine.

Mhlaba probably paced the courtyard with Mandela more often than any of the inmates in B-section. As is common with Marxists, his favourite subject was political economy.

Political classes were compulsory among inmates in the Freedom Charter camp. He had made a generous contribution in his subject to inmates seeking his knowledge. Although I was tutored in political economy by a former MK fighter who has since been released from prison, Laloo Chuba, Ndobe (his clan name) assisted me on an informal basis on the subject.

His interest in the subject was evidenced by the type of books he kept in his cell. Most of the literature was on economics, finance, commerce and mercantile law.

Still marching

four hours later

21-2717
South
11A

From MOIRALEVY

LONDON - By the time the tail end of the Free Mandela march had passed the gates to Hyde Park the freedom rally was just about over.

That was at 4.40 pm on Sunday, our and a half hours after the Freedom at 70" march began. Key speaker Archbishop Desmond Tutu had already finished his speech.

The last of the marchers arrived to the chant of "Free Nelson Mandela Now".

"One more time," cried Tutu. "Shout it so loud that 10 Downing Street (home of British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher) will

hear, that Pretoria will hear, that the people in Pollsmoor will hear."

And the giant rally yelled their support — close on a quarter of a million people, stretched across the park as far as the eye could see.

Organisers said it was the biggest rally London had ever seen. A giant video screen relayed the scene on the stage; Jonas Ganga, nominated for an Oscar for his Cry Freedom soundtrack, opened the rally.

Actors John Marshkiza, who appeared in Cry Freedom and Josette Simon produced a 30-minute dramatic representation of readings from Nelson and Winnie Mandela.

A video message from Winnie Mandela was shown, with thanks

from the Mandela family and a hearty congratulation to the organisers.

Simple Minds and the anti-apartheid anthem "We Ain't Gonna Play Sun City" had them waving their support.

"Clap your hands in the air Nelson Mandela," yelled lead singer Jim Kerr.

Three hours later Jerry Dammers of Artists Against Apartheid and South African-born musician Ndondo Khuze closed the rally with a powerful version of their hit "Free Nelson Mandela". The crowd sang along.

And then they stood in silence, fists in the air, for the ANC choir's closing with the national anthem

The day was a suitable grand finale for the six-week "Nelson Mandela: Freedom By 70 Campaign".

It marked the last leg of the 960-km march from Glasgow to London. The 25 Freedom Riders - cyclists who rode from Lands End at the furthest point of England to join the march.

The held high their banners, their photos of Ismail Ebrahim, the ANC leader kidnapped from Swaziland and presently being tried, their black, green and gold balloons, their pamphlets and newspapers denouncing the Botha-Thatcher alliance, demanding the release of Mandela and calling for the reprieve of the Sharpeville Six.

Organisers had not widely advertised the march; they were worried there would be so many people it would take too long to get to the rally at Hyde Park.

At the rally speaker included Andimba Toivo ja Toivo, Secretary General of Swapo, Mandy Msimang, the ANC's chief representative in the United Kingdom and Ireland, Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, president to the Anti-Apartheid Movement and Sir Richard Attenborough, producer of Cry Freedom.

Msimang read out a message of congratulations that had been smuggled from Robben Island sending "fraternal greetings from all in here to all out there".

Prison curbs on Mandela

21-277
11A
South

JOHANNESBURG. — The prison conditions of Nelson Mandela have been toughened, his wife Winnie claimed this week.

Mrs Mandela also dismissed speculation of an early release for her husband.

Addressing a press conference on her husband's 70th birthday, she said the attitude of prison authorities had "hardened".

He was not being allowed to be with his fellow prisoners. No explanation had been given for his being kept in isolation.

Ismail Ayob, Mandela's lawyer since 1972, confirmed that he had not been allowed to consult his client directly.

The last time he was allowed to see Mandela was in March this year on a "family visit" when he was accompanied by Mrs Mandela.

Accepted

The prison authorities, approached for comment, said Mandela was treated in accordance with accepted norms and practices.

- Police on Wednesday ordered the seizure of a publication of Learn and Teach which contained the full text of Mandela's famous Rivonia trial speech.

• Story — Page 11



Volun

Birthday crash. A motorist on Cape Town's Settlers Way got a Mandela birthday shock this week when another vehicle crashed into the rear of her vehicle after she had slowed down to take a closer look at a banner draped from an overhead bridge.

Old friends allowed to (11A) see Mandela

This Saturday Nelson Mandela will have a rare visit from two people who shared closely in the struggle waged by the Congress Alliance in the 1950s — Mr Yusuf Cachalia and his wife, Amina, of Johannesburg.

Mrs Cachalia said permission for the visit had come "like a bolt from the blue".

Over a period of 15 years the Cachalias had made periodic applications to see Mr Mandela.

"The last application I made was about two years ago. Then I got a call from Pollsmoor Prison (in Cape Town) about a month ago to say that I and my husband should apply again to see Nelson."

The result of this will be a 40-minute visit on Saturday.

SK 2117188

Broke, but a

bio

ESKO
SHOU
BACO

22/7/88

2 Cape Times, Friday

Visitors (110) allowed to see Mandela

A JOHANNESBURG couple, Mr. and Mrs Yusuf and Amina Cachalia, will see their long-time friend and political ally Mr. Nelson Mandela tomorrow for the first time in 26 years when they visit him in Pollsmoor Prison.

The Cachalias yesterday confirmed that they had been granted permission to visit Mr Mandela.

Mr Cachalia, 74, said Mr Mandela had been his close friend and ally for many years and he had applied many times in the past 26 years to visit him in prison but permission had always been refused.

He had however been able to write to Mr Mandela and they had kept up their correspondence.

He had been secretary of the South African Indian Congress, was one of five people who produced the Defiance Campaign plan and served on the national action committee of the ANC and SAIC.

His wife, Mrs Amina Cachalia, 58, said she had known Mr Mandela since 1949 and they had enjoyed a "good and warm friendship".

Mrs Winnie Mandela will also visit her husband tomorrow for the officially allowed 40 minutes after turning down a government concession offering a six-hour birthday meeting on July 18.

Mr Ismael Ayob, the Mandela family's lawyer, said he was unsure if Mrs Mandela and the Cachalias would see Mr Mandela together as he had made arrangements only for the Mandela family.

We'll keep at it, vows Sacos acting president

By JEREMY DOWSON
Staff Reporter

AS long as the Government continues to play ball with apartheid, the South African Council on Sport (Sacos) will keep up its campaign for mixed sport at all levels.

This pledge was made by the organisation's acting president, Mr Yusuf "Joe" Ebrahim, whose involvement with Sacos — which now claims to represent about 1.5-million sports enthusiasts — stretches back more than a decade.

The president of the WP Tennis Union and chairman of the WP Table Tennis Union, Mr Ebrahim was elected to Sacos's 10-person national executive in March 1983.

As vice-president he will head the executive until early next year, when a replacement for former president Mr Frank van der Horst is to be elected.

Asked how he viewed his role as acting head of Sacos, Mr Ebrahim said: "One individual cannot

decide on policy."

This was debated at the organisation's bi-annual general meetings, attended by up to 90 delegates from all over the country.

His task as a member of the executive was simply to promote non-racial sport in every way possible — "a crucially important task in view of the fact that the Government continues to be an active campaigner for racial sport".

Mr Ebrahim was reluctant to comment on the disagreements within the executive which culminated in Mr van der Horst's recent resignation.

"Mr van der Horst offered his resignation at a closed meeting. I would be breaking the confidence of the executive if I divulged details."

However, Press reports as long ago as four years refer to what one sports writer labelled a "simmering feud" between the president and vice-president.

Differences between the two — and their respective supporters — apparently came to a head

at a Sacos meeting in Kimberley in 1984, leading to calls for their resignation. After a closed meeting of the executive, a statement was issued declaring that the two had decided to continue working together "in the interests of unity".

On future goals for Sacos, Mr Ebrahim said the organisation would continue to encourage non-racial sport at school level and hoped to be able to find ways of working with the newly-launched National Sports Congress.



Mr Ebrahim

The emergence of the NSC, with its strong township base, led to media speculation that a split in the ranks of Sacos was imminent — a prediction hotly contested by Sacos officials.



Analysis of ANC, PAC attacks in last 8 years

Acts of indiscriminate terror take first place

By Esmaré van der Merwe,
Political Reporter

The number of terror acts committed in South Africa in the first six months of 1988 has decreased by 22 percent compared with the same period in 1987, and by 29 percent compared with 1986, according to the International Freedom Foundation.

However, incidents of indiscriminate terror aimed at murdering civilians have increased dramatically as a percentage of the total number of incidents.

Mr Wim Boooyse, a senior researcher at the IFF's South African branch, published a research report this week in which the types of terror committed in South Africa by the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) were analysed.

His analysis covered the period from 1980 to 1988 with terror incidents up to June this year included.

For the whole period, the number of incidents had increased by 254 percent, totalling 900 acts of terror.

About 75 percent of incidents occurred in urban areas, of which

40 percent were aimed at the PWV.

In the period from 1980 to 1984, explosives were the most common device used (108 incidents), followed by limpet mines (50) and attack weapons such as AK-47 rifles (24). Since 1985, the most common devices used were hand grenades (239 times), limpet mines (178) and attack weapons (117).

Categorised according to the "form of struggle", Mr Boooyse found that assassinations totalled 33,5 percent of the incidents since 1980.

Indiscriminate terror

This was followed by indiscriminate terror aimed at civilians (30 percent), sabotage (25 percent), guerilla warfare (10 percent) and armed robbery (0,8 percent).

Mr Boooyse concluded that this analysis indicated that ANC and PAC actions in South Africa were "a carbon copy" of Lenin's definition of a people's war.

"Lenin stated that terrorism is a bloody war of extermination which includes the assassination of individuals in the police and army."

An analysis of terror acts in 1987 showed that indiscriminate terror took first place (39 percent of the incidents). This was followed by assassinations and attempted assassinations (37,5 percent) and guerilla warfare (14 percent).

This year, 49 percent of the total number of incidents were acts of indiscriminate terror, followed by assassinations (30 percent) and sabotage attacks (13 percent).

The majority of assassination attacks were aimed at black community leaders, black town council police, black policemen and tribal leaders, Mr Boooyse said.

Incidents of indiscriminate terror — those incidents which did not comply with his criteria of sabotage, armed robbery, assassinations or guerilla warfare — had taken a turn for the worse since 1987.

Mr Boooyse concluded that the debate over hard and soft targets was irrelevant in the South African situation.

"One has merely to analyse the situation and determine the so-called forms of the struggle to conclude that both the ANC and PAC are organisations geared towards terrorism," he said.

22-28/7/88

Seized: Mandela speech, 14 300 times over

W/ Mail By MZIMKULU MALUNGA

POLICE photocopied an invoice book with the names and addresses of people who bought a booklet of Nelson Mandela's speech made from the dock during the Rivonia trial.

The booklet, *The Historic Speech of Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela at the Rivonia Trial*, was published by Learn and Teach Publications to commemorate Mandela's 70th birthday.

On Wednesday afternoon a squad of uniformed and plain-clothed police raided the Learn and Teach offices and seized more than 14 300 copies of the booklet.

They also confiscated the three remaining copies at Exclusive Books, according to an employee at the bookshop. "And they wanted the description of the person who bought the other copies yesterday, and the photographer who was with him," she said.

Learn and Teach legal representative Kathy Satchwell said the seizure will be challenged in the supreme court next week.

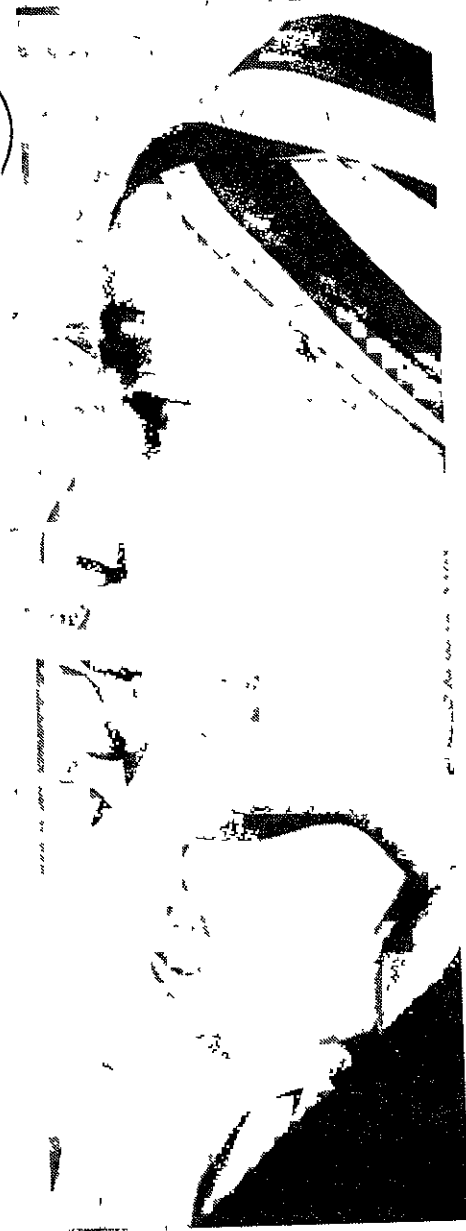
During the search, police copied the invoice book and took the names and addresses of people in the office while a police woman took photographs.

An employee of an insecticide company, there to spray the premises, was refused permission to leave the Learn and Teach offices until the search was over. His name and address was also taken down.

The order for the seizure of the booklet was issued by the South African Police's Witwatersrand Divisional Commissioner, Brigadier Enerst Stephen Schnetler. The warrant was handed to Learn and Teach by Captain SP Miller.

"As far as we are concerned, the speech Mandela delivered at Rivonia trial (on April 20 1964), is a court document which is available for public scrutiny. The seizure of the booklets belies the government's claim that it respects the independence of judiciary in this country," said a representative of the magazine.

A statement from police public relations division in Pretoria said, "The Witwatersrand Divisional Commissioner of the South African Police has ordered in terms of Regulation 9 (2) of the media Emergency regulations that all the copies of a publication headed *The Historic Speech of Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela at the Rivonia Trial*, issued by Learn and Teach, in his division be seized. Apparently the publication would have been distributed free of charge to a variety of people and organisations."



Winnie Mandela ... Pensive

Azasm talks

THE Central and Southern Transvaal regions of the Azanian Students Movement will hold a seminar at Medunsa in Garankuwa tomorrow.

Sowetan 22/7/88
According to the publicity secretary of Azasm, Mr Holly Kekana, among the issues to be discussed will be the plight of black students. He said the theme for the seminar was: "Build and defend socialism; which was adopted at the organisation's fourth annual congress in Cape Town last year."

Soweto 22/7/84

UK headlines

LONDON — The British Press has given prominent coverage to this week's call by the Johannesburg *Beeld* newspaper for the release of Nelson Mandela and the South African Government's response.

Under the headline "Plea for Mandela release by Botha paper", *The Times* said it had been an unprecedented appeal by a government-

newspaper (11A)
"The *Beeld* article was the most outspoken appeal for the unconditional release of Mandela ever to have been uttered from within the ranks of the Afrikaner establishment," wrote *Times* correspondent, Michael Hornsby in a report from Johannesburg

The *Guardian* headlined its report "Afrikaner paper says free Mandela"
Supporting Afrikaners

111A

MAMELODI activist Stanza Bopape, who disappeared while in police custody more than a month ago, is the third person in the township believed to have gone missing mysteriously in the past year.

Two others, funeral undertaker Andrew Makope and businessman Harold Sefolo, disappeared in July last year, after unknown men drove them to an unknown destination.

A fourth Mamelodi man, Peter Maluleke, was allegedly taken by three men early in June on the pretext that they wanted him to take measurements for ceiling fittings, the business in which he is engaged. When he did not return an alarm was raised, according to his family, he is being held under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act. As chairman of the Mamelodi Civic Association, Maluleke is a colleague of Bopape.

Bopape, general secretary of the Mamelodi Civic and an employee of Community Resource and Information Centre (Cric), was detained on June 10 this year and held under Sec-

A third man vanishes in a town of mysteries

tion 29. Police delayed the announcement of his escape two days after his detention until last week because, they said, it would have been detrimental to their investigations into the activities of African National Congress guerrillas.

According to police, Bopape escaped from police custody while being transported to Vereeniging; a puncture in a police car tyre halted the convoy and Bopape escaped while the car was stationary.

Both Bopape's family and his employers have expressed fears for his safety. Yesterday his father and a lawyer went to John Vorster Square to ask security police for further information about Bopape's disappearance.

An activist said to have escaped from custody, is the third man to vanish mysteriously in Mamelodi.
By VUSI GUNENE

According to Bopape's father, police said they would only consider written queries — so the lawyer was drafting questions.

"There are many questions about the alleged escape and his family and colleagues fear for his life," Cric said last week in a statement.

Bheki Nkosi, who was detained with Bopape, was released last week.

Bopape, a former law student at the University of the North, has been ac-



Missing ... Stanza Bopape

tive in the Mamelodi Youth Organisation and the Southern Transvaal Youth Congress, an affiliate of the restricted South African Youth Congress.

He was an Emergency detainee in 1986. He was accused of producing Communist Party flags that were

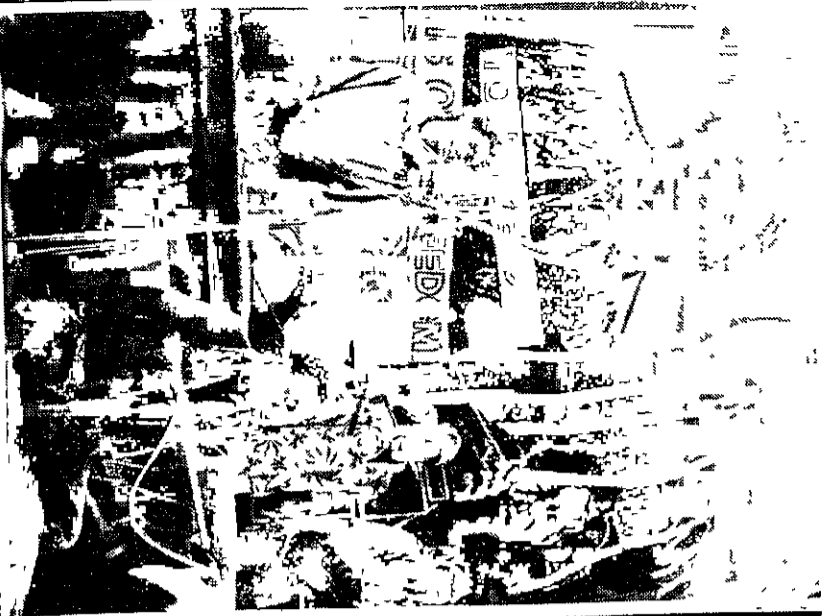
hoisted at a mass funeral in Uitenhage in 1985 and charged with furthering the aims of the ANC and the South African Communist Party. Charges were withdrawn.

Makope, who disappeared on July 15 a year ago, was stopped on the road by a blue kombi with tinted windows, according to his family whose occupants demanded Makope get into the van. They said his friend was driven some distance in Makope's car, then dumped in the veld and told not to report the incident, lest she "go the same way".

Several efforts by Makope's family to trace him at hospitals and mortuaries were unsuccessful.

According to a member of the family, police investigations into his disappearance have been completed, they received a letter to that effect recently from the police.

The South African Police have appealed to "anyone who may have any information as to the present whereabouts of Mr Bopape to contact their nearest police station".



Some people did manage to celebrate: LEFT: the hand Mtsikane plays at the University of Cape Town. CENTRE: Eleven mailbags with birthday cards arrived at the Mandela residence in Soweto. RIGHT: Balloons for peace at a church service in Langa

IT was a typical Monday morning rush-hour on Cape Town's N2 freeway — except that strung across a bridge was an enormous banner proclaiming "Happy Birthday Nelson Mandela Your Freedom is our Freedom"

A minibus packed with commuters jammed on its brakes. Everyone climbed out, saluted the banner with clenched fists and *Amandla*, got back in again and drove off.

As anti-apartheid campaigners had forecast, people celebrated Mandela's birthday somehow, whatever the state's efforts to thwart them.

On Saturday eight runners wearing "Mandela Freedom at 70" T-shirts were arrested at police roadblocks in Cape Town and later released without charge. Their relay race was scheduled to end at a Gugulethu sports stadium, where an all-day "Mandela sports festival" had been planned. Police sealed off the stadium and told spectators to leave. After a change of venue, the festival went ahead without further hitches.

That afternoon, while hundreds of people were watching a video of the Wembley Stadium Mandela Concert, a contingent of police arrived at the University of the Western Cape. They were armed with a banning order, handed to one of the organisers by Major Dolf Odendaal.

"This meeting is banned," he said.

After reading the order, the organiser politely pointed out that Odendaal was a day early. The banning order prohibited an indoor cultural festival planned for UWC on Sunday. The policemen left. The video was screened.

Lawyers acting for the Mandela Birthday Committee (MBC) quickly drew up an urgent application for a Supreme Court interdict setting the ban aside.

'This meeting is banned', said the major, handing over the order. 'Wrong day', said the organisers. The order said Sunday, and today was Saturday. The police left ...

By GAYE DAVIS

The application was heard on Sunday afternoon. Divisional commissioner of police in Western Cape, Brigadier Roy Durrig, opposed it on grounds that police had information "black youths" would attack state vehicles and buses.

He had no reason to believe black youths wouldn't attend the concert: therefore it was "more than probable" that stone-throwing would occur.

Advocate Les Rose-Innes, for the MBC, described this reasoning as a "jump of absurd illogicality".

Judge CT Howe set the ban aside and awarded costs to the MBC, reserving his reasons for the judgment so the organisers could make use of the remaining daylight hours.

At the University of Cape Town, about 700 people had gathered for an impromptu indoor concert. But while legal battle was still being waged, police moved in to stop it, a helicopter hovering overhead.

REVENGE



From London with love

A MESSAGE of support for the Nelson Mandela "Freedom at 70" campaign was smuggled out of Robben Island and broadcast at last week's rally in London's Hyde Park.

It read: "Fraternal greetings from all of us in here to all of you out there," and the crowd loved it. Close on a quarter of a million people roared their approval.

Organisers said the tribute, held in bitter weather, was the biggest anti-apartheid demonstration London has ever seen. Speakers repeatedly called for a change in the Thatcher government's policy on South Africa.

Anti-Apartheid Movement organisers say the campaign attracted thousands of new members.

Young well-wisher at Hyde Park

Picture. INGRID GAVSHON

Given 15 minutes to disperse, those present sang *Nkosi Sikelel' i Afrika* before filing out of the hall and releasing dozens of green, black and gold balloons.

They were the first of many such balloons to be flown in the Western Cape. But when Athlone High School pupils let theirs off on Monday, police declared the action to be "unrest".

The same happened at Spes Bona High School — prompting *Cape Times* cartoonist Tony Grosang *Nkosi Sikelel' i Afrika* before filing out of the hall and releasing dozens of green, black and gold balloons.

On Monday evening, Cape Democrats celebrated in a Kenilworth home. The organisers had earlier received anonymous telephone calls warning that if the party went ahead, there would be trouble. It did, and there was.

Several (unnumbered) kilograms of boerewors and a consignment of wine arrived at the house. Just before the party began, the bemused hosts were confronted by a stream of estate agents under the mistaken impression the house was for sale.

What made Cape Town's weekend conference on the Freedom Charter different was that most delegates were white, and few had seriously examined the document before
GAYE DAVIS reports

ARMED procrastination will buy time but not the future, the 450 delegates at the Freedom Charter conference were told

The conference, convened by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa, in Cape Town at the weekend, attracted mainly whites drawn from a range of professions and business. Most of the delegates had never properly examined the charter before

Over two days, they heard leading trade unionists, legal professionals, educationists, religious and community leaders offer a critical appraisal of the document endorsed by 3 000 people at the 1955 Congress of the People in Kliptown and supported by millions more

During debate after each of the sessions, white fears and concerns manifested in questions on redistribution of land, nationalisation of industry, the armed struggle and religious freedom

They were worried standards of living and education would drop they were told by black participants the standards they enjoyed were much too high — but that their lowering would be a by-product, rather than a goal of the charter's implementation

"We're here about taking a risk for something better," said the Rev Canon Mcebisi Xundu, who was a delegate at the Kliptown congress "Let us be partners towards a joyful, peaceful future. You're gabbling like goats bound for slaughter. The baby's risk of dying at birth is as high as that of the mother, yet still we breed. Nobody can reveal the future. Why do we not take the risk together?"

There was much to encourage white delegates to take that risk. All the speakers stressed the open-ended nature of the charter. Rather than a constitutional blueprint, it was a set of guidelines which — unlike the present system — enjoyed mass support and legitimacy and set the basis for a bill of rights, in the words of University of Cape Town law professor Dennis Davis

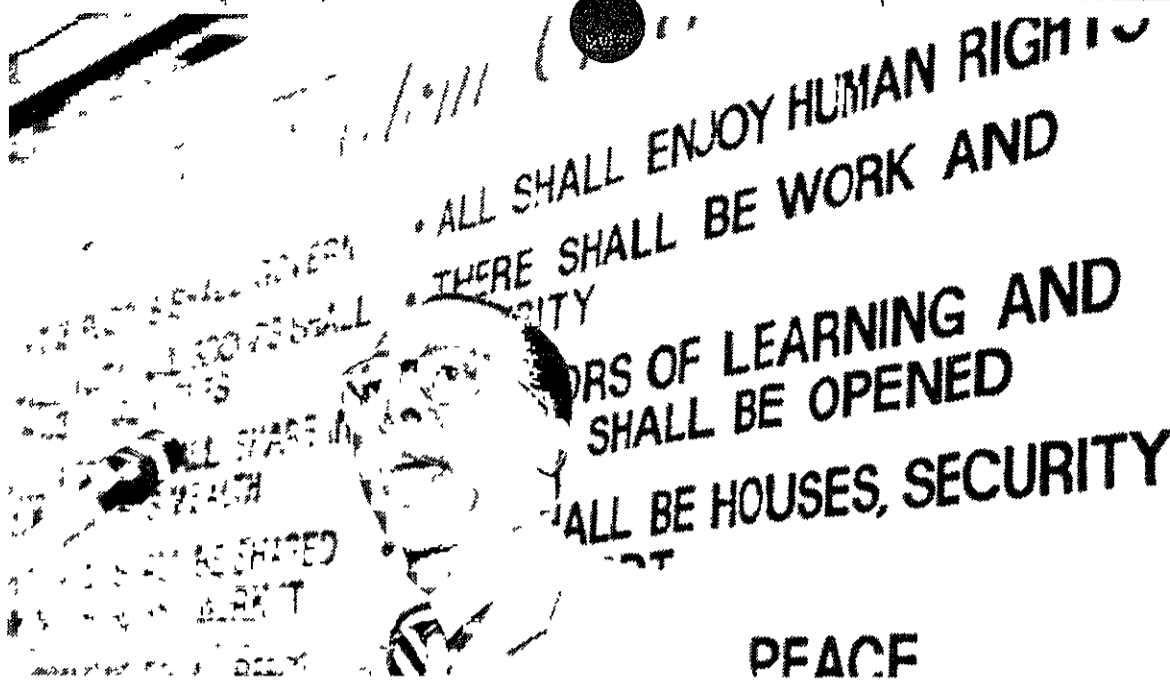
Dr Nthato Motlana, of the Soweto Civic Association, said the African National Congress was closely re-examining the charter he did not doubt that, had it not been banned five years after its adoption, many amendments would have been made.

Professor Hermann Gilmore, of the University of Cape Town's department of political studies, said while criticism of the charter should not be swept aside it often missed an important point the charter was a stepping stone for a peaceful future

Although "idealistic and perhaps impractical in parts" it reflected an existential cry of anguish of black people under apartheid before there could be peace, whites had to get some sense of this anguish.

The charter was also a powerful symbol of a united and free South Africa where all people treated each other with dignity and respect.

"If whites deride the charter, they humiliate that dream. And if whites and blacks scorn each others' hopes and dreams there is no way out of



Rev Canon Mcebisi Xundu: 'we're here about taking a risk for something better'

Picture: ERIC MILLER, Afrapix

'Sure, the future's a risk,' said a speaker. 'Let's risk it together'



Musing on the future: a delegate at the conference

Picture: ERIC MILLER, Afrapix

our mutual nightmare," Gilmore said.

The charter's power, said National Union of Mineworkers' general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa, lay in its ability to correct the anomalies of South African society — and rescue a "chaotic" economy from the brink of the abyss to which "apartheid's high priests" had pushed it

Attaining the Freedom Charter would "unleash immense productive forces presently fettered by apartheid", Ramaphosa said

White fears of a democratic future based on the charter were founded in the myth that expropriation would be the order of the day. But the ANC and South African Communist Party were "pragmatic". nationalisation would not proceed blindly.

"First, the people must govern," Ramaphosa said. At the same time, he warned, there would be "no room for the idle" in a South Africa under the Freedom Charter

Those delegates reluctant to have their "sweet life" soured were forced

to face their alternatives clinging to white minority rule in the face of growing black demands

Wits University political scientist Mark Swilling put it succinctly "Armed procrastination might buy us time, but it's not going to buy us the future" The issue was not whether the country could afford to nationalise industry but whether the present economic structure could remain intact

He was echoed by Bhekis Sibiyi a director of the Black Management Forum "The more the capitalists refuse to respond to the call to solve its social cost, the more they will drive people who believe in socialism to extremes" From the look of things, the probable economic framework in a post-apartheid South Africa will be heavily socialistic

Outright rejection of the charter was as dangerous as setting it up as a shibboleth, said National Democratic Movement leader Wynand Malan Uging people to have an influence "on the how of its happening as well as the how of its embodiment", he said if anyone could understand what the charter was saying it should be the Afrikaner When the charter was drafted, even Afrikaners were calling themselves socialists and espousing the nationalisation of the mines and big business

Theologian Dr Johann Kinghorn, of Stellenbosch University, explained Afrikaner views of the charter as anti-Christian and Marxist in terms of the nature of Christian Nationalism — "a religious-flavoured doctrine of division and isolationism"

The charter explicitly granted religious freedom, he said But because it espoused integration, it automatically became anti-Christian in the eyes of Christian Nationalists, for whom refuge from a hostile world had to be sought in "one's own" and for whom God had to be "on their side"

People should be wary of becoming trapped in this way of thinking by creating an anti-Christian Nationalism ideology in which God supported the other side, Kinghorn warned

It was clear from the debates that extreme ends of the political spectrum were not represented In his closing

address, Idasa director Frederik van Zyl Slabbert lamented there had been no hard-line capitalist or socialist views bolstering discussion of a post-apartheid economy — a debate which never got off the ground.

He left delegates with a word of caution they shouldn't be lulled into a false sense of complacency by the "warm feeling" they got from discussions "in a little haven like this"

Outside was a brutal reality whites in particular should get out there and engage

"The debate about a future democracy can only take place among the majority of the people," he said

Time to turn the courts around

SOUTH AFRICA'S legal system needs immediate restructuring if it is to survive at all, according to advocate Zac Yacoob.

Yacoob, defence counsel in the Delmas treason trial, was addressing the question of equality before the law at the Idasa conference.

He said the charter clearly addressed people's problems with the legal system at the time it was drafted. Since then, the situation has worsened.

Many more people were being detained and restricted without trial.

People being tried were saying — in his view with justification — that they could not be held responsible for crimes committed in terms of laws passed by an illegitimate government and in whose making they had no say

Apart from inherent inequities within the legal system, the jurisdiction of the courts was increasingly being eroded.

It could be argued that the courts still safeguarded the liberty of the individual threatened by State of Emergency regulations — but "we are in this ironic situation where the courts, in trying to protect human rights, actually act as advisers to the legislature and police in terms of how the law should be tightened up"

Increasingly, power was being exercised — and expressed in law — by an ever-smaller number of people, while more and more power was being taken away from parliament.

"If the legal system in this country can allow this, then it must be that it has reached the stage where it needs to be re-structured — and very quickly — otherwise we will soon reach the stage where we have no legal system at all," Yacoob said



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Salary R1400 pm

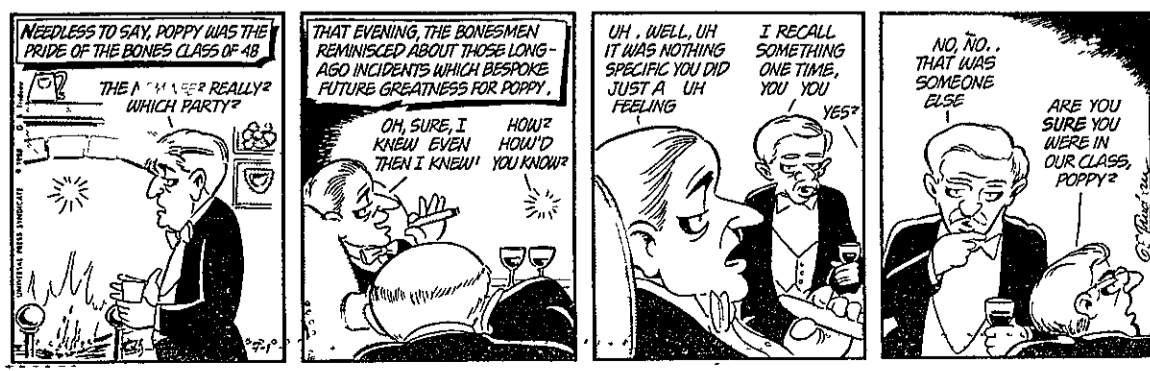
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Doonesbury

BY GARRY TRUDEAU



Advertisement



POLITIKEN

Copenhagen, 18th July 1988

On behalf of 22,663 readers of the Danish newspaper Politiken, who have signed a petition for the release of Nelson Mandela, we hereby appeal to President Pieter Botha to do so and to initiate constructive negotiations with the black majority of South Africa.

Agner Ahm

Jorgen Grunnet

Herbert Pundik

(Editors-in-Chief)

Jacob Mollerup

(Chairman, Journalists' Committee)

Shortfall of debate

The Freedom Charter is a major landmark in SA's political history. Since its adoption at the Congress of the People in Kliptown on June 26 1955, it has been a touchstone of faith on the Left. It has also been prominent in the demonology of the Right. Following a long period of relative neglect, it has enjoyed renewed attention in recent years.

This was borne out by the attendance of more than 450 delegates at a two-day confer-

SM (11A)

22/7/88

ence in Cape Town last week to discuss the charter. The event was organised by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for SA (Idasa).

Different sessions dealt with the charter in relation to the economy, education, law, religion and so on. No one appeared to doubt the importance of the charter — a failing of a nonetheless important event.

Hermann Giliomee, conceding many of the charter's limitations, offered perhaps the reason for attaching importance to it. He described it as reflecting "the existential anguish of blacks under apartheid and their prayer for a humane future." To ignore this, and attempt any settlement which does not attend to the needs and aspirations voiced in the charter, would, in the words of delegate Mcebisi Xundu, be to "treat with contempt the views of the oppressed."

Giliomee's main point stems from the words of a black American professor speaking in the South at the time of the civil rights movement: "The future would now be different if there could be just one gesture of graciousness from the white man." No such gesture was forthcoming and a decade of trauma followed. The point Giliomee was making is that white South Africans must take the charter seriously, even if only as an act of reconciliation.

There were few "fundamentalists" — people who think the document is some sort of actual blueprint — at the conference. As



Giliomee ... take charter seriously

Idasa executive director Alex Boraine noted at the outset: "To be inspiring and informing does not mean to be enslaving." Rather, as Ntatho Motlana put it, it should be seen as "setting out guidelines to enable us to focus on some fundamental issues."

But the conference was fuzzy and unsatisfactory on the key issue of the economy. Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert acknowledged as much when he said he would have liked to have seen a free-marketeer slugging it out with a social democrat on this issue. Leon

Louw, of the Free Market Foundation, and Standard Bank's Conrad Strauss, both in the audience, probably agreed. Instead, there was an essentially like-minded panel, including union leader Cyril Ramaphosa and political scientist Mark Swilling, speaking to an essentially like-minded audience.

Despite Merle Lipton's efforts, most delegates and panel members seemed incapable of separating capitalism and apartheid. The State and "big business" were considered to be at least symbiotic, if not synonymous. Ramaphosa received a lot of applause for saying that he didn't believe people had to compete for jobs to increase productivity. He also looked forward to an economic system without competition.

Discussion never really got beyond the romantic notion that a redistribution of money from the Angolan border war to housing was a good thing. Of privatisation, deregulation and productivity, little was heard. Perhaps in the near future, Idasa should ask someone like Ronnie Bethlehem to give a teach-in on just what "economics in a revolutionary society" is all about.

The activist ranks are long on idealism and woefully short on economic basics, business has a great deal of work ahead to convince blacks that some form of free enterprise capitalism is the only viable economic solution, not least because it might well ease the transition to a satisfactory political solution.

11A
W/6 ARGS 23/7/88

NEWS

Pope speaks out on Mandela and SA

LORENZAGO (Italy) — Pope John Paul II yesterday praised jailed African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela and said that he had suffered much for the rights of his people

The Pontiff said also he would like to visit South Africa some day, but that he would not stop there during his September 10 to 20 tour of Southern Africa

The Pope, talking to reporters at the end of a 10-day holiday in the Dolomite Alps, said the Roman Catholic bishops of South Africa did not believe the time was ripe for such a visit

However, he added that he hoped "perhaps, one day" he could also visit South Africa

In September the Pope is scheduled to visit Botswana, Mozambique, Lesotho, Zimbabwe and Swaziland

He was scheduled to fly back to Rome and go immediately to his summer vacation palace in Castel Gandolfo in the Alban Hills, south of the capital

He was expected to stay there through August, returning to the Vatican for his weekly audiences

Pope John Paul hoped that the Gulf war would end soon and spoke pensively as he expressed admiration for Mr Mandela, serving a life sentence in prison for plotting to overthrow white rule

The Pope said "He is a man who suffers so much for the rights of his people. He suffers and, with this suffering, he offers a testimony to his people, even to the South African Government, and to the entire world

"This testimony, naturally, has a high price, which rouses appreciation from all who are concerned about the rights of man, about problems of race"

The Pope added "All men are equal, regardless of their race. In this way, one can see the greatness of the testimony of this (Mandela's) personality. These days I have thought of him in a special way"

At the advice of South Africa's Roman Catholic bishops, the Pope is omitting South Africa from his September trip
— Sapa-Reuter-AP

■ See page 15.

ANC loses out on Angola agreement

11A- (circled) (circled) (circled) Stev 23/7/88

THE African National Congress would be the big loser if the set of principles agreed by South Africa, Angola and Cuba was ever translated into practical agreements, experts said this week.

The ANC would not only lose its training camps in Angola but an independent Namibia would not be allowed to shelter the ANC, they said.

In exchange South Africa will have to stop supporting the Angolan rebel movement, Unita, and agree to an independent Namibia.

Article E of the set of principles announced this week says that signatories acknowledge the principle of "non-interference in the internal affairs of states", while article G says the signatories accept "the responsibility of states not to allow their territory to be used for acts of war, aggression, or vio-

JOAO SANTA RITA
Africa News Service

lence against other states".

Professor John Barratt, of the South African Institute of International Affairs, said there could be no doubt that the wording of this article was remarkably similar to that of the Nkomati Accord.

Under the Nkomati Accord, Mozambique expelled ANC members and closed their bases in Mozambique in exchange for an end of South African support to the MNR.

"That principle has very wide implications," said Professor Barratt.

"If applied it means an end of South African support for Unita and an end to the ANC bases in Angola," he added.

Professor Barratt said South Africa was known to be keen on reaching Nkomati-type security agreements with its neighbours, and this had been included on the agreement of principles now

reached with Angola.

Professor Mike Hough, of the Pretoria-based Institute for Strategic Studies, agreed article G had wide implications for Unita and the ANC.

"Of course now the real difficulties start, because the question of interpretation of what the agreement on principles really means will have to be tackled," he said.

Professor Hough pointed out the agreement announced this week specifically said "each of the principles is indispensable to a comprehensive settlement".

This meant if Namibia became independent, whoever became the government in that country would have to sign similar non-aggression or security treaties.

The ANC would therefore not be allowed to be based in Namibia.

Other analysts point out the provision has also been made for verification that no country is violating the agreements reached, something that was not

included in the Nkomati Accord with Mozambique.

Article I states that the signatories agreed on "verification and monitoring of compliance with the obligations undertaken in the agreement that may be established, and to resolve the differences via negotiations".

The Nkomati Accord provides for a Joint Security Commission to analyse security problems between Mozambique and South Africa, but no provision is made for on-site verification that the clauses of the pact are being obeyed.

Cuba's main African negotiator, Mr Jorge Risquet, said last week in Harare that the question of the ANC bases in Angola had not been raised at the talks.

He added, however, that it was not a Cuban issue but one for the sovereign government of Angola to address.

Some observers believe the question has already been discussed in separate Angola/US and Angola/South Africa talks.

Current Programmes:

Teaching skills in complaints; Seminars on the Workmen's
Compensation Act and accidents; Project on unemployment
insurance; Self-education.

Universities and the apartheid umbrella

Student movement puts
its case on ceremonies

THE concept of boycotting graduation ceremonies must be understood as an impulsive form of protest against the present education system

There is nothing wrong, per se, with the graduation ceremony. My organisation, in fact, understands a ceremony to be a final gratitude of a person's hard-earned achievement. But before we can analyse the system of education in South Africa, the role education is designed to play should first be analysed.

Education is an intentional process which transmits and impresses on the mind certain basic values, norms and attitudes. These attitudes range from honesty, respect for truth and self-discipline to the capacity to identify what is right from wrong, applying a criteria of principle, not of expediency.

Education also provides an individual with basic skills, capabilities and knowledge necessary for him or her to execute certain tasks.



SIPHO MASEKO, the Azanian Students' Movement secretary for political education, argues in favour of boycotting graduation ceremonies.

over-emphasised competitiveness, undemocratic and individualistic attitudes as expressed in elitism, authoritarianism and the desire to be the most important person regardless of what this does to other people. Therefore, the idea to boycott the graduation ceremonies came after the realisation of these factors.



24/7/88
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Furthermore, education is a primary agent of a political purpose. It is used to pass on dominant religious or political ideology, which help to promote and sustain the existing social structure.

In short, education systems serve to perpetuate the interests of particular classes and social groups. There is no education that is ideologically neutral. The educational system in South Africa is no exception. It is based on ethnic and racist lines designed to perpetuate the existing system of capitalism and racism.

The State uses institutions of learning to impose a set of values inherent in Christian National Education which embraces the entire population of South Africa within the apartheid ideological framework.

The system is fervently intolerant of the so-called mixture of races, of languages, of culture. And it is through this educational system that the ethnic/racist administrative and political framework was conceived.

Our schools, colleges, technikons and universities are evidently arranged in this notorious fashion. These are, of course, vital in order to render their products inferior and to ensure they are destined to play a subservient role in the existing social order. They also instil a paralysing fear of whites, who are regarded as superior.

It is for all these reasons that we remain vigorously opposed to the present education system in South Africa, which arrogantly espouses racism, sexism, social inequality based on wealth, values that come from over-rated and



SIPHO MASEKO, the Azanian Students' Movement secretary for political education, argues in favour of boycotting graduation ceremonies.

over-emphasised competitiveness, undemocratic and individualistic attitudes as expressed in elitism, authoritarianism and the desire to be the most important person regardless of what this does to other people.

Therefore, the idea to boycott the graduation ceremonies came after the realisation of these factors. But despite these indisputable facts, certain students purposefully and ignorantly challenge these reasons. To justify their desire to attend the ceremonies, they advance three points of argument.

The first is that if we contemptuously disregard the existing system of education, we should not have attended its institutions from the beginning.

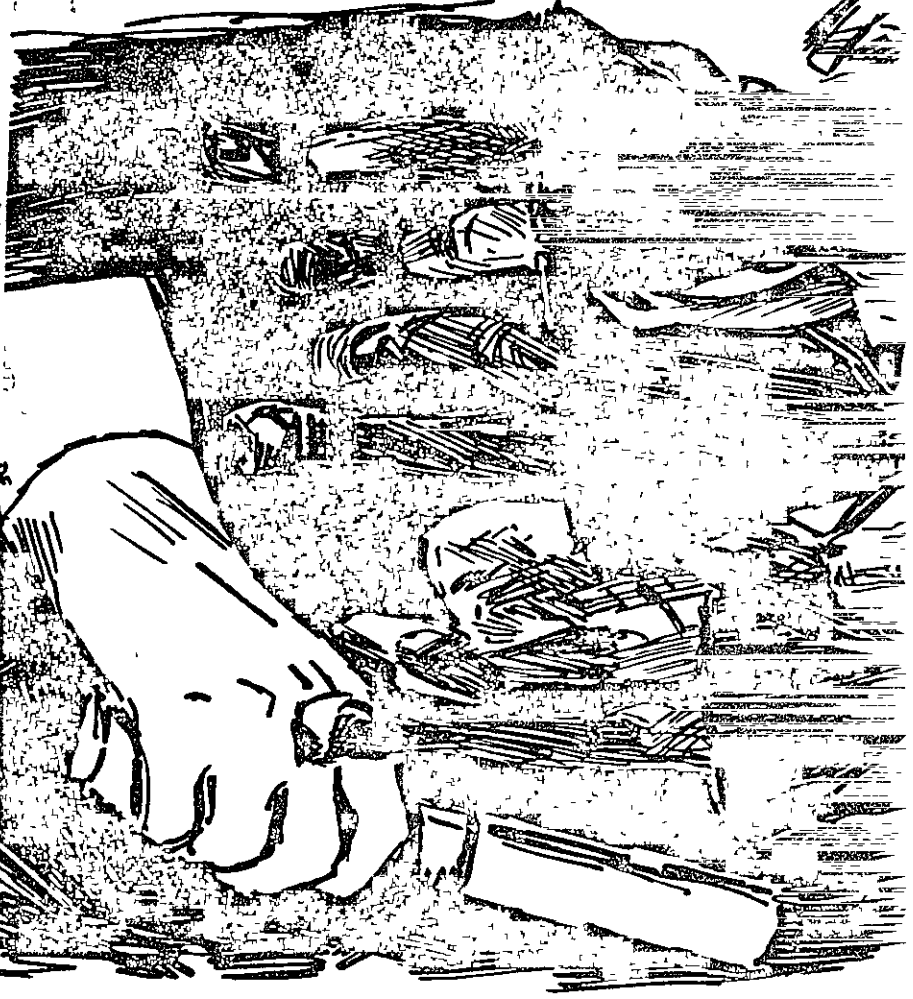
This is an extremely naive view, to say the least. Education is a necessity and no alternative places of learning exist in the country and our parents cannot afford to send us abroad.

We are thus forced to attend these institutions. But as we argued earlier that education is used to pass on dominant political ideology to perpetuate the social set-up, we strongly believe that we can also use these institutions as battlegrounds for our liberation efforts.

Moreover, places of learning serve to socialise and to recruit members for national political organisations. They also foster the emergence of a politically-oriented intelligentsia which will demand the transfer of power from the racist, capitalist white minority regime by equipping it with the means to challenge the regime on its own terms.

In this vein, the late President of Ghana, Kwame Nkrumah, said, "The history of human achievement illustrates that when an awakened intelligentsia emerges from a subject people, it becomes the vanguard of the struggle against alien rule."

The second argument - embraced by students at liberal or white universities - claims that now we have the



opportunity to acquire the same education as white students, there becomes no reason to boycott the ceremonies.

This view is based on an incorrect premise and deliberately overlooks many problems that black students encounter on the campuses.

Unfortunately, I am unable to list all of these problems in this article. However, I will highlight some of them.

To say that our struggle is to procure equality with whites is untrue. Simply, we demand an educational system that will respond creatively to the needs of our people and society at large.

The notorious liberal nature of these white campuses is responsible for blinding black students who think that by attending such institutions everything is fine.

Herbert Vlakazi, Professor of Sociology at UCT, correctly notes that within these universities there are some white radical democrats who, deeply repelled by racial oppression and exploitation, have stuck their necks out

to fight fiercely against racism. But these individuals, he argues, are an exception rather than the rule - the average white, liberal, English-speaking South African and the average white South African is conservative when it comes to the race issue.

So the point here is that liberal campuses refuse to Africanise, in the continental sense, but adamantly want to remain white. While values remain and reign supreme.

Furthermore, the liberal campuses unsurprisingly perpetuate the values of bourgeois democratic rights. Potential black and white middle-classes are groomed ready to be co-opted into the oppressive and exploitative system against the toiling and suffering black masses.

The third and most controversial argument is that the graduation ceremonies may be used as protest forums.

This view was founded after certain black universities installed radical rectors and chancellors. It is also argued that these institutions may invite progressive

speakers to address graduates. It is true that there are universities which have moved away from the intentions of their evil creators, thus embarrassing and undermining them.

However, it is doubtful whether they will succeed in divorcing themselves completely from the the State, for they still rely on the State as 80 percent of their subsidies come from it.

I remain convinced that so long as racism and capitalism last, so will these universities remain ideological servants of their grand apartheid master.

Education must be nothing less than co-operation rather than competition among fellow students, espousing such values as anti-sexism and anti-racism. Education must be vested with attitudes capable of throwing the whole generation into a critical, yet constructive, mode of reasoning that will benefit the working masses.

Education must be based on equality in the processes of production, distribution and exchange.

Only when this education is attained, will a graduation ceremony be worth attending.

Blast damages ^{1/9}
Star 23/7/88
**Lusaka house of
ANC member** ^{2/10}

LUSAKA — A powerful explosion in the Zambian capital on Saturday night partially destroyed a house belonging to a member of the African National Congress but caused no injuries

Police confirmed the explosion and said they were still investigating the cause of the blast

The explosion shattered windows in surrounding flats and houses and sent residents of the house fleeing into neighbouring houses

The ANC has not yet made a statement as to who it suspects may have caused the explosion — The Star's Africa News Service

10 Kwazakhele friends follow the same path

24/7/88
 Clifford
 11/8

CP Correspondent
 A GROUP of 10 friends from Port Elizabeth's Kwazakhele township have left their homes and their country to join Umkhonto we Sizwe over a period of 11 years.

One of the group, Nkululeko Muisie, 27, is being buried at his home tomorrow.

Muisie was killed in a shootout with security forces in Cape Town on July 6. Another man was arrested in the incident.

Three of the Kwazakhele group were killed in separate shootouts with security forces, while another is serving a 12-year sentence on Robben Island. The whereabouts of the rest are unknown.

The friends made the decision to skip the country at various crises points in their political lives, which included the 1976 student uprising and school boycotts of 1980.

Those killed had returned to pursue military

Fighting youths return home to risk death or jail

missions inside the country.

Muisie left the country in September 1980 - while he was a matric pupil at Kwazakhele High School - at the height of the Eastern Cape school boycotts initiated by the outlawed Congress of SA Students.

His family did not hear from him for four months after he left, but were reassured when they were told he had left the country.

That was the last they heard of him until his mother, Lizzy, was called recently to identify his body at the police mortuary in Cape Town.

Muisie grew up in a politically aware environment. His father, Gladstone, was deported to Queenstown's Lange township after serving a five-

year-term on Robben Island.

Muisie's mother said her son's death had come "as a great shock".

"He was handy at home and loved his school work and everyone loved him," she said.

Friends and neighbours described him as a quiet, respectful youth who was highly disciplined.

"He kept his political convictions to himself," a neighbour commented. "I would have been very happy if my son had come back home alive or had died in my hands," she said.

Muisie and his comrades, who left for exile, came from one of the most militant areas in Kwazakhele, dubbed by residents

as "Kenya".

The other two Umkhonto cadres from the group, Boy de Vos and Mzwakhe Mtwabana, also died while pursuing military missions inside the country.

De Vos was killed in a police shootout while he was attempting to bomb an oil refinery in Durban in 1984.

Another Port Elizabeth member, Vuyisile Matroos, died in the same incident.

Both were buried with ANC military colours during the beginning of the 1984 unrest in the Eastern Cape.

When he left the country with Muisie, De Vos was a 19-year-old pupil at Mzonsundu Junior Security School, which was lat-

er re-named after him by its pupils.

Siphwo Dinci, 29, is serving a 12-year jail term for terrorism.

He was arrested after being found in possession of explosives in Newcastle in 1983 and was accused of planning sabotage.

When Dinci left in 1977, he was a Standard 8 pupil at New Brighton's Thembehlhe High School.

Dinci's neighbour, Zolile Mamfenguza, skipped the country in 1977 shortly after his friend left.

His family said he had been restricted to the Port Elizabeth.

He has not been heard of since he left. During an interview with his family, Mamfenguza's mother pleaded, "Please let me know if anything happens to my son."

In a street adjacent to the one where Dinci and Mamfenguza lived, is the home of the Mtwabana family.

Their only son, Mzwakhe, was killed when security forces bulldozed a house he was occupying in Mdantsane.

Mtwabana left the country in 1978 with his friend, Percyville Khesa.

Mtwabana's funeral was taken over by security forces after mourners defied banning orders imposed by the police.

Mhlungubezi Sihunda, Thando Vanqa and two others have also left Pen

**But no
word
about
possible
release**

NELSON Mandela told his wife and daughter yesterday he was "bubbling with hope for the country's future," but had not discussed the chances of his being released, Mrs Winnie Mandela said.

Mrs Mandela described her first visit to her husband since his 70th birthday as "naturally very emotional"

She said he would have loved to have been with his family on his birthday but that when she had learnt of the banning of celebrations around the country and the detention of members of the Cape Town organising committee, she had immediately written to the prison authorities to cancel his family's visit

"He says he could not allow himself to have that sort of treatment but he is otherwise in very good spirits"

Mrs Mandela was accompanied by her daughter, Zinzi and grandchildren Zoleka (8) and Zondwa (4)

The Mandelas were accompanied on the visit by Mr Robert Brown, a black US businessman who represents the family's interests in the United States



MRS Winnie Mandela

He was once considered as a possible US ambassador to South Africa, but his name was dropped following allegations about his business activities.

Nelson Mandela told visitors that he was very optimistic about the future.

In his first visit since turning 70 on Monday, Mandela told long standing activist friends, Mr Yusef and Mrs Aminah Cachalia that he was "very well"

Describing the reunion as a "very emotional occasion," Mrs Cachalia said "he's very conscious of the fact that practically the whole of South Africa is concerned about him"

Bishops' wives appeal

Summit 25/11/88

CANTERBURY, England — Two South African women plan to join a delegation to 10 Downing Street tomorrow to deliver a letter calling on the British Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, to distance herself further from the South African Government

More than 200 wives of Anglican bishops from around the world have signed the letter and Mrs Leah Tutu of Cape Town and Mrs Joan Evans of Port Elizabeth will be among the eight women to hand the letter in at Mrs Thatcher's office



MRS LEAH Tutu.

The letter read:
"Dear Mrs Thatcher
"We, wives of bishops of the Lambeth Conference, have heard with horror the effect of the cruel policies and practices of the South African regime upon the lives of black families in that country — the land of their birth. Countless women and children are the victims of appalling repression and violence, the root cause of which is the unjust political system

APR 11 1988

Cachalias see Mandela and Tambo after two decades

By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN, Staff Reporter

ARCUS 25/7/88

THIS year has been a memorable one for Mr Yusuf Cachalia and his wife Amina, a time of meeting friends they last saw more than two decades ago

In the past five months Mr Cachalia, former South African Indian Congress secretary, and Mrs Cachalia, a member of the Federation of South African Women, have had meetings with African National Congress leaders Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo

Mr Mandela is serving a life sentence in Pollsmoor Prison and Mr Tambo is in self-imposed exile. They met Mr Tambo in Zimbabwe in March and Mr Mandela at Pollsmoor on Saturday

Mr Cachalia first met Mr Mandela while he was studying law at the University of the Witwatersrand and they last saw each other in 1962

"Our families became firm friends. Our friendship has grown through regular letters since his incarceration"

Interviewed at their hotel in Newlands yesterday, they said they had been "honoured and privileged" to see Mr Mandela and would apply for permission to visit him again.

Mrs Cachalia said they had applied to see him regularly. "Each application was refused until we stopped applying. A few months ago prison authorities asked us if we still wanted to see him and we were told to apply for a visit"

They were nervous on the eve of their first visit to Pollsmoor

Mrs Cachalia said "I was very excit-

ed and had many butterflies in my tummy. I could not sleep. I was too busy thinking what I would say to him after 26 years"

Mrs Cachalia wore a multi-coloured sari to "brighten up Pollsmoor". Her husband chose a suit

Mr Mandela was "immaculately dressed. He wore a well-pressed khaki trousers, brown shoes, beige socks, a khaki shirt and a woollen vest", said Mrs Cachalia

The visit took place in a room which had a desk and three armchairs. Mr Mandela sat between his friends

"He was waiting for us with his arms outstretched. I kissed him and planted kisses all over his face on behalf of so many friends," said Mrs Cachalia

"He has changed. He has got very thin. His smile was as wide as ever. His eyes, which had the same folds around them as 26 years ago, lit up each time he laughed

"His body is firm and shows that he exercises regularly. It was hard to believe he had just turned 70. Nelson is greying. It suits him — he looks so distinguished"

They talked about "all kinds of things, jumping from subject to subject as we tried to fit in the past 26 years", she said

Topics ranged from his mother, to his children, their grandchildren and their experiences before he was jailed

Mr Mandela told them he had asked prison authorities to sanction their visit, Mr Cachalia said

"Time went too quickly. We were

hardly there when we had to leave. I was very upset when we left. It was so sad. I was wondering if I would ever see him again

"Mr Mandela said he had tremendous hope. He said he supported whatever decisions his friends and colleagues took. He said 'Tell my friends and colleagues I am very well. I have tremendous hope for the future,'" she said

The last time Mr Cachalia saw Mr Tambo on South African soil was in March, 1960 "the day before he skipped the country"

Early the next morning "I was detained under the just imposed state of emergency and held for four months", Mr Cachalia said

By coincidence the Cachalias' paths crossed Mr Tambo's in Zimbabwe in March. Mrs Cachalia said that seeing Mr Tambo after so long was too much for her

"I just cried. It was so emotional. I told myself I would not cry when I saw Nelson. I did not"

Mr Cachalia said "It has been a wonderful year for us. We have seen two colleagues for the first time in more than 28 years"

Mr Cachalia was first banned in 1950. He was "free from 1960 until 1963 before I was banned again. I could not attend the Rivonia treason trial in 1964 because I was restricted"

His last banning order expired in 1978. "I was banned for 17 years," he said

Mrs Cachalia was first banned in 1963



JUST VISITING . . . Ms Zinzi Mandela, Mrs Winnie Mandela, her grandchild Zondwa, 4, and Mr Robert Brown on their way to see the imprisoned leader

INSET: Mr Yusuf Cachalia and his wife Amina, friends of Mr Nelson Mandela since the Defiance Campaign of the 1950s, when the ANC was still a legal organization. After 15 years of applying unsuccessfully to see Mr Mandela, they were able to visit him shortly before the visit by the Mandela family and Mr Brown



Flew 300

US man represents 'Mandela interests'

Staff Reporter

IMPRISONED ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela is reported to have signed over his power of attorney to an American businessman, who has opposed the imposition of economic sanctions against South Africa

Mr Robert J Brown, an entrepreneur from High Point, North Carolina, visited Mr Mandela in Pollsmoor Prison on Saturday for 80 minutes, along with Mrs Winnie Mandela, Miss Zinzi Mandela and two of Mr Mandela's grandchildren

Just before their visit, Mr Mandela enjoyed his first visit from old

friends Mr Yusuf Cachalia and his wife Amina, who knew him during the Defiance Campaign of the 1950s when the ANC was still a legal organization. They had applied unsuccessfully for 15 years to see Mr Mandela, who is allowed 30 visits a year

Mr Brown said he was given power of attorney to represent the Mandela family's worldwide interests. It means he will be able to negotiate book, film, serial and memorabilia rights

He is thought to be negotiating rights for a film about Mr Mandela, but this could not be confirmed. Mr Brown said he would consult

acting ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo on all matters relating to the family

The Sunday Times says Mr Brown was "associated" with a company involved in union-bashing activities

Mr Brown was nominated by President Ronald Reagan as United States ambassador to South Africa in 1986 but later withdrew when questions were raised over his business dealings

Once an adviser to impeached US President Richard Nixon, Mr Brown has known the Mandela family for a long time. In 1986, he testified before the

president's advisory committee against disinvestment of United States companies from South Africa. He advised that they should stay and exert their influence instead

● Meanwhile, Mozambique has awarded Mr Mandela its highest honour for his efforts to end white rule in South Africa, the semi-official daily Noticias said on Saturday. The Order of Eduardo Mondlane will be presented next week. It is named after the first president of the Frelimo party, the liberation movement which struggled to gain Mozambique's independence from Portugal

Mr Times 25/7/88

Four ANC suspects killed in gun battle

By Craig Kotze,
Crime Reporter

A bloody gun and hand grenade battle at a police roadblock near Lichtenburg in the western Transvaal yesterday left four suspected insurgents, including a woman, dead and 12 policemen injured.

The wounded policemen, all of whom were injured by grenade shrapnel, were taken to hospital for treatment after the 11 30 am clash.

None was "very seriously" hurt, said a spokesman for the SAP Public Relations Directorate in Pretoria.

Two of them were taken by helicopter to Pretoria and the others treated at the Lichtenburg provincial hospital.

The names of the injured policemen, all apparently from the western Transvaal, have not been released, nor have those of the suspected insurgents.

"We believe the four people killed are terrorists," said the spokesman.

The clash happened on the Lichtenburg-Mafikeng road, about 35 km from the Bophuthatswana border.

SEARCHED

A vehicle approached the "routine" roadblock. The occupants flung two grenades at the roadblock, injuring five policemen. Police fired at the vehicle and two black men and a woman were killed.

A suspect was then captured and taken away to be searched.

While this process was under way, the suspect suddenly produced a grenade and pulled the pin to fling it at the policemen.

He was then shot and killed but the grenade dropped from his hand and exploded as he fell, injuring another seven policemen.

Police then searched the vehicle and seized TNT, detonators, AK-47 automatic rifles and hand grenades, said the spokesman.

The ANC often infiltrates its members into South Africa via Botswana through the western Transvaal. Many clashes in recent years between the police and suspected ANC members have taken place in the area.

Talk is key to SA future

Star 26/7/87

Six months in solitary confinement during a prison term on Robben Island for working for the Pan Africanist Congress made the Reverend Stanley Mogoba re-commit his life to Christianity. Our Durban Correspondent reports



The Rev Stanley Mogoba.

The traditional training school for black leaders — education, jail and the Church — has produced another graduate destined to play a major role in the next few years

The Reverend Stanley Mogoba (55) will be the first person to serve as president of the Methodist Conference for three years, a post he takes up in October. The term for president used to be one year, but it was decided last year that this be extended to three years

This is in addition to his current two-year reign as president of the Institute of Race Relations

A man whose friendly manner endures even as he speaks with passion about South Africa today, Mr Mogoba's achievement is a milestone on a road travelled by many in South Africa

He was born to religious parents in Sekhukhune-land and studied at the Pretoria Bantu Normal College, before working as a history teacher for nine years

Hard experience

Mr Mogoba served as an executive member of a teachers association before being jailed for three years on Robben Island for working for the Pan Africanist Congress. Six months were spent in a solitary confinement cell and it was there that Mr Mogoba re-committed his life to Christianity

"There was a lot of growth experience that people normally do not know about. It was a very hard experience, very tough and traumatic." While waiting in a Pretoria cell to appear in court, his wife and the headmaster of the school he taught at visited him to say his five-year-old daughter had died

"I was alone in a cell that usually housed 20 people. It was cold the whole day. To be alone and have to carry a bereavement like that, it was very painful. It also brought home the importance of family."

He left Robben Island to study and teach at the Federal Theological Seminary in Alice before studying overseas. Mr Mogoba serves on the World Methodist Council's Social and International Affairs Committee and on the South African Council of Churches' Dependents' Conference

In addition, he is chairman of the African Enterprise Board

Mr Mogoba knows he is to lead the Church at a critical time. Outright antagonism has developed between churches and State. This could peak in a few months over municipal elections

The two-million-strong Methodist Church brings together people from the conservative right to the extreme left. Mr Mogoba sees his task as ensuring they are not torn apart by the political winds that blow in the country. "It is trying to solve a problem when you are not really the cause of it," he said

Colleagues said that theologically Mr Mogoba was deeply rooted in Methodist tradition. He combined this with a deep pride of being a son of Africa. While he would not bow down to foreign pressure, he would also not bow down to the National Party. While he was widely respected within the liberation movements, he was his own man and promoted the politics of mediation, colleagues said

"I would think at this time of our history it helps to have somebody in leadership who has gone through what I have gone through because that enables me to accept what people are going through when they are hurting

Role of Church

"And if I say to the people we ought to forgive one another and be reconciled I am not speaking as somebody who does not understand the full extent of the hurting in the people, but somebody who has himself experienced some of this"

The role of the Church was to be a mouthpiece of the people who were silenced. "It is to give prophetic words but it is also to try bring about reconciliation. I believe that there is no institution better equipped for the role of reconciliation

"I believe the Government should be prepared to do business with Mandela, Tambo and Zeph Mothopeng, people of that seniority and maturity, in whom I have full confidence, rather than rendering them useless and wanting to look for people without integrity."

ANC issues 'election pamphlet'

Star 26/7/84 (119)

The ANC has apparently entered the fray over the October municipal elections — doing from underground what openly functioning organisations cannot do because of the amended emergency regulations of June 10

A pamphlet, issued in the name of "the African National Congress Internal unit RSA", appeared mysteriously in Soweto at the weekend

Details of the pamphlet may not be given by The Star under the emergency regulations. The penalties for doing so are a fine of up to R20 000 and/or a jail term of up to 10 years

Unrestricted organisations, which have in the past taken a similar line to that mentioned in the pamphlet, have been angered by the prohibition

The Natal Indian Congress has launched a court challenge to the validity of the measure. It is understood that the application is likely to be heard in Durban on August 8

The Transvaal Indian Congress has highlighted the fact that new regulations relating to the casting of special or "priority" votes will make it impossible for the public to scrutinise special votes. It points out that abuses of the special vote system have occurred in the past

Police
search
Chikane
homes

By Craig Kotze,
Crime Reporter

Police yesterday seized two banned publications found at the Soweto home of Miss Salome Chikane, sister of South African Council of Churches general secretary, Rev Frank Chikane, after they searched her house looking for her brother Khotso, a police spokesman said.

Miss Chikane was then questioned at security police headquarters in Soweto and released. She denied knowledge of the publications, "Advance to People's Power - ANC 1912 - 1987" and "The Fruits of Fear", said the spokesman.

SEARCHES

In a statement issued last night, the SAP Public Relations Directorate said the search of the home inhabited by Miss Chikane was made after security police had searched Mr Frank Chikane's Pimville home for the brother.

Khotso's detention had been sought by the SAP for a long time, said the statement.

Rev Chikane accompanied police during their search of his home, the statement said. The banned publications were found in Miss Chikane's room.

Brent Co-operative Development Agency.
Annual Report 1987. London: the
Agency, [1987].

Yugoslavs trained PAC men

By Craig Kotze, Crime Reporter

Two of the four people killed by police during a gun and grenade battle near Lichtenburg in the Western Transvaal on Sunday have been identified by police as Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) members trained in Yugoslavia and Libya

They were on their way from Mafikeng in Bophuthatswana to Johannesburg when the clash happened, police said today

Many of the weapons captured by police after the clash were of Chinese origin.

A spokesman for the SAP directorate of public relations in Pretoria confirmed last night that two of those

119 killed had been trained in Libya and Yugoslavia

It is believed to be the first time any PAC insurgents have been trained in Yugoslavia

Police said the names of the four dead would not be released "at this stage"

It is said that every known attempt by PAC armed cadres to infiltrate South Africa has ended in their death or capture. Its exclusively black nationalist ideology has apparently attracted very little support.

● Five of the 12 policemen injured by grenade shrapnel at the roadblock battle were last night still in hospital. They are not in a serious condition

1982

Kwaleseni: Social Science Research Unit,
University of Swaziland
attitudes towards co-operatives.

Small farmer credit and small farmer

Guma, Xolile P. and Simeleane, Vakashile K.

(1985 - (Research paper, no. 19)

Kwaleseni: Social Science Research Unit,
University of Swaziland

in the co-operative movement of Swaziland

Guma, Xolile P. Education and training needs

CRY FREEDOM

Film portrays Steve Biko well

ALTHOUGH *Cry Freedom* revolves around the exaggerated "friendship" between Black Consciousness leader, Steve Biko and a former Daily Dispatch editor, Donald Woods, it is worth seeing

For a number of reasons I find it strange that the South African Government passed this film for public consumption

At least three scenes in the movie are so brutally emotional that they have left audiences around the world stunned at the callousness of the rulers of this country

The first comes in the opening sequences when Crossroads is targeted for destruction at dawn by Cape Town's local authority

Amid the screams of men, women and children, policemen and

MICHAEL TISSONG reviews *Cry Freedom* which he saw in Harare, Zimbabwe.

officials raze the homes of thousands of people to the ground

Zinc walls creak and tear under the weight of the bulldozers and the camera zooms in to focus on a terrified and screaming two-year-old in one of the shacks before it is also squashed like a discarded beer can

Another emotional scene is Biko's last moments midway in the film

You are not shown how Biko is beaten into unconsciousness, but you see him frothing at the mouth, lying naked and handcuffed on a pallet in a cold cell

With the nonchalance of abattoir workers dealing with an animal carcass, the unconscious Biko is thrown into the back of a police van and driven thousands of

kilometres from Port Elizabeth to Pretoria

The cinema where I saw the film, fell totally silent when Biko's head filled the screen and to the background sounds of the droning Landrover engine, his head knocked to the floor with sickening thuds

Biko is pronounced dead in a Pretoria prison hospital and the date September 12, 1977, flashes on the screen

The third strong scene is June 16, 1976, when youths take to the streets in defiance of the South African regime

A large group of marchers is stopped by the police who tell the students that the march is illegal

They tell the children that they have minutes to disperse and open fire almost immediately



DENZEL Washington stars as Steve Biko and Kevin Kline as Donald Woods.

The cold-blooded massacre will leave few people unmoved

The making of the film sparked a lot of controversy because director Richard Attenborough did not consult Biko's friends or colleagues in the Black Consciousness movement before making the film

Instead, Attenborough used two books by Woods — *Biko* and *Asking For Trouble* — as the basis for the script

Because of protests from the Black Consciousness movement locally and abroad, one of Biko's associates and former Cape vice-president of the Azanian People's Organisation

Peter Jones, was flown to London twice to examine the script and later the un-edited film

Political inconsistencies regarding Biko were removed

On the whole American Denzil Washington portrays Biko's strong personality and easy-going manner with his friends, quite well

Attenborough is a master of his craft and the scenes regarding Biko are gripping However, when the focus turns to Woods and his family, the unreality of melodrama becomes obvious

Cry Freedom is a long film, but many will find that the anger this film is likely to stir, will make the minutes tick by as fast as seconds

11A



ACADEMY-AWARD nominee Denzel Washington who plays the role of Steve Biko in *Cry Freedom*.



DENZIL Washington delivers an astounding performance as Steve Biko. From the moment he first appears on screen to the time of his death, one is dragged through a gauntlet of emotional savagery

Sir Richard hits 'evil' apartheid

AFTER all the fussing and fighting, Sir Richard Attenborough's film on the life of Steve Biko through the eyes of Donald Woods, is being released nationwide this Friday, July 29

Attenborough, who made *Gandhi*, had wanted to make a film on the evils of apartheid for a long time before Woods came to him with his two books, *Looking For Trouble* and *Biko*. The latter was and still is banned in South Africa and has been translated into 12 languages

Principal photography on *Cry Freedom* began on July 14, 1986 on location in Zimbabwe, at the culmination of a three-year gestation period following Woods' first encounter with Attenborough in 1983

Attenborough came to South Africa "to see for himself" before he started. His experiences here during his trip in 1984 made him believe that filming in South Africa would be problematic. Thus having rejected this country, Attenborough decided on Zimbabwe after having considered Kenya first

Attenborough arrived in Zimbabwe with his team of 109 technicians and together with some 60 actors and actresses, were the subject of tight security throughout their four-month stay on location

ISMAIL LAGARDIEN previews and looks how *Cry Freedom* was made.

The crew criss-crossed Zimbabwe with a fleet of 116 vehicles ranging from passenger cars to trucks and replicas of South African troop carriers

The first location site was a select residential area in Harare. Here production designer Stuart Craig had to construct an exterior resembling the Woods' former home in East London, where Woods was editor of the *Eastern Province Herald*

"The re-enactment of Biko's funeral," says Attenborough, "is the largest sequence in the picture, involving some 2000 people. The pure mechanics, the pure logistical problems are what you have to tackle first of all. In other words you have to bring the number of people together. The real problem was that they do not all speak the same language and they do not necessarily speak the language of the South East Cape of South Africa"

Dialects

The problem was overcome by teaching small groups of extras dialects which had to be learnt parrot fashion

The crew moved on to Epworth, to shoot the Crossroads scenes. The scene where Woods sets out to navigate the Telle River was shot within

metres of the Devil's Cataract, at the Victoria Falls. The water had to be tested for bilharzia before Kevin Kline, who plays Woods went in. To ward off crocodiles, a game warden armed with a high velocity rifle, kept close watch as Kline waded chest deep into the water. Other scenes were shot in Gweru, Mutare and the Macheke River among others

The beach scene was to be shot in Beira in Mozambique, but, said Attenborough, "terrorists backed by South Africa maintained their stranglehold on landlocked Zimbabwe's only trade route to the sea"

Venture

Mombassa, Kenya, was to be final stop for the beach scene with Kline and Penelope Wilton

Attenborough summed the venture up succinctly "Ironically, we came to Zimbabwe because it bears such a striking resemblance to South Africa. What we discovered however, right on South Africa's doorstep is a model multi-racial society where a black majority and a white minority are working together to build a better life for everyone. Zimbabwe is living proof that black and white can live together in peace and harmony"

'PAC 2' killed in gun fight

TWO of the four people killed by police during a gun and handgrenade battle near Lichtenburg in the Western Transvaal at the weekend have been positively identified by police as Pan Africanist Congress members trained in Yugoslavia and Libya. *Sowetan 24/7/68*

Many of the weapons captured by police after the clash on Sunday morning were of Chinese origin, including stick grenades. Sten sub-machine guns were also found among the haul.

A spokesman for the SAP directorate of public relations in Pretoria confirmed last night that two of those killed had been trained in Libya and Yugoslavia. He did not specify whether one of them was the woman killed in the clash.

The other two dead have not yet been positively identified.

News in Brief

11A 26/7/83

Soweto grenade attack

26/7/83

JOHANNESBURG — The personnel manager of Soweto City Council, Mr Bereng Qakisa, and his family escaped injury on Saturday when a hand-grenade was thrown into his Pimville home, causing damage estimated at R20 000

ANC REPLACES 3

LUSAKA — The African National Congress of South Africa has named replacements on its policy-making national executive committee for three members who have died in the past two years, sources close to the movement said on Monday.

They declined to give any names but said an

announcement would be made soon. The sources said those being replaced were Cassius Make, former chief of logistics for the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, who was shot dead in Swaziland last year, Moses Mabhida, general secretary of the South African Communist Party, who died in Mozambique in 1986, and Florence Moposho, who died in 1986.

The ANC, which is allied to the Communist Party, last made appointments to its 35-member executive in 1985 — Sapa-Reuter

HA

BOOK: Lest we Forget.
AUTHOR: Phillip Ata Kgosana.
PUBLISHER: Skotaville.
PRICE: R11,14.
REVIEW by: Ma-thatha Tsedu.

EVERY year on the eve of March 21, newspapers carry in-depth analysis of events of that day in 1960, when the Pan African Congress launched a campaign against pass laws

The analysts, however, tend to focus more on the tragedy at Sharpeville, where 69 people were killed by police, while ignoring the march by thousands of people in Cape Town, led by a Cape Town university student in his early 20's, Mr Phillip Ata Kgosana.

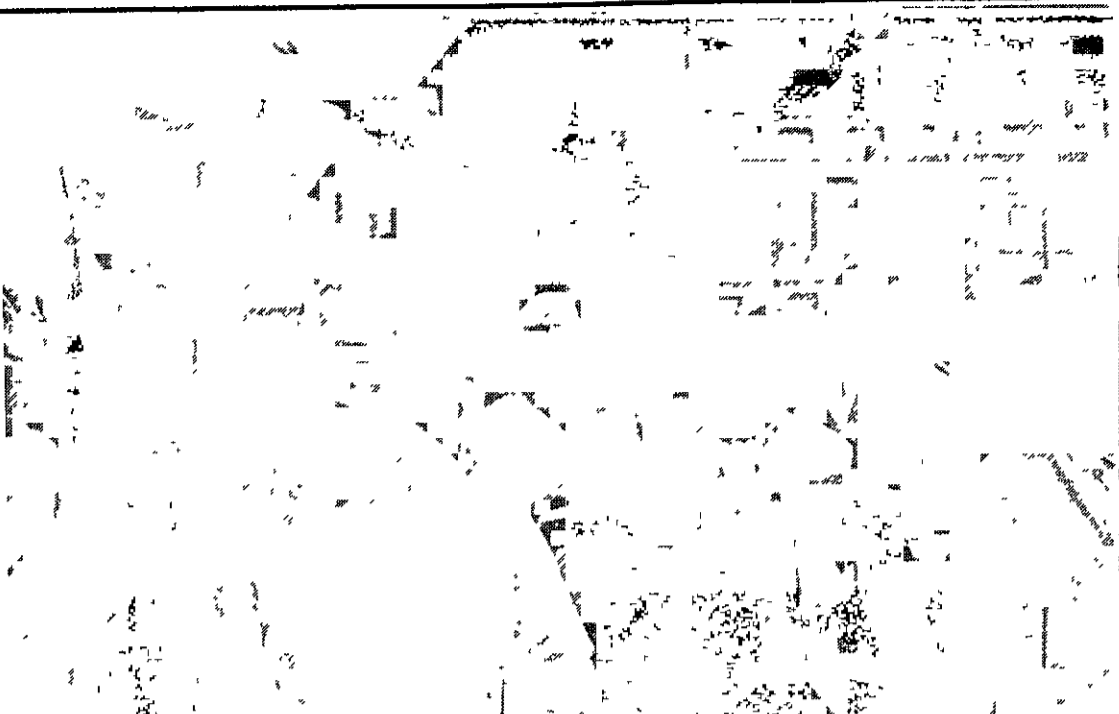
Now living in exile in Tanzania, Kgosana has written an autobiography which was published recently by Skotaville

The book is a well written masterpiece which flows easily and abounds with historical anecdotes

Anecdotes such as the rampant racism of the liberal students of the University of Cape Town.

Kgosana tells of his narrow escape from arrest for demanding service on campus facilities. He also tells of his relationship with a white Press "baron" of the time who tried to talk him out of his pan African beliefs

It also contains Kgosana's explanation of the controversial decision, at Caledon Square, when he dispersed 30 000 people who were marching on to government offices to



PHILLIP Kgosana is carried by part of the 30 000 crowd that marched on the Houses of Parliament in Cape Town during the 1960 anti-pass campaign.

THE BIG MARCH

Sowetan 26/7/88

(11A)

As told for the first time by the main actor

demand the scrapping of the pass laws

Kgosana ordered the people to disperse when heavily armed police assured him that he would meet a Cabinet Minister later in the day

He was, however, arrested when he returned to honour the appointment. In the book, Kgosana says he had known that he would be arrested. He had



returned, he argues, because he had felt that it was time to go to jail

Mokgethi Motlhabi, in his book *The Theory and Practice of Black Resistance to Apartheid*, argues that "no doubt" Kgosana turned the crowd away to avoid turning them into "police fodder"

But other writers, such as Gail Gerhart, argue that it was Kgosana's "gullibility" that made him believe that turning away his sole bargaining strength would secure him a ministerial appointment

It is interesting to note that, as stated earlier, Kgosana, perhaps with hindsight playing an important role, only says he felt it was time to go to jail

The fact that soon thereafter, when he was released on bail, he ran away into exile, perhaps

diminishes the conviction behind the "proud march into jail" theory that he advances

But be that as it may, the controversy surrounding that decision rages fiercely even today

Exile

The frustrations of exile politics and Kgosana's relations with the PAC in exile are also well documented. Also chronicled are Kgosana's criss-crossings around Africa in search of political peace and a political home from where to wage the struggle for the liberation of this country.

It was a journey that saw him in Zaire, Uganda under Idi Amin and his reign of terror and Ethiopia under the late despotic Haile Selassie

The 25 or more years experience has left this

zeal for the freedom of this country unchanged and unshaken

As he says in the closing paragraphs of the 108-page book "The direction is clear. The only meaningful force which will determine how long white domination will last in Azania is the oppressed black majority. The struggle, as our people understand it so clearly, is not so much the removal of apartheid and its replacement by a so-called democratic and non-racial South Africa in which everybody — the oppressor and the oppressed — will live happily together in a Disneyland-like dream

Birthright

"Ours is a struggle for a birthright. The land of our forefathers has been usurped by colonialists and our struggle is for the recovery of that land."

The book also contains speeches by the PAC founding president, Mr Mangaliso Sobukwe and Mr Kgosana at the beginning of the anti-pass campaign. In this era where today's youth has just been discovered, the book is a sobering and important reminder that some of today's strategies were tried long ago and failed

The book is an important work which sheds more light on the much maligned PAC. It was a brave decision by Skotaville to publish and for that alone they should be congratulated. For those who haven't bought the book yet, my advice to them is go grab it now before

Two ANC ⁽¹¹⁷⁾
^{ST 4 2777W}
members held
in Swaziland
⁽²¹²⁾

MBABANE — Two members of the ANC were arrested at the weekend, a Swaziland police source said yesterday

The source said the two had been charged with illegal entry into Swaziland and were being held pending court appearances

Records showed the two had previously been deported from the country after being convicted on similar charges

Seven other ANC members were quietly deported to Zambia at the weekend

Police declined to name the seven for security reasons

A senior Swazi police official, who did not wish to be identified, said in an interview that the police were concerned about the increasing numbers of militant ANC members who, after deportation, persistently returned to Swaziland "to attempt their missions"

Star 27/7/84
119

Police hunt PAC suspect after fight

Police are hunting a suspected Pan Africanist Congress member in the western Transvaal after four suspects were killed and 12 policemen were wounded in a battle near Lichtenburg on Sunday.

The Botswana government has hit out at reports suggesting the insurgents had come from Botswana.

A spokesman said the linkage could be seen as "legitimising" the illegal and unwarranted raids by the SADF into Botswana". — Crime Reporter and The Star's Africa News Service.

ANC appoints seven new policy-makers

Star 2/11/88

11A

LUSAKA — The ANC has appointed seven new members to its policy-making national executive committee — increasing the body to 35 members

Some of the new appointments have re-

placed members who have died or been killed in the past three years

The new appointments are Mr Steve Tchwete, a political commissar in the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation), Mr

Ronnie Kasrils, a white senior member of Umkhonto, Mr Stanley Mabilezela, the ANC's chief representative in Zimbabwe, Mr Sindiso Mfenyane, its chief representative in West Germany, Mr Jackie Selebi, Mr Timothy Mokwana and Miss Jacqueline Molefe

The Lusaka-based national executive committee, headed by Mr Oliver Tambo, is the governing body of the ANC

WHITE MEMBERS

Mr Kasrils is the second white to join the national executive committee after Mr Joe Slovo, general secretary of the South African Communist Party (SACP), who was appointed to the body in 1985

The SACP is linked to the ANC

Miss Molefe is the third woman to be a member of the committee, joining Miss Gertrude Shope and Miss Ruth Mompati

Members who have died include Mr Cassius Make, former logistics chief of Umkhonto, who was gunned down in Swaziland in 1987, Mr Moses Mabhida, former general secretary of the SACP, who died in Mozambique in 1986, and Miss Florence Moposho, who died the same year —
Reuter

Swazi police arrest two ANC members

Cont Times 27/7/88

MBABANE —Two members of the ANC were arrested at the weekend, Swazi police said yesterday

They said the two had been charged with illegal entry into Swaziland and were being held in custody pending their appearance in court.

Police records showed the two had previously been deported from the country after being convicted on similar charges

Seven other ANC members arrested recently were quietly deported to Zambia at the weekend. Police declined to name the seven

Meanwhile, a suspected guerilla escaped from the scene of the roadblock shootout in the Western Transvaal on Sunday in which four people were killed and 12 security force members injured

A police spokesman in Pretoria, Captain Ruben Bloomberg, yesterday confirmed that a person escaped from the scene of the roadblock shootout and that the matter was being investigated. He was unable to provide more details

Two of the four people shot dead were identified by police as Libyan- and Yugoslavia-trained members of the Pan Africanist Congress

TNT, detonators, automatic rifles and handgrenades of Chinese origin were seized

The incident occurred on the Lichtenburg-Mafikeng road after grenades were lobbed from a car stopped for inspection — Sapa



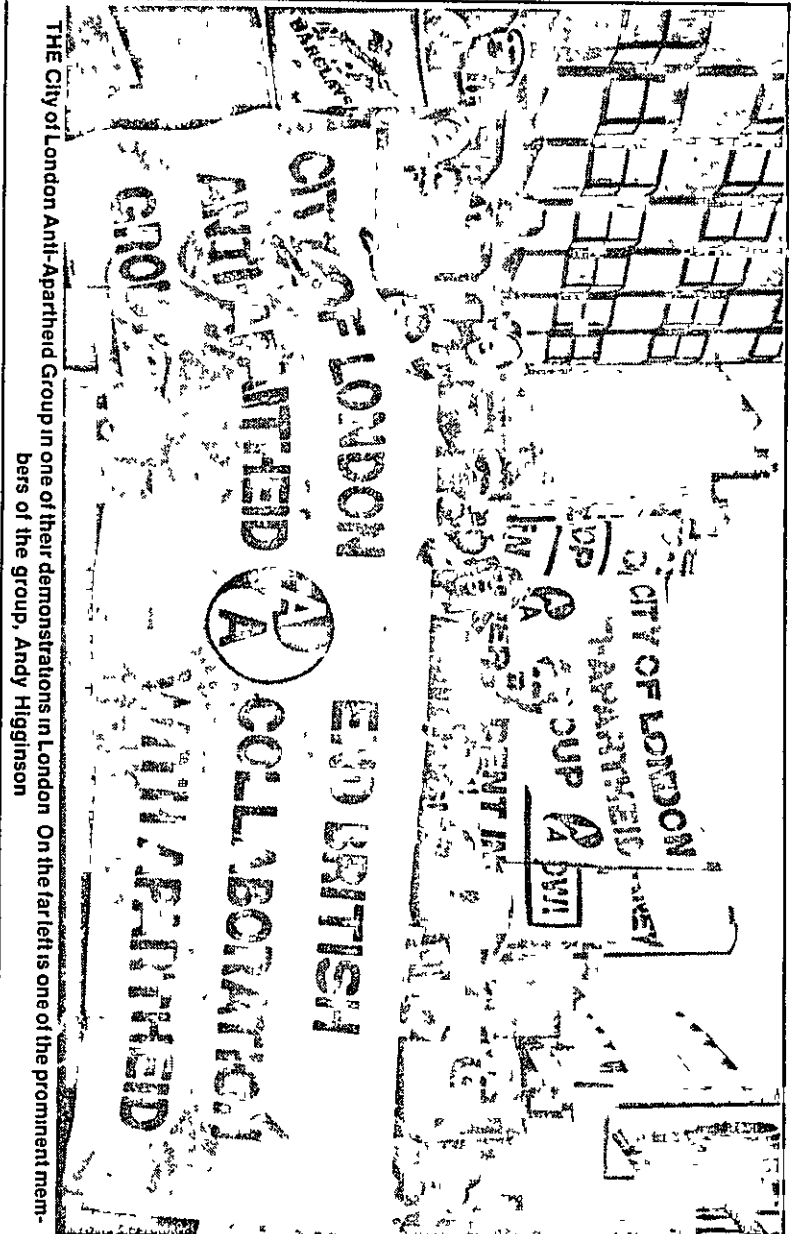
THE City of London Anti-Apartheid Group, which has had a non-stop 24-hour picket outside the South African Embassy in London the past 30 days, will now focus its attention on South African Airways

More than 50 members of the group have appeared in court on several occasions for obstructing business at the London offices of the company.

"We normally raid SAA offices posing as tourists. We enter and then start education tourists waiting to be served, of the evils of apartheid. We warn them that by going to South Africa they are giving credibility to the apartheid regime.

"We are going to use other strategies in our campaign at the SAA but cannot detail what we will be doing. But SAA can expect a lot of attention from us and that is for sure," a spokesman for the group said.

He said as soon as officials of the SAA became aware that there were anti-apartheid activists in their offices they locked all doors and called the police. Some of



THE City of London Anti-Apartheid Group in one of their demonstrations in London. On the far left is one of the prominent members of the group, Andy Higginson

the activists have been manhandled while the offices are locked or when the police arrive.

On March 4, 10 of their members were arrested in the offices of SAA and then later discharged. On March 12 another 11 were charged with obstruction, but the case was dismissed. Five other

groups were arrested on March 29, April 7, May 7, June 4 and June 14.

The group arrested on June 4 included two councillors of a local city council — the Camden Council.

These groups face a variety of charges and the largest, arrested on June 14, consisted of 15 members of the group.

Well-known anti-apartheid activist, Norma Kitson, has been in several of the groups. According to her she has lost count of the number of times she was arrested since the picket started outside the embassy. "Just as I fought against apartheid

while still in the country, so am I determined to continue the struggle here in England until this evil system is scrapped," she said.

The non-stop picket is organised by the City of London Group, a split of the broader-based Anti-Apartheid Movement in Great Britain led by Bishop Trevor Huddleston. The split came after there were objections from various people that the AAM refused to recognise and accept the Pan Africanist Congress and Black Consciousness organisations as representative of the struggle.

Started

The non-stop picket started on April 16, 1986, and has continued day and night without interruption. Members of Parliament and prominent politicians in London and other parts of Britain have taken part in it. It has focussed on burning issues in the country but according to the organisers it is dedicated to Nelson Mandela and Zephania Mothopeng, the grand-old-men of the liberation struggle in the country.

Can you believe that a South African political activist was denied the right to speak by British people on an issue that affects him directly. For all we know that PAC man who was refused was closer to the Six than the other British speakers who spoke, another member of the group said.

here in London to protest against the execution of the Sharpeville Six. A member of the African National Congress was allowed to speak, but when somebody from the PAC wanted to speak he was refused."

Biko film set for release

THE Biko film *Cry Freedom* is still set for release in South Africa on Friday morning — but the film may be banned or cut later that day.

The Publication Appeal Board's ruling on the film's desirability is expected on Friday afternoon.

Should the Publications Board recommend cuts, it could be withdrawn at the insistence of the Director, Sir Richard Attenborough.

One of the conditions regarding the showing of the film in South Africa was a stipulation by Sir Richard that it be shown without any cuts.

The Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, has directed the Board to reconsider a committee of censors' approval of the film.

The Board has set aside time tomorrow and Friday morning for the hearing on the film's desirability in terms of the Publications Act of 1974.

Southern
217188

'PAC ACCUSED IS WAR LEADER'



of beauty and brains. The Soweto lass, aged 23, is a beauty queen who has taken part in a number of beauty contests.

ONE of the accused in the Pan Africanist Congress terrorism trial, Mr Enoch Mabatu Zulu (53), was an official in the banned organisation's High Command, Mr J Pretorius, the prosecutor, submitted in the Pretoria Regional Court yesterday.

Presenting his argument for the conviction of seven alleged members of the PAC and Qibla — a Muslim organisation — Mr Pretorius said evidence that four of the accused — Mr Zulu, Mr Ndoda Gcanga, Mr Vincent Mathunjwa and Mr Paul Mohohlo — had received military training outside South Africa was never challenged.

Plead

The four accused, together with Reverend Daniel Nkopodi, Mr Achmad Cassiem and Mr Yusuf Patel have pleaded not guilty before Mr J H Bekker to 24 counts of terrorism and defeating the ends of justice.

Mr Pretorius submitted that Mr Zulu was an official of the High Command of the PAC and had received military training in China. There was also evidence presented in court that he gave lessons in "battlefield tactics" in PAC camps in Tanzania, said Mr Pretorius.

Mr Zulu, he added, was also known as a deputy camp commander who gave military training to certain people

who were in possession of six AK47 assault rifles and a carton with ammunition inside.

Mr Pretorius said there was also evidence that both Mr Gcanga and Mr Mathunjwa had received military training in

Yugoslavia. Mr Mohohlo underwent training in Guinea, the court heard. The three accused together with Mr Zulu were arrested in Bophuthatswana in April 1986.

Supporter

The prosecutor also called for the conviction of Mr Nkopodi for being the supporter of the PAC and for having acted as a courier for the outlawed organisation.

(Proceeding)

By MONK NKOMO

in Ingwavuma during 1975.

Mr Pretorius submitted that the accused, in his confession, stated that he infiltrated South Africa, went to Cape Town and later to Ngobi in Bophuthatswana where he was to meet members of the PAC.

Mr Zulu said at Ngobi he found two members of the PAC who had already been trained and

DET's plans

THE Government's 10-year programme to upgrade the education of blacks, coloureds and Indians, would increase State expenditure from R6,8 billion to R10 billion by 1996, SABC Radio News has reported.

At the opening of the Cape regional conference of the Department of Education and Training in Port Elizabeth yesterday morning, the Minister of Education and Development Aid, Dr Gerrit Viljoen,

referred to the 10-year programme announced in April 1986.

He said that the programme was designed to improve the qualification of teachers and the teacher-pupil ratio as well as to accommodate the expected massive increase in the number of black pupils.

The Department was also committed to the policy of promoting the upward mobility of black educationists in the ranks of the Department.

ON COSTS

office management signed on September 3 was a settlement relating to a strike situation and not a dispute relating to dismissal.

"It should not constitute a new regime wiping

out the past and regulating the future to become the sole source of right for the post office and its workers."

Judgment was reserved to an unspecified date.

OWN THEIR 27/7/88
114

Umkhonto increase on ANC executive

Own Correspondent

LONDON — Four members of the military wing of the ANC have been appointed to its national executive committee, trebling the Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) representation on the ANC's governing council

The appointments, along with two members of the diplomatic section and the youth leader, were announced yesterday

The new appointees join the Umkhonto commander, Mr Joe Modise, and the chief of staff, Mr Chris Hani, bringing the known MK representation on the 35-member committee to six

The significant increase in the MK membership on the committee comes soon after Umkhonto leaders Mr Hani and Mr Steve Tshwete were involved in a public disagreement over attacking soft targets with the organization's old guard, including ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo

The MK leaders said they favoured stepping up attacks in white areas and

singling out MPs and judges involved in ANC trials as targets for assassination

One of the points made by Mr Tambo and the old guard was that any change in policy would have to be agreed to by the NEC. Yesterday's appointments will increase the chances of such a change being agreed.

Mr Tshwete, a political commissar of Umkhonto, was formerly Border president of the UDF. He also spent 15 years on Robben Island.

MK member Mr Ronnie Karsrils, who becomes the second white member of the executive along with Mr Joe Slovo, is from Durban and left South Africa in the early 1960s.

The other two MK members appointed to the executive were Mr Timothy Mokwana and Ms Jacqueline Molefe

Also appointed were Mr Stanley Mabizela, ANC chief representative in Harare, Mr Sindiso Mfenyana, chief representative in Berlin, and Jackie Selebi, head of the youth wing

Mr Paul Annegarn can't be easily contacted.

Annegarn has not contacted parents

By Craig Kotze, Crime Reporter

Mr Paul Annegarn (22), the alleged former member of the African National Congress's all-white Broederstroom cell, is said to be still held in the organisation's ANC Quatro detention camp in Angola, intelligence sources said.

The SADF deserter from the East Rand had also not yet been allowed to contact his mother, Mrs Joyce Annegarn, in London — as the ANC promised several months ago, according to his father, Mr Joe Annegarn.

Mr Annegarn told The Star yesterday that he had just returned from a visit to London, where, he says, he was "fobbed off" by the ANC when he approached them about his missing son.

"All they said was that Paul was still with them. I just don't know what to do."

PROMISE

"The ANC have broken their promise to allow Paul to contact his mother. They just don't seem to care."

Police said Mr Paul Annegarn was sent to Quatro — where conditions are said to be worse than in Soviet labour camps — after he allegedly entered South Africa with the Broederstroom cell last year.

It is said he became disillusioned with the ANC's "armed struggle" and went back to Lusaka to put his views — and was imprisoned.

The ANC denies he is in detention.

● A spokesman for the Police Directorate of Public Relations in Pretoria said yesterday that no date had been set yet for the trial of alleged members of the Broederstroom cell.

ANC, UDF 'cynical' about growth leading to power

CAPE TIMES
28/7/88 (11A)
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Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — Leaders of organizations such as the ANC and UDF were cynical of the prevailing view that a sustained period of economic growth was a necessary precondition for whites agreeing to concede political power, Wits University political scientist Dr Tom Lodge said at the SA Megatrends conference yesterday.

He said South Africa's last period of rapid economic growth in the 60s had been accompanied by a huge build-up in the state's coercive resources, and had arguably left white supremacy stronger than ever before.

He said conservative liberals argued that advance of industry would strengthen union bargaining power, but in industrial conflict in modern industrial states, the unions had come out the losers.

"The argument would be stronger if South African businessmen were in the vanguard of those 'working for democracy'."

"But, with a few honourable exceptions, they are not," Dr Lodge said.

● Mr Zach de Beer, executive director of Anglo American, said there was no reason why South Africa could not attract investment and grow.

● Apartheid must go for SA to grow. — Page 3

UK to probe IRA-ANC link

LONDON — The Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, said on Tuesday that allegations by a Conservative MP of links between the Irish Republican Army (IRA) and the ANC will be investigated

In a letter to the Prime Minister, Mr Andrew Hunter listed what he said were the dates, places and people involved in meetings between the two guerilla groups

Mr Hunter raised the issue during question time in the House of Commons asking "Since the ANC is responsible for the murder of 600 black South Africans in the last two or three years, is it right that London should be an open haven for South African terrorist organisations who are the self-confessed friends of the IRA?"

The ANC is allowed to maintain an office in London provided it does not break the law

Mrs Thatcher said the IRA was proscribed in Britain and anyone meeting its members was liable to prosecution under prevention of terrorism laws

"The information that he has given about links between these organisations will, of course, be investigated," she added

Mr Hunter has not released details of the information he sent to Mrs Thatcher, but has said the meetings took place this year and that the IRA might have given the ANC information on the use of explosives

The ANC's London office denied any meetings had taken place — Sapa-Reuter

TIC to hold first meeting in five years

The Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC) is to hold its first general meeting in five years, and many of its leaders and prominent supporters will be unable to attend.

The meeting, to be held on Sunday afternoon on the West Campus of Wits University, will be addressed by Professor Jakes Gerwel, principal of the University of the Western Cape.

The TIC has made it clear that restrictions imposed in terms of the emergency will severely hamper the meeting.

In the past the arrest and detention of leading members of the organisation led to delays in holding a general meeting.

Several members of the TIC executive committee will not be allowed to attend. Vice-president Dr Ram Saloojee and United Democratic Front (UDF) treasurer Mr Azhar Cachalia are banned under state of emergency restrictions from attending. It is also expected that several TIC activists in hiding may not attend.

UDF acting general secretary, Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa, also a member of the TIC, was still in detention, a TIC statement pointed out.

Thursday July 28 1988

Buthelezi at 10 Downing Street a 'snub to ANC'

The Star Bureau

LONDON — The British Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, saw Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi at 10 Downing Street yesterday for a meeting regarded as a snub to both the ANC and the advocates of sanctions

It contrasted markedly with her refusal to meet ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo. Last year, she described the ANC as a "terrorist organisation"

She has made it clear that she regarded Chief Buthelezi as the leading voice of black moderation in South Africa

The admiration was mutual as he showed in a newspaper interview here, saying she had been "very brave" in holding out against international pressure to tighten the economic screw

After the talks, Downing Street officials said Chief Buthelezi had made clear the widespread opposition among black South Africans to sanctions, while the Prime Minister emphasised the important role foreign companies

could have in bringing down apartheid. The two leaders agreed that the key to starting negotiations was the release of Nelson Mandela and the suspension of violence

Chief Buthelezi said in the newspaper interview Pretoria would never allow itself to be seen to respond directly to outside pressure

He called for a truce in guerilla activity, coupled with a period of reduced criticism, to test the willingness of the State President, Mr P W Botha, to make concessions

Chief Buthelezi believed Mr Botha intended to release Mandela, but was alarmed by reaction to the earlier release of Mr Govan Mbeki, the ANC's deputy head

"He is just petrified of the right wing

"If only there was a way of (us all) piping down somehow, because I don't think they (Pretoria) would want to be perceived to be doing anything under pressure. Quiet diplomacy is likely to be the thing"

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1113

Biko film's approval to be reconsidered

11A
1200
SKV 28/7/88

The Publications Appeal Board hearing into the desirability of "Cry Freedom" began in Pretoria today amid threats by the distributor, UPI in London, to withdraw the film from the South African circuit if a single centimetre is cut from it.

The board, which has been directed by the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, to reconsider approval of the film, viewed the movie in Pretoria yesterday.

PREVIEW

Legal representatives and members of the press were invited to the special preview.

Chairman Professor Kobus van Rooyen said two days had been set aside for the hearing and indicated that the board's ruling could be expected tomorrow, the day of the film's release.

Scenes from the film, which features American actors Kevin Kline as the banned former *Daily Dispatch* editor Donald Woods and Denzil Wash-

ington as Steve Biko, include

A police raid on the Crossroads settlement camp, the destruction of a community centre run by Biko's wife by police men wearing balaclavas, a scene showing a seriously injured Biko being thrown into the back of a police van, Minister of Justice, Mr Jimmy Kruger, making his "Biko's death leaves me cold" speech, and the Woods children screaming after wearing the acid-soaked Biko T-shirts sent to them.

ESCAPE

A major part of the film is devoted to the escape from South Africa of Donald Woods and his family.

"Cry Freedom" ends with a list of detainees who died in police custody and the official reasons for their deaths, such as "fell against a chair", "slipped in the shower", "self-strangulation" and, in Steve Biko's case, "hunger strike".

Boesak in Maputo

MAPUTO — The president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches and patron of the United Democratic Front, Dr Alan Boesak, arrived in Maputo this week for a two-day visit to Mozambique

He called for direct negotiations between the South African government and Swapo and for an end to all support for Unita

(11A)

Sowetan 28/7/85

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28/7/88

9 IN COURT FOR FURTHERING AIMS OF ANC

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH — Nine men from local townships appeared in the Port Elizabeth Magistrate's Court yesterday charged with terrorism and furthering the aims of the ANC.

Appearing amid tight security in a packed courtroom were Ludwe Lemuel Lebese, 27, of Makina Street, Zwide, Zohle Michael Dikiza, 28, Edward Gadu, 51, Tembile Mtulu, 28, Andile Mtulu, 28, Michael Fuzile Witbooi, 28, Nene Metshile, 29, all of Kwazakhele, Charles Spho Adams, 34, of Gaba Street, Motherwell; and Monde Dougmore Johnson, 31, of Zibonda Street, New Brighton.

The State alleges that between July 8 1980 and March 8 1988 they unlawfully and intentionally undermined or endangered the authority of the State in SA.

It alleges they associated with or became members of the banned ANC with the intention of bringing about political, industrial, social and economic change in SA.

It also alleges they received military, political and ideological training in Angola, Yugoslavia and East Germany or other unknown countries, and set up a courier to convey messages, information, instructions and weapons between SA and other countries.

The accused were not asked to plead and no evidence was led. The case was postponed to August 3

BIKO FILM SAGA



THE Azanian Co-ordinating Committee said this week the Government's threat to ban the film on the life and death of black consciousness leader, Steve Biko, *Cry Freedom*, was expected and portrayed a government which did not want to face itself.

Meanwhile, the distributors of the film, UIP, yesterday said they were going ahead with their advertising campaign and plans for its opening at 35 cinemas tomorrow.

Responding to the ruling of the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stofel Botha, which ordered the Publications Appeal Board to reconsider its decision to pass the film with no cuts and age restrictions, Azacco said:

"It is interesting to note that the South African Government in a subtle manner threaten to ban *Cry Freedom*, a film which is an attempt to recreate the life of Steve Biko.

"As we have said before the film is about a South African white liberal, Donald Woods, who is said to be in his ways and prejudices to be a mirror of South African whites in general."

Azacco said the film was also about "a radical leader of the black consciousness movement of the 1970s."

"We believe the Government is not afraid of how Comrade Biko is portrayed, but rather it does not want to look itself in the mirror — that is, Donald Woods and the white society in general as portrayed in the film."

"As to what Steve Biko says or depicts, we believe that is being said every day by members of the movement he founded and all other people involved in the liberation struggle," said Azacco.

The managing director of UIP, Mr Peter Dignan, said he was surprised by Mr Botha's move although his actions were not unprecedented. "He referred two films to the Appeal Board last year," he said.

28/7/88
257
S. Swetman

AN alleged leader of Qibla — a Muslim organisation — was found by police in possession of a document which called for unity among the oppressed and warning that apartheid was a recipe for building a corrupt society, the Pretoria Regional Court heard yesterday.

The document, which was allegedly found in Mr Achmad Cassiem's possession and written in his own handwriting also called for the people to "take the lead and join hands with the militant oppressed masses and have confidence in ourselves"

This evidence emerged during argument by the prosecutor, Mr J Pretorius, who called for the conviction of Mr Cassiem and Mr Yusuf Patel — both alleged members of Qibla — for having conspired with the banned Pan Africanist Congress

Mr Pretorius asked the court to convict them on the grounds of common purpose

Both accused, together with Mr Mabatu Enoch Zulu, Mr Ndoda Ganga, Mr Vincent Mathunjwa, Mr Paul Mohohlo and the Reverend Daniel Nkopodi have pleaded not guilty before Mr J H Bekker to 24 counts of terrorism and defeating the ends of justice

The document, which is an exhibit in

court, also quoted Islam as a school of thought for those who struggle against imperialism. It called "for the unity of the oppressed people to destroy the oppressive system of Government"

The document also urged people to

- Sever all relations with government institutions,
- Refuse to co-operate with them,
- Refrain from any action which might be construed as aiding them, and
- Establish new judicial, financial, economic, cultural and political institutions

The document further read "Great men, with broad horizons of thought, never despair or pay attention to the circumstances in which they find themselves — for example imprisonment or captivity — which may continue indefinitely. Instead they continue making plans for the advancement of their cause"

(Proceeding)

Franchise deal may not work in UK

Sowetan 28(7/88



LONDON — Nelson Mandela's franchise agreement with black American businessman Robert J Brown, is unlikely to have much impact in Britain, despite the widespread use of his name here.

Unlike the position in the United States, there is no provision under British law for the copyrighting of personal names.

According to lawyer Julian Iurton, whose clients include celebrities who have sought franchise agreements, Mr Mandela and Mr Brown will be able to go to court here only over a registered logo.

Anti-apartheid organisations, who admit they were surprised by the agreement, are examining the implications, but do not expect their work to be affected.

A spokesman for the Anti-Apartheid Movement, said "It's a case of having to sort out what is and what is not happening. It is something we will have to think about. We will just have to check the whole thing out, and that will

SOWETAN Reporter

take some time"

The AAM organised and benefited substantially from the Nelson Mandela pop concert at Wembley Stadium last month which raised about R6-million. A variety of goods, such as T-shirts, programmes and badges were sold in aid of its Free Nelson Mandela campaign.

Agreement

Although the precise nature of the agreement has not been disclosed, it is thought that it is designed primarily to prevent commercial exploitation of the Mandela name, rather than to discourage genuine events aimed at furthering the anti-apartheid cause.

Mr Mandela's name has become widely known throughout Britain because of the often controversial naming of public places after him, particularly by Left-wing town councils. Streets, roads, squares, buildings, gardens and college rooms have been

named after the jailed ANC leader.

In addition, many films, pop records — even a seat in an Edinburgh cinema — as well as many commercial items, particularly T-shirts, bear the name.

In London alone there are two Mandela streets (the AAM has its offices in one), a Mandela Way, a Mandela Close, and a Nelson Mandela House (London headquarters of the National Union of Students).

In many cases, the use of the name was authorised by the Mandela family, in others not.

An area which could be affected by the franchise agreement is that of pop music. The pop group Simple Minds performed Mandela Day at the birthday concert, and are considering whether to include it in their latest album. Another song, Free Nelson Mandela, has been popularised by The Specials.

It is not known if the Mandela family will benefit through the sale of such records.

Rajbansi 'wrote poison-pen letters'

CAP Ticks
28/7/88

11/2



Mr Amichand Rajbansi

DURBAN. — Suspended cabinet minister Mr Amichand Rajbansi was the author of "poison-pen" letters to MP Mr Baldeo Dookie, the first witness before the James commission said yesterday.

In a signed statement read by advocate Mr Anton Ackermann, who is leading evidence for the commission, a near-capacity courtroom heard that Mr Govinsamy Pillay wrote the letters which he said were dictated to him over the telephone by Mr Rajbansi.

Mr Pillay said he was approached by Mr Rajbansi, chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Delegates, to write letters to Mr Dookie which were slanderous and libellous.

He said that he took down what Mr Rajbansi had told him and sent a typed version to Mr Dookie and other MPs.

He said that when stories

about the letters appeared in the newspapers, Mr Rajbansi phoned him and told him to destroy all evidence of the letters.

"I first approached Dr J N Reddy and made a clean breast of things and told him that Mr Rajbansi was the author of the poison-pen letters and I was his assistant," he said.

In his statement Mr Pillay said he was a businessman with a bottle store and butchery interests.

He said he was a financier of Mr Rajbansi's political party, but "recently grew disgusted with his corruption and attitude towards his colleagues".

After Mr Ackermann had finished reading the statement, Mr Pillay said he had subsequently retracted it because, "I made it under duress — I lied in most of it", he told Mr James.

The case continues. — Sapa

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9 IN COURT FOR FURTHERING AIMS OF ANC

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH — Nine men from local townships appeared in the Port Elizabeth Magistrate's Court yesterday charged with terrorism and furthering the aims of the ANC.

Appearing amid tight security in a packed courtroom were Ludwe Lemuel Lebese, 27, of Makina Street, Zwide, Zolile Michael Dikiza, 28, Edward Gadu, 51, Tembile Mtulu, 28, Andile Mtulu, 28, Michael Fuzile Witbooi, 28, Nene Metshile, 29, all of Kwazakhele; Charles Sipho Adams, 34, of Gaba Street, Motherwell; and Monde Dougmore Johnson, 31, of Zibonda Street, New Brighton

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The accused were not asked to plead and no evidence was led. The case was postponed to August 3.

TRENDS

'Inside Pollsmoor with Mandela'



By RYLAND FISHER

NELSON Mandela has "a lot more grey hair" but he is "still the same old Nelson"

This is how Mrs Amina Cachalia and her husband Yusuf saw Mandela for the first time in 26 years when they visited him at Pollsmoor Prison at the weekend

The couple, both active in the SA Indian Congress in the 1950s, saw Mandela for about 50 minutes on Saturday morning, before the former African National Congress leader was visited by his wife Winnie, daughter Zinzi and grandchildren Gadaffi and Zolekha.

The Cachalias last saw him in court in 1962 when he was sentenced to five years in jail for incitement and leaving the country illegally

"Nelson is much leaner. And there is a lot of grey among the black hair," said Mrs Cachalia.

Lost fullness

"His face has lost its fullness. I suppose it is because his body has lost weight. He exercises regularly and is in good shape. He's very trim."

"He is still the same old Nelson, full of laughter, with his eyes narrowing when he laughs. He does not look 70."

She described the visit as "absolutely wonderful, so precious and beautiful."

"Before the visit, I hoped it would not be too emotional, but when we walked in, Nelson stood there with his arms open and greeted us. He hugged my husband and I."

"There were arm chairs so we sat down and started chatting. Nelson sat between Yusuf and I as we spoke about our families, our children, his mother and all our old friends."

"It seemed he was not restricted and could speak about what he wanted. Before the visit, however, we had to fill in a form saying we won't pass on anything to him."

Warder in room

"There was also a clause that the visit could be terminated if we transgressed prison rules."

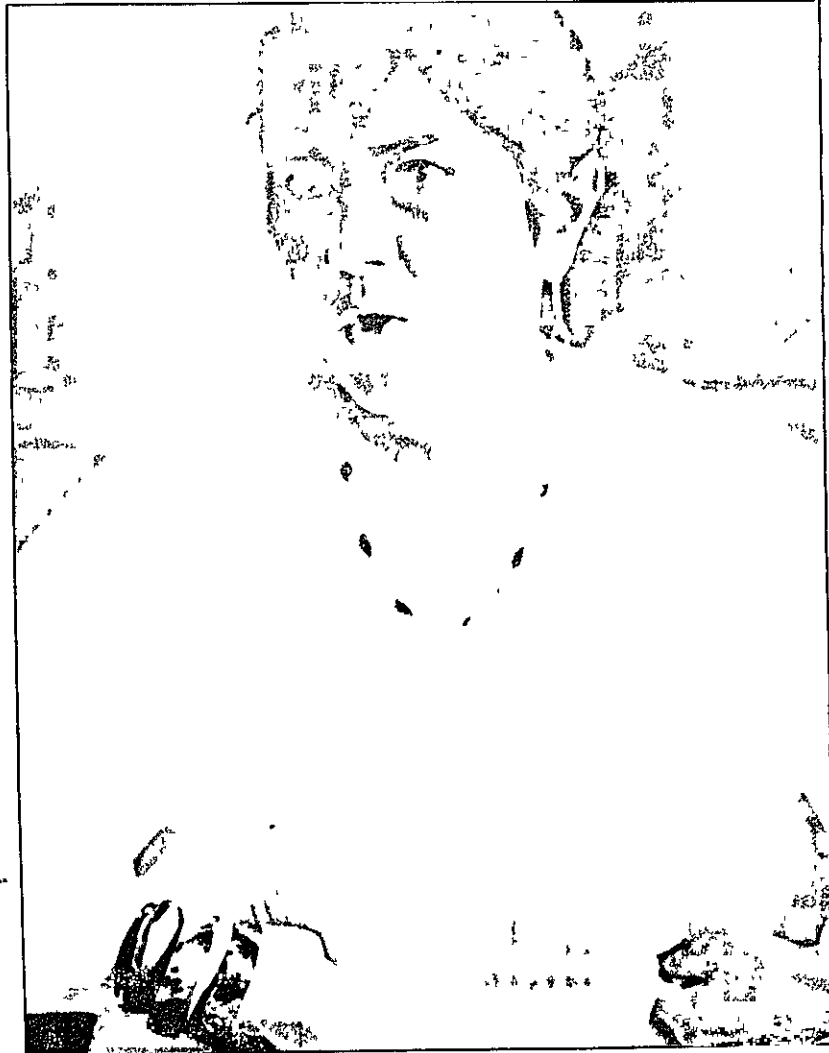
"One warder sat in the room all the time but he did not seem interested in what we were talking about."

"Nelson's khaki pants were immaculately cleaned and ironed. He also wore a long-sleeved khaki shirt from which we could see a white vest sticking out in front, brown lace up shoes and thin, beige socks. He also wore a thick brown leather belt which appeared worn with age."

"I asked him how he was feeling. He is in absolute good health. He sees medical people from time to time, and specialists when needed."

"Nelson is kept very busy. He reads and writes a lot. He corresponds with many people."

"I told him that many of his old friends, who had been in the treason trial in the 1950s, had come to attend a party in Johannesburg to celebrate



Amina Cachalia, describing Nelson Mandela's shape — "he's very trim"

his birthday. But the party was banned and we all had lunch at our house.

"He was glad that people could come together again but did not dwell much on his birthday."

"I've known him since about 1950 when I was in the Indian Youth Congress."

"Yusuf, who was secretary of the Indian Congress, knew him when he was a student in Johannesburg. Nelson and Ismail Meer lived in a flat in Kholwad House, Market Street, where Ahmed Kathrada later went to live."

She got to know Nelson through political activities at the time.

"He was a gentle and warm man, very able and very definite. When he said something, he meant it. He seemed to be exactly the same when we saw him now."

Undoubtedly, 26 years of being deprived of one's family and friends must have effects, but Nelson does not seem at all depressed. He is full of fun and laughter. His laugh still

has the same merry sound.

"We will try to get another visit soon. I told Nelson when we come again, it must be to take him home," she said.

Yusuf Cachalia said he was happy to have seen Mandela "after such a long time and so much effort."

"Nelson and I are very old friends and have worked together politically for many years."

Nelson's request

"Amina and I were surprised when we were granted this visit as we had been refused everytime we applied to visit him."

We first applied about 17 years ago, sometimes two or three times a year.

"This time we had not applied. We learnt that Nelson had requested this visit."

We were informed of the visit a month ago when someone telephoned us from Pollsmoor Prison.

Cachalia said Mandela was "very alert, confident and full of hope."

"He is very brave man, but that goes without saying."

"He is mindful of the support the people throughout South Africa have shown and he appreciates this. He wants the people to know of his own confidence in the future."

"I've known him since the 1940s when he was a university student introduced to me by other students. Later I knew him as a member of the ANC Youth League."

"In 1952 we worked very closely on the Defiance Campaign. I represented the Indian Congress and he the ANC."

"We worked together on the Congress of the People with Walter Sisulu and others."

"In 1960 we were detained for four months at Pretoria under the State of Emergency."

"Nelson's looks have changed slightly but he is essentially the same person. His charisma and confidence are still there."

"Nelson is very articulate, gentle and peaceful. South Africa will be better off if he is released."

Teenage mob sets fire to Mandela home

(119)
APR 7 1985 2917/18
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JOHANNESBURG — A mob of black teenagers fire-bombed the Soweto home of Mrs Winnie Mandela yesterday

Police said pupils stoned and fire-bombed the house in a midday attack.

Witnesses told reporters the youths sought revenge for an earlier assault by teenage members of a soccer team under Mr Mandela's patronage

The fire gutted the three-room township house where Mrs Mandela lives with her daughter Zindzi and her two grandchildren. Witnesses said the blaze destroyed clothing, furniture and curtains.



FIRE ... A fireman removes a burnt mattress from the Mandela house

To page 3



Very little remained of the Mandela home after a fire gutted it yesterday afternoon

© Picture by Sean Woods

Black pupils in arson attack on Mandela's home

By Craig Kotze and Jovial Rantao

Police have begun an arson investigation after black pupils yesterday stoned and set fire to one of the two Mandela homes in Orlando West, Soweto

No one was injured in the noon attack, which happened while the house was empty, police said

The blaze is the second experienced by Mrs Winnie Mandela, wife of jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela. Her house in Brandfont, in the Free State, burnt down after she was banished there in 1977

RIVALRY MOTIVE?

Damage estimated at thousands of rands was caused by yesterday's blaze, which destroyed the inside of the house and its contents

Police could today not confirm reports that the attack was motivated by rivalry between the students and Mrs Mandela's soccer team

But members of the Mandela soccer team said last night that there was a 'grudge' between the team and students from the nearby Dahwonga Secondary School

They said they were shocked that the students had apparently chosen to attack Mrs Mandela's home instead of taking the matter up with them

Mrs Mandela has so far refused to comment

Last night three policemen guarded the home along with some members of the soccer team

According to some of the players, about five or six students arrived at the house before the attack and asked whether Mrs Mandela was in

When they heard the house was empty, a large group of students, estimated at between 30 and 50, arrived at the home and stoned it, smashing windows

They then set it alight

ESCALATION OF VIOLENCE

Reacting to the attack, South African Council of Churches general secretary, Rev Frank Chikane, said in a statement that the attack could "escalate the violent situation we find ourselves in"

● Soweto police said today they were investigating claims, made in phone calls to The Star and at least one other newspaper, that the Pan Africanist Congress claimed responsibility for the Mandela attack

However, Soweto CID chief Brigadier G van Zyl said he did not know about unsigned pamphlets purporting to come from Azapo in which it was said the fire was 'convenient' and that Mrs Mandela would move to the "comforts of the R2 million white elephant" home built in Soweto, but not yet occupied by the Mandelas

Call for unity of students

THE Azanian Students' Movement has called for the unity of black students in order to circumvent the harassment they are experiencing.

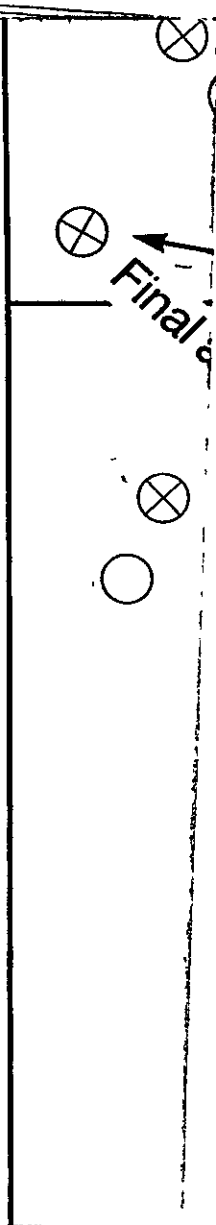
The call was made at a two-day seminar held at the Medical University of Southern Africa recently. It was attended by more than 200 delegates from Azasm's two regions — the central and southern Transvaal.

An Azasm spokesman, Mr Holly Kekana, said delegates expressed concern over the common nature of problems experienced from region to region, at secondary and tertiary institutions.

Delegates, he said, had also realised that arrests and expulsion of students were the order of the day. It was emphasised that if students were to circumvent this harassment, it was imperative that they unite — irrespective from which camps they came from.

One issue that also came up at the seminar was the recent expulsion of 14 pupils from the Central State Secondary School in Soshanguve. Delegates said the pupils were being denied the most basic moral of human rights which is education.

some from 29/17/82



Police reject PAC claims

Claims by the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) that 12 South African security force members were killed at a roadblock on Sunday were "ridiculous and rejected as an attempt to save face", a police liaison officer said in Pretoria yesterday

He was commenting on a report by the national Zimbabwean news agency, Ziara, that a unit of the armed wing of the PAC, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla), had killed 12 South Africans and lost four of its members in a shoot-out on the Mafikeng-Lichtenburg road

In a statement issued from its Dar es Salaam headquarters yesterday, the PAC confirmed that four of its members died in a shoot-out

"The Apla unit attacked the regime's forces with hand grenades and fol-

lowed up with automatic gunfire when the enemy tried to take cover and returned fire

"Five enemy soldiers died, while Apla suffered three fatalities in the exchange"

The statement added that another person, allegedly captured by the South African forces, primed a hand grenade which exploded, killing himself and another seven security force members

The statement rejected claims by the South African Police that the men were stopped, saying they had launched an attack on those manning the roadblock

The police spokesman said events at the roadblock, subsequent follow-up work and investigations had been correctly reported by the police, as would be proved in court — Sapa

Biko film (119)
cleared for
Set 29/11/68
screening

Cry Freedom was today cleared for public screening by the Publications Appeal Board with a 2-19 age restriction.

The movie opened on circuit at 10 am today, just 30 minutes after news that it had been declared "not undesirable" by the Board.

● See Page 2.

29/7/88 (11A)



Affidavit clearing Rajbansi was voluntary, says witness

DURBAN. — Durban businessman Mr Govindsamy Pillay has denied Mr Amichand Rajbansi "coerced" him into retracting damaging allegations he had made against Mr Rajbansi.

Mr Pillay, who has known Mr Rajbansi for nearly 20 years, was being questioned in the Durban Magistrate's Court on the second day of the James Commission of Inquiry into alleged irregularities in the House of Delegates.

The inquiry had heard that Mr Pillay had made an affidavit alleging, among other things, that Mr Rajbansi wrote "poison-pen" letters about Mr Baldeo Dookie, the former Minister of Local Government, Housing and Agriculture, and received a pay-out for arranging a liquor licence. Mr Pillay then made a second affidavit, retracting the allegations.

Mr Anton Ackermann, who is leading evidence for the commission, suggested Mr Pillay had tried to minimise the role of Mr Rajbansi in drawing up the second affidavit.

When Mr Ackermann suggested to Mr Pillay he had tried to mislead the commission, Mr Pillay confirmed that some of the retracting statements were typed at Mr Rajbansi's office.

"But if you are asking me whether he (Mr Rajbansi) coerced me into it, then the answer is no."

Mr Pillay confirmed he had signed the first affidavit, but had not read it. He had received a copy of the affidavit only three or four months after it was written, and having read it he decided he did not like its contents.

"I felt it was now politics, and that I was a political pawn."

Mr Pillay later told the commission that Mr Dookie and Mr Ismail Omar, the national chairman of Solidarity, had coerced him into making a statement in order to oust Mr Rajbansi from power.

Mr Ackermann produced a copy of an agreement stating that Mr Pillay was prepared to give evidence against Mr Rajbansi, subject to certain assurances by the Solidarity Party.

Mr Pillay agreed that he had asked a lawyer to draw it up.

But he denied suggestions by Mr Ackermann that Dr J N Reddy and Mr Ismail Omar were not prepared to sign the document.

Mr Ackermann said Dr Reddy would tell the commission that he had left it entirely to Mr Pillay to decide whether he would be prepared to make a statement against Mr Rajbansi.

Dr Reddy would say he told

Mr Pillay to give serious consideration to the matter, and if he wished to proceed, Dr Reddy would be prepared to advise him on the correct procedures to be followed.

Mr Pillay denied Dr Reddy had said this to him.

Mr Pillay agreed that when he went to Pretoria to submit the affidavit, he had said in the presence of the Advocate-General, the assistant Advocate-General, Mr Omar and Dr Reddy, that the affidavit had been made of his own free will.

Asked to elaborate on why he had decided to withdraw the "anti-Rajbansi" affidavit, Mr Pillay agreed with suggestions by Mr Rajbansi that it had "pricked his conscience."

He also agreed with suggestions by Mr Rajbansi that it was "purely your own decision" to withdraw the affidavit.

The hearing continues today. — Sapa.

**CHARLES LAUR-
ENCE in New York
and PENNY SYMON
in London report on
a deal done behind
bars with Nelson
Mandela.**

THE claim by the black American businessman Robert J Brown that he has signed a franchise agreement with Nelson Mandela, provoked little surprise on his home turf in the United States

As one acquaintance in North Carolina said, the potentially profitable deal to "market" Mandela "sounds like the perfect Bob Brown move"

The changing fortunes of Robert J Brown have raised eyebrows in the States for many years

He has gone from civil rights sit-ins under the banner of Martin Luther King to a job as an aide in the Nixon White House, from a rookie police beat in High Point, North Carolina, where he was born, to the moment of fame in 1986 when he looked likely to become America's first black ambassador to South Africa

Along the way, Brown, now 53, has changed his political complexion from liberal Democrat to staunch Republican and amassed a fortune estimated to be in seven figures

"He is a wheeler-dealer. He is the kind of guy that can and does play both sides of the fence," says Hermann Gist, a prominent black Democrat.

The idea of sending a black ambassador to Pretoria was almost universally applauded as the perfect gesture in the anti-racist climate of '86 and Brown's hat was the first to be thrown into the ring of the nomination process

It was thrown out again with remarkable speed when re-

No surprise at Mandela market deal

CMC (M) 29/7/88 114

ports appeared about an \$860 000 federal contract awarded to a partnership including Brown for the supply of catering services to a military base in North Carolina

The contract, from the Small Business Administration, was specifically marked for "disadvantaged minority firms", as it was awarded in 1972, when Brown was earning good money and wielding influence as a minority group adviser to the Nixon administration, the contract became the target of scrutiny in a congressional hearing in 1977

There had been endorsements for Brown from stars on both sides of the political divide. Jesse Jackson recalled that Brown was a "close friend and supporter of Dr King", and the arch-conservative North Carolina senator Jesse Helms also claimed acquaintance and said he was "favourably impressed"

Brown's business vehicle is a public relations firm, B and C Associates. The company has never been far from controversy, at one time having a reputation for involvement in "union busting" contracts in North Carolina.

Brown's defence was never mind the name, consider the job opportunities for blacks

He has had considerable previous experience in South Africa, albeit business rather than diplomatic

Among B and C's most prominent clients has been Nabisco, the cereal manufacturer, and the Sara Lee Corporation, famed cake-makers of Chicago

Both were active in South Africa at the time Brown's name was up for the ambassadorship, leading him to promise to sever his links with them if he had won the post.

While promoting breakfast cereals and chocolate cakes in South Africa, Brown had also worked on civil rights causes and is said to have had several meetings with Winnie Mandela over the years before his weekend visit to Cape Town's Pollsmoor prison where the franchise arrangement was apparently signed

It is thought likely that his arrangement with Nelson Mandela, whereby he is said to have power of attorney for the jailed African National Congress leader, has grown out of Mrs Mandela's anxieties over attempts to exploit the family name

Last year she made her anger felt when TV South made a film which depicted their marriage without consulting her

She attempted, unsuccessfully, to have the film banned, saying it exploited her family name and breached international copyright laws

However, both the ANC and the anti-apartheid campaigners expressed surprise at the

news of Brown's deal, under which he will apparently control all rights to negotiate films, books and memorabilia on Mandela and might even be able to exact royalties from the use of Nelson Mandela's name

Many local authorities have honoured Mandela by naming roads after him, often amid a good deal of controversy

Tribute

But it is within the student community that his name is most revered. By coincidence, Britain's National Union of Students recently sent a request from its London headquarters — Nelson Mandela House — to universities and other educational establishments, asking them to count all their campus buildings bearing Mandela's name

"We want to know exactly how many there are, because we are anxious to encourage others to name buildings, rooms or bars after him as a tribute," a spokesman said. "I find the news of the franchise very surprising. However we are not disturbed because the Mandela family was involved in the naming of our building"

The recent Mandela birthday concert in London raised £11.5 m (R46 m) for the Anti-Apartheid Movement and various children's charities

Record companies wonder whether Brown will now exert his control over them

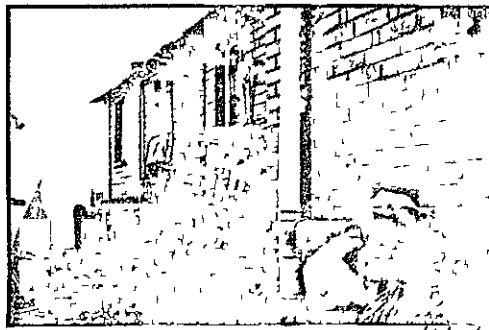
Pop group Simple Minds performed *Mandela Day* at the birthday concert, and are considering whether to include it on their latest album

A spokesman for Virgin Records said that the company had no plans to donate any of the profits to charity

Chrysalis Records, who sold the anti-apartheid anthem *Free Nelson Mandela* by The Specials, said that money had not gone to charity, but the group had been active in organizing the Wembley concert.

Remove when in force. Something to be done.

All that remains of Mandela's home



'The youths got hold of two petrol drums, forced their way to Winnie's bedroom and poured the petrol on the furniture'

of Mandela's home

By VUSI GUNENE



Police and firemen inspect the damage at the Orlando West home of Nelson and Winnie Mandela. Picture: RAFS MAYET, Afrapix

ALL that remains of Nelson and Winnie Mandela's Orlando West home, gutted by fire yesterday, is a shell

A member of the Mandela Football Club (MFC) who was in the house when the fire began and more than 50 youths, some in school uniform, arrived at the house at lunch time and demanded to speak to the club members

Three of them gained entrance by forcing their way through the main gate, said the soccer player, who did not want to be identified

A fight ensued and the three intruders were evicted from the house, but they returned a short while later and allegedly stoned the house, breaking windows

'They got hold of two petrol containers and forced their way through Winnie's bedroom and poured petrol on the furniture, the soccer player said

'They did the same to the lounge and other rooms before setting the whole house on fire'

The petrol was kept for use in two electrical generators — used since the Soweto City Council cut the electricity during the three-year-old rent boycott

Three members of the MFC said they attempted to extinguish the fire but were driven back by the heat

'The youths fled the area, taking the two generators with them,' they said. No one was injured

The fire brigade arrived and put out the fire while the South African Police took photographs. Four truck loads of South African Defence Force members and the security police were seen inspecting the damage

Winnie Mandela declined to comment on the incident or speculate on the cause. Neither she nor her daughter, Zandi, were in the house at the time

When Winnie Mandela arrived a large group of journalists crowded her car and she immediately drove away

There was no clarity yesterday about the reasons for the incident. However, speculation centred around two possible explanations of events. Aubrey Mokoena of the Release Mandela Campaign, who visited the gutted house, described the blaze as 'a ruthless act of

●To PAGE 2

THE TWO DECISIONS
Two tricky cases, the

Fire guts Mandela's home

●From PAGE 1

cowardice by agents of the government

'It is the work of vigilantes. No child in Soweto could ever see reason to set the house of Mandela alight, except that those who did it were sent by the vigilantes themselves'

Another theory is that the arson attack was not aimed at the Man-

delas at all, but rather at the MFC. According to this version, youths vying to achieve territorial influence in Soweto were responsible — the involvement of the Mandela home was coincidental

Mrs Mandela has built another, much-larger, house in Soweto, but has not moved into it.

Frank Chikane, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, made a call to 'the community of the Soweto to act responsibly'

'I am afraid this could exacerbate the violent situation we find ourselves in

'I was at the Mandela house today to meet the family and was disgusted by the damage caused to the house and a possible threat to life.

'I would like to call upon anyone to leave this issue in the hands of the leadership of the people to take care of the situation.'

the film you may
even see: PAGE 3

The contents of this newspaper have been restricted in terms of the Emergency regulations

W/Mail
29/7-4/8/88

Debate rages over 'Cry Freedom'

Biko film likely to affect whites, says professor

By Melanie Gosling

Whites would be more affected by the film "Cry Freedom" than blacks would be, an expert witness called by the defence said at a Publications Appeal Board hearing in Pretoria yesterday. The witness, Professor Pieter Fourie of Unisa, predicted the film — on the life of Black Consciousness activist Steve Biko who died in detention in 1977 — would have the same effect on audiences as the television series "Roots" had in the United States. There whites had been more affected than blacks, he said.

The Publications Appeal Board handed down its ruling on whether the film should be banned at 9.30 am today.

Yesterday's hearing followed a decision by Home Affairs Minister Mr Stoffel Botha to refer the film to the board before its scheduled release in cinemas in South Africa later today.

The film was originally found to be "not undesirable" by the Publications Committee and approved unconditionally.

Professor Pieter Fourie said "Cry Freedom" was not a propaganda film, but a dramatised documentary made specifically for entertainment.

The subject matter of 'Cry Freedom' is well known to blacks, who may have experienced it first hand. It could alter the perceptions of white South Africans positively because it shows the circumstances in which black South Africans live.

Mr Justus Tshungu of the SABC, called as a witness by the State, described the opening and closing scenes in the film as a recipe for violence. He said it should not be shown to blacks under 40, because the youth were "restless".

Asked under cross-examination why blacks had not been incited to violence by seeing the trailer to "Cry Freedom", which has been screened for several weeks, and which contained both the opening and closing scenes, Mr Tshungu said it was because the young people would have regarded it simply as "an advertisement".

Mr Piet van der Byl, for the State, conceded there was no indication in "Cry Freedom" that Biko advocated violence.

But, he said the film portrays the police in a bad light, and calls for confrontation.

Professor van der Westhuizen said in argument that some scenes were emotive but that was insufficient reason to ban the film.

"The PAB are not police or soldiers. It is not their duty to protect the country."

It was the board's duty simply to decide in terms of the Publications Act whether the film was harmful to relations between people of South Africa, and whether it was prejudicial to the safety of the State.

"If people leave the cinemas singing and saying bad things about the Government, that's not a threat to the State security."

"Violence is never advocated in the film. The stereotyped policemen, caricatures with Australian accents, are quite likely to be seen as amusing by South African viewers."

ns over N13 toll plans

After angering motorists who will soon be asked to pay tolls to get to and from the city's

between the Johannesburg and the suburbs residents by the Win-

The management committee yesterday unanimously rejected the tolling of the N13 and Mr Dame van Zyl, chairman of the transportation committee and National Party leader in the council, has requested an urgent meeting with Minister of Transport, Mr Eli Louw.

Mr van Zyl, supported by four local NP MPs, has dug in his heels on an issue which he said affected 35 000 residents.

horrible

By Dik Browne



"Violence is never advocated in the film. The stereotyped policemen, caricatures with Australian accents, are quite likely to be seen as amusing by South African viewers."

Restrictions affect polls

The Government could not allow the 17 restricted organisations to discourage voters from going to the polls in the October municipal elections, although it could not be denied that Government restrictions of the 17 had an effect on the elections, the Minister of Information, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, said yesterday.

By limiting these organisations, the Government was "freeing" people to participate in democratic elections if they so wished.

Despite the clampdown on the organisations under emergency regulations, their leaders were free to stand for election as independents.

At a press briefing in Pretoria, Dr van der Merwe said it was the expressed aim of the ANC to discourage and prevent people voting in the local government elections.

The Government's prohibition on boycott campaigns was the "lesser of two evils" when compared with the problem of intimidation. It was compelled to protect people's democratic right to participate in elections

70 pc of blacks are registered

87c 29/11/86

By Esmaré van der Merwe,
Political Reporter

More than 70 percent of black voters had already been registered for the October municipal elections, the Minister of Information, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe said yesterday

This high figure was due to the fact that many blacks eligible for voting "automatically" appeared on voters' lists because they were registered on "various other existing lists of residents", such as official registers of ratepayers.

Dr van der Merwe told a press conference in Pretoria these "extensive methods" were used to ensure that as many voters as possible had the opportunity to participate in the local government elections if they wished

Four different deadlines for registration applied to the four race groups in the four provinces.

The Government's efforts to simplify these procedures by legislation were nullified because the Labour Party refused to pass the proposed legislation

30/7/88 11/1/88

'300 men in PAC's army'

JOHANNESBURG — The military wing of the Pan African Congress (PAC), the Azanian People's Liberation Army, had about 300 members, Brigadier Herman Stadler of the security police told the magistrate's court yesterday.

He was giving evidence in the trial of an allegedly highly-trained PAC terrorist, Mr Themba Jack Pikwane, 32, of Hartswater.

Mr Pikwane, who has denied guilt on charges of terrorism and belonging to an illegal organization, was arrested in Pampierstad near Hartswater in January this year. — Sapa

Star 30/7/88 (11A) (200)

Minister slates 'crude propaganda'

The film "Cry Freedom" was intended to be an anti-South Africa propaganda instrument, the Minister of Information, Broadcasting Services and the Film Industry, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, said in Pretoria last night

He told a news conference "We don't need that sort of internal disturbance and excitement from people like (the film's director) Richard Attenborough"

Dr Van der Merwe said Government had decided to override the Publications Appeal Board and have the film seized because the board was not able to judge "the situation on the streets".

He said the police investigation into the bomb threats and explosions which had occurred at cinemas where the film was being screened was still in its early stages. It was not known who was responsible for these incidents.

However, the film was offensive to a variety of groups in South Africa and it was possible that whites had been responsible.

Richard Attenborough clearly intended to make anti-South African propaganda with the film, and it was significant that the Zimbabwean Government had contributed a good part of the cost of the production, Dr Van der Merwe said.

Asked why Government had seized the film on the day of its South African premiere, Dr van der Merwe said "It did not matter at what stage the South African Government prohibited the film. If it had prohibited the film three months ago, it would still have had a strong publicity effect for the film overseas."

Government realised that its action would create some problems for South Africa abroad, "but we were in a position where we had to choose the lesser of two evils".

Dr Van der Merwe said Government had not considered removing the powers of the Publications Appeal Board to adjudicate in controversial cases.

He said the film portrayed the security forces in a negative light and their public image would be undermined.

"The film's crude propaganda content strongly emerges in the depiction of radical blacks as 'good' as opposed to whites."

"Biko's own rejection of whites and advocacy of violence are underplayed or not depicted at all."

Whites were typified as privileged and surrounded by wealth, while blacks were shown living in great poverty and subject to exploitation and repression.

"This is in sharp contrast with the opening message that the film is based on the truth," said Dr Van der Merwe — Sapa

'Cry' shocks audience

AS POLICE bullets ripped into the crowd of schoolchildren, there were gasps of horror — gasps from a cinema audience witnessing the final climatic minutes of "Cry Freedom", in which scenes from Soweto on June 16 1976 are depicted

Viewers erupted into applause when, for just a few seconds, there flashed on the screen the familiar image of Hector Petersen being carried away

They joined in singing "Nkosi Sikelele l'Afrika", which accompanies the film's last frame, an African landscape frozen to provide the backdrop to a list of those who have died in detention

To the film's last spoken word, "Amandla", there was a thunderous "Awethu" in reply from the audience

Such were the voluble, immediate reactions to the film during its first public screening in Johannesburg yesterday morning

Afterwards, as patrons left many were in tears, others sombre. Some walked away heads bowed, while other groups engaged in animated discussion

Shocked

Mrs J Thompson, a Scottish immigrant who has lived in the country for 18 years, said it was a marvelous picture

"It was a lovely film, I thoroughly enjoyed it. But did those things really happen?" she asked of the closing scenes of the 1976 Soweto riots

"If they really did happen then I'm shocked. I think every South African should go and see the picture and then decide for himself"

Mr Molefi Mika, a Soweto journalist, said it was necessary for today's teenagers to see the film to see what had happened in black townships in 1976

"They have heard about the events of 1976, but now they can see a dramatic portrayal of them"

Mr Mika also thought it a good film for white South Africans to watch. "Then at the end of the picture they can ask themselves why this sort of thing still happens"

A subdued 37-year-old German immigrant, resident here for four years, said "I'm still quite shocked. I think I have to see it a second time to believe what I've seen. One always heard about things. I sneaked off from work because I don't trust the censors"

A black man, David (27) and his white companion Helen (20) announced in unison "They're going to ban it". They added, beaming, "It's brilliant, encouraging, it tells the truth about Black Consciousness"

Mr Eric Sondona of Soweto said the picture was a graphic depiction of what had happened in Soweto in 1976. "It was near perfection," he said of the picture, which was filmed in neighbouring Zimbabwe

"I think it is important for white South Africa to see the picture so that they can get some idea of what happens in the townships"

Mr Craig le Roux (21) commented "Excellent. To think that we can't say anything in this country"

"It was all right. I liked it. I will bring my family to see it. It was a fair picture," was the opinion of Mr Enoch Mahlangu (35)

DARRYL ACCONE and
MARK GLEESON

Annabella, a 23-year-old black woman, said "I didn't see so much in 1976 — I was in Standard 3 and my mother kept me indoors. What I saw here I can't believe can happen. I can't believe that a white man can do to a black man, to a black woman, to black culture, what I've just seen. I am shocked at what I have seen"

One young man, who did not want to be identified because he was playing truant from school, said "I'm an Afrikaner. I'm shocked. I've never seen something like this. It means that things like this are happening now in the townships"

"That's why the Government is banning newspapers, so we don't see what is happening. Even if it was exaggerated, amongst all the dramatised bits there is some truth. If they ban the movie, then I know it is the truth"

Sapa reports from Cape Town that whites who attended the film there said they were shocked and deeply moved by the experience

"The film should be seen," said Mr Gary Fryer, a student who was among 170 people at the morning showing of the film at the Monte Carlo cinema in central Cape Town

"It will open people's minds a bit. You don't come out feeling aggressive, you come out feeling shocked," he said

"It made a big impact. It was very moving," said another young white who refused to give his name

The audience, virtually all white, was among a few thousand South Africans to legally watch British director Sir Richard Attenborough's film about black consciousness leader Steve Biko, who died in South African police custody in 1977

Unprecedented

Passed untouched by the censors minutes before its release yesterday, the film was banned hours later by Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee under security laws

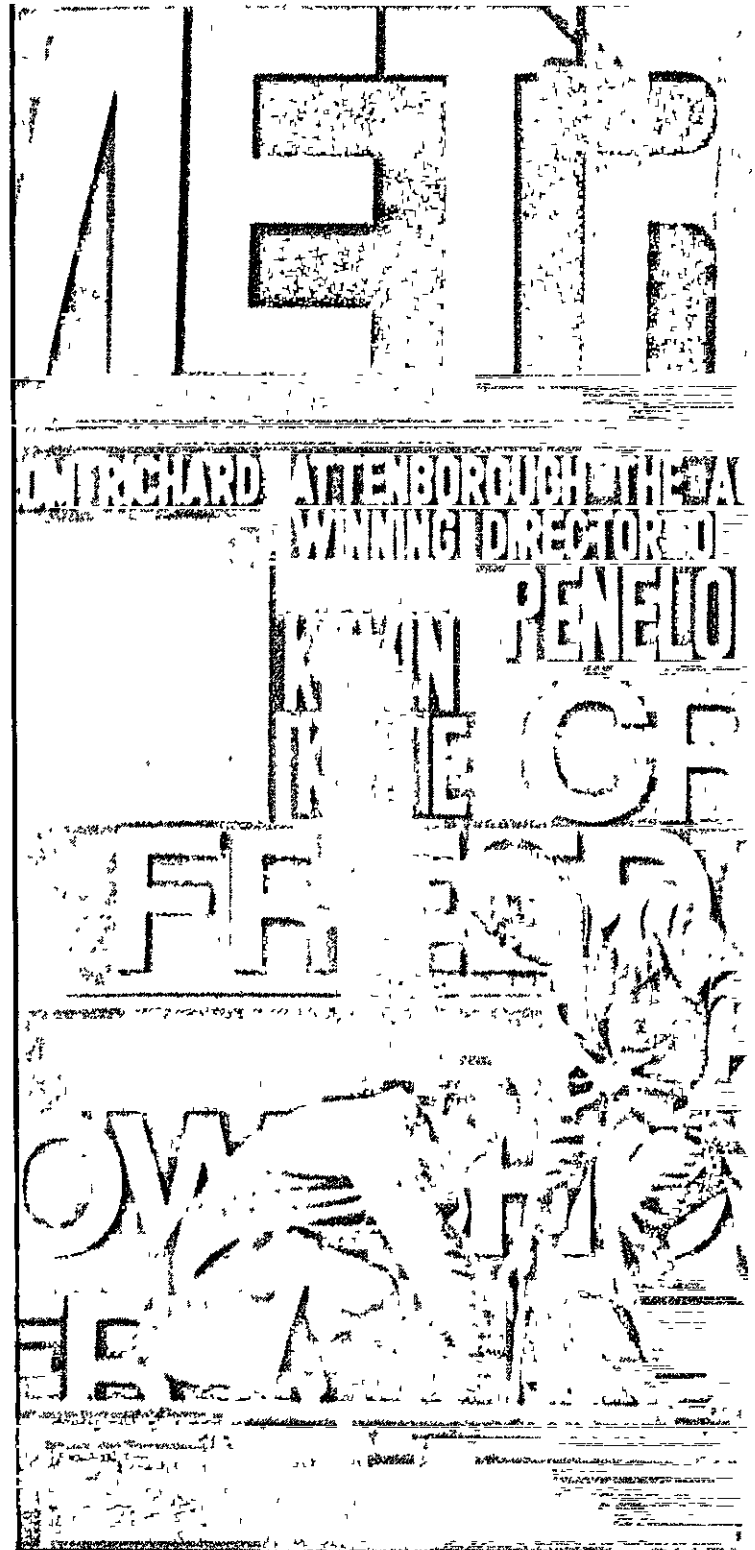
The Cape Town audience watched in rapt silence breaking into applause after the final sequence

Spectators appeared stunned by scenes portraying police shooting black demonstrators raiding a squatter camp and mistreating the detained Biko

Screening of such scenes is unprecedented in South Africa

Media reporting of political violence is barred under a 25-month-old state of emergency

The banning ended months of controversy and doubt over whether the film, shot in Zimbabwe and screened worldwide, would be shown in South Africa



BANNED Workers were still putting up the signs for Richard Attenborough's country when the Government ordered that police seize all prints. Some today, others were in cinemas waiting for the film to

shocks audiences

118
 skr 30/7/82

crowd of schoolchildren, from a cinema audience of "Cry Freedom", in which depicted. for just a few seconds, there of Hector Petersen being

DARRYL ACCONE and MARK GLEESON

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BANNED Workers were still putting up the signs for Richard Attenborough's "Cry Freedom" at movie houses around the country when the Government ordered that police seize all prints. Some people beat the ban by attending morning shows today, others were in cinemas waiting for the film to start when it was banned.

Arson attack shocks Mandela

PAC says it is not the culprit

11A
SKR 30/7/84

THE Pan Africanist Congress has denied responsibility for the attack on the home of Mrs Winnie Mandela on Thursday.

Contacted at its headquarters in Dar es Salaam, the organisation said it had nothing against Mrs Mandela and blamed "the enemy — the South African racist regime" — for the attack

The organisation said the attack was aimed at creating dissension between the PAC and the African National Congress

Nelson Mandela, Mrs Mandela's husband, is the generally accepted leader of the ANC

The PAC said this was not the first time that agents of the South African Government had tried to create dissension between the two nationalist groups, adding that the organisation had not even tried to attack the homes of the "enemy" — the South African Government presumably — let alone those of the ANC

At the same time the organisation reiterated its claim that it killed 12 members of the South African police during the shootout near Lichtenburg when a PAC group was intercepted at a roadblock

The police have instead maintained that four PAC members died while 12 members of the SAP were wounded

● **Javial Rantao** reports that Nelson Mandela's response to the burning of his Orlando West home was that of shock. His first reaction was to ask whether anyone was hurt in the attack, according to Mr Ismail Ayob, the

family's legal representative

Mr Ayob was at Pollsmoor Prison in Cape Town on Thursday when the Mandela house was stoned and set alight, apparently by a group of youths. The house was gutted except for a backyard room occupied by Miss Zinzi Mandela

"I received a telephone call while at Pollsmoor Prison and I then related the message to Mr Mandela," Mr Ayob said

He said he had gone to Pollsmoor Prison to see Mandela because his client had requested an urgent meeting with him to discuss a private matter

It was also announced that repair work to the gutted Mandela house would begin shortly. "It will take a few months before the house is ready for occupation," said Mr Ayob

The repair work to the house would be financed by an anonymous donor, Mr Ayob said

Thoughts that Mrs Mandela and her daugh-

ters would occupy the controversial luxury home built last year were dispelled by Mr Ayob. He said the house was still incomplete

She will stay with friends until her old house is repaired

Police have begun an arson investigation after the attack on the house

● **Sapa** reports that the Rev Frank Chikane, general secretary of the SACC, held discussions with school and student representatives to defuse the situation after the gutting of the Mandela home

Mr Chikane was accompanied by Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, general secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers, Mr Sydney Mafumadi, assistant general secretary of the Congress of SA Trade Unions, Sister Bernard Ncube, president of the Federation of Transvaal Women and Mr Aubrey Mokoena of the Release Mandela Committee. They appealed for calm and restraint

KEN VERNON

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Grosskopf in Lusaka

POLICE in Pretoria confirmed yesterday that Mr Hen Grosskopf had left South Africa for Lusaka, probably with the aid of the ANC

Police were reacting to reports attributed to the ANC in Botswana, which said Mr Grosskopf was in Lusaka. Police suspect him of responsibility for a number of bomb blasts which left victims dead and injured — Sapa

CAPE TOWN — Police last night seized copies of the controversial film "Cry Freedom" following a day of confusion, bomb explosions and bomb threats.

After numerous Government-sponsored attempts over the past few days to stop the film's screening, police finally moved decisively late yesterday, seizing all copies. By then it had been screened at two shows in major centres.

Police used Section 9 (2) of the State of Emergency media regulations to seize the copies — pointing at bomb blasts and bomb threats to justify the action.

Last night, many observers criticised the decision as negative, clumsy and leaving the impression the Government, which was embarrassed by the Biko affair, did not want it publicly re-examined.

An academic expert, who would not be named, said of yesterday's seizure that such means of "banning" could destroy the censorship system in South Africa.

He said it proved the Publications Appeal Board, which was appointed by the Home Affairs Minister, was not as independent as a court. He added. "Even though this board has come to be accepted as an independent body, this (assumed independence), its credibility and that of its chairman have now been destroyed by the fact that Government did not accept the board ruling."

Now there is not only a conflict between the executive and the court, but between the executive and its own administration."

But a Conservative Party spokesman said the CP fully supported the ban. He said the film "glorified a radical".

Earlier in the day, the film distributors defied the Government, going ahead with screenings after Justice Minister Mr Koble Coetsee refused to give permission for the banned former *Daily Dispatch* editor, Mr Donald Woods, to be quoted.

Earlier, Home Affairs Minister Mr Stoffel Botha unsuccessfully referred the film to the Publications Control Appeal Board. The board passed the film for screening, with a 2-19 age limit.

In a statement, the police public relations section said the Commissioner of Police had taken note of the appeal board decision.

"However, the SAP functions in the context of the State of Emergency... and administers the regulations in relation to circumstances which change from one minute to another.

"'Cry Freedom' contains propagandistic elements while various themes that are presented in the film bear a marked similarity to the revolutionary onslaught conducted against the Republic.

"The employment of violence and other emotive themes such as those presented in the film have in the past contributed to violence...

"In 'Cry Freedom' these themes are portrayed dramatically and one-sidedly. At the first showing of the film, threats and incidents of violence occurred.

"'Cry Freedom' endangers the safety of the public, the maintenance of public order and will delay the termination of the State of Emergency."

Mr Ayob Mayet, Johannesburg Youth Congress president, said the banning was proof of the Government's destruction of yet another basic tenet of democracy, that of freedom of thought.

Mr Coetsee's decision to overrule the appeal board decision demonstrated Government's commitment to "strong-arm tactics".

National Democratic Party leader Mr Wynand Malan said it was the action of a "clumsy and incompetent government". It was another restriction on South Africans' right to obtain information.

One was also left with an inevitable feeling that the State, which was culpable in the Biko affair, did not want its culpability to be examined again, he said.

"Nothing which Donald Woods ever said, or as a film character says, can endanger the safety of the

GOVT CRITICS INSTIT TO SHOWS BIKO FILM

Police seize 'Cry Freedom' after bomb blasts

BRUCE CAMERON and SATURDAY STAR REPORTERS

SK 30/7/85



Told you so, darlings."

Biko film seized

● From Page 1

State *Star 30/7/18* *(118) (2/2)*
"South Africans do not deserve a frightened and clumsy government. If it continues in this way for a little while longer, voters will abandon it in droves."

"There is undoubtedly a new political law in South Africa — when the Government finds the opportunity to shoot itself in the foot, you will hear the bang. If there is no such opportunity, it will find one," Mr Malan said.

Sir Richard Attenborough, director of the controversial film, had the last laugh in the matter, said PFP spokesman Mr Pat Rogers.

"South Africans should know by now that they cannot be trusted to see and hear and make up their own minds. They have been cast in the role of the three wise monkeys by a Government determined to block out the world."

"They should now reflect on how Sir Richard Attenborough was treated here by the SABC and know that he has had the last laugh."

"But let's salute the chairman of the Publications Appeal Board, Mr Kobus van Rooyen, for courage as well as judgment."

"As a further small example of this Government's paranoia I would mention that I had mailed to me from Britain seven weeks ago a video of the BBC production 'Suffer the Children'. Needless to say it has not reached me. An inquiry form as requested from the Post Office has been completed without response. That again is par for the course in Nationalist South Africa."

The SA Council of Churches condemned the banning as illustrating the "real relationship" between the courts and the Nationalist Party.

"The Publications Appeal Board is hailed by the Government," said the statement, "as having the expertise and skills concerning what is and what is not desirable for public consumption."

"The fact that even such a rigorous gauntlet of censorship cannot stand on its own without interference by the Minister of Law and Order, indicates the facade behind which the real decisions are made — that is to say a 'legal process' is created but when it does not suit the Nationalist Government there are always enough all-embracing draconian measures that can be reverted to."

● See Page 5

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 FILE NEWS 30/1/88

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 [Handwritten scribbles]

A CRY FOR FREEDOM



Don't stop expression — censor

Weekend Argus Reporter

PROFESSOR Kobus van Rooyen, chairman of the Publications Appeal Board, has a hot seat as the final arbiter of what South Africa will or won't see or read

Recent years have seen an easing of South Africa's strict censorship laws and some films — such as *A Clockwork Orange* which was banned for many years — were released for viewing, albeit in "art cinemas" with limited screenings

The Directorate of Publications stunned film distributors and friends of banned newspaper editor Donald Woods when they passed Sir Richard Attenborough's controversial film *Cry Freedom* without cuts last year

In spite of pressure from the Government, the Appeal Board yesterday reaffirmed this ruling, although police later seized copies of the film under the emergency regulations

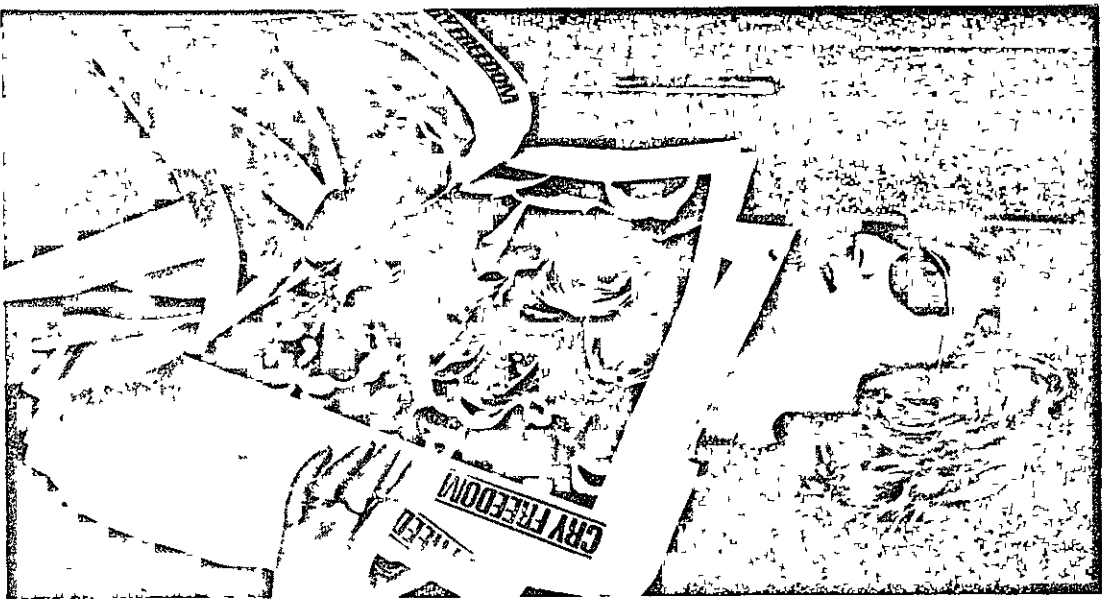
Setting out the criteria used when viewing political material, Professor van Rooyen said in an interview three years ago that the board had all but adopted the American policy of "clear and present danger"

Safety valve

This meant that a "clear and present danger" had to be proved before an item which made a strong political statement was banned

He said he believed that expression acted as a safety valve "If you ban all political expression, people find other outlets and this can create a security risk. So you end up being counter-productive"

With this in mind, the board removed a long-standing ban on a pamphlet form of the Freedom Charter,



Mrs Kathryn Gordon of Ster-Kinckor with posters

It's our story, like it or not

by DALE LAUTENBACH
 Political Staff

A LONG, long list of those dead in detention scrolls over the plains of Africa. Nkosi sikelel' iAfrika swells in a chorus of voices and as the screen darkens there is a lone cry "Amandla!"

"Ngawethu" answer countless voices in the darkness

Cry Freedom saw the light with its first public South African audiences yesterday, but in a rather more symbolic darkness there was still confusion as the freshly approved film on a technicality and invoked the Internal Security Act

Those of us in the cinema facing up to arguably the first big commercial look at South Africa. The Horror diatribe at the time know of the Government's actions

Authorities

But, in spirit, their refusing permission to the distributors to quote one of the film's two heroes, Donald Woods, banned former editor of the Daily Dispatch, was no different from the picture the film painted of the authorities — Jimmy Dhlalat my koud" Kruger et al

Cry Freedom, the story of Black Consciousness activist Steve Biko and his friendship with Woods, is not as bad as I had imagined from all that has been said and written

The script seems to be enormously banal, to a South African audience at any rate. After all, who needs to be told that a third person may not be in a

the world which for the most part would find such wringements without legal recourse to be unthinkable

Engrossing tension — a devastating final statement

by DEBEK WILSON
 Weekend Argus Arts Editor

We indict ourselves by knowing so much and becoming impatient with the telling

There were those, too, intimidated by a landscape so obviously not South African. When prevailing political conditions prevented *Cry Freedom* being made in the land of Steve Biko's birth and death, are we to quibble at aesthetic departures?

Realistic

That the authorities have stopped the showing of *Cry Freedom* is understandable. It's not a great film, if the standards of the international film industry are invoked

But as a film documentary of a life — and a brutal death — it's quite something to own up to, and the footage showing Soweto June 76 and Crossroads police raids and demolitions are indisputably realistic

The film gives human face, too, to Biko and to Woods. For those who care and want to know the facts and horrors of South African life, *Cry Freedom* is moving and frustrating to watch

And for those who don't want to know, the fact that *Cry Freedom* is just another film and a sad and horrible real-life story, like so many others from Hollywood, might give its content just that little bit more of a chance of hitting home in

John Thaw's portrayal of Minister of Justice Jimmy Kruger, who said Biko's death left him cold is a ridiculous

acted as a safety valve. "If you ban all political expression, people find other outlets and this can create a security risk. So you end up being counter-productive."

With this in mind, the board removed a long-standing ban on a pamphlet form of the Freedom Charter, ruling that although the charter formed part of the ANCS's credo it held no particular danger for State security.

The book *30 Years Of The Freedom Charter* by Professor Raymond Suther and Jeremy Cronin was also unbanished after an appeal.

Professor van Rooyen, 45, was born in Durban and matriculated from Koksstad Heerskool in 1960.

A gifted student, he graduated from the University of Pretoria with a BA with distinction in 1963 and an LLB with distinction in 1965, winning prizes as the best fourth-year student, the best civil-procedure law student and the best final-year student.

Promoted

In 1966 he was appointed senior lecturer in Roman Dutch Law at the University of Pretoria and was promoted to head of the department of criminal law in 1969, obtaining his LL.D degree in 1970.

Professor van Rooyen, 45, was appointed deputy-chairman of the Publications Appeal Board in 1975 and chairman in 1980.

Sapa reported from Johannesburg yesterday that the South African Council of Churches said in a statement, "The Publications Appeal Board is hailed by the Government as having the expertise and skills concerning



Mrs Kathryn Gordon of Ster-Kinekor with posters she was ordered to remove by security police after they seized a copy of *City of Freedom* at the Monte Carlo cinema on the Foreshore.

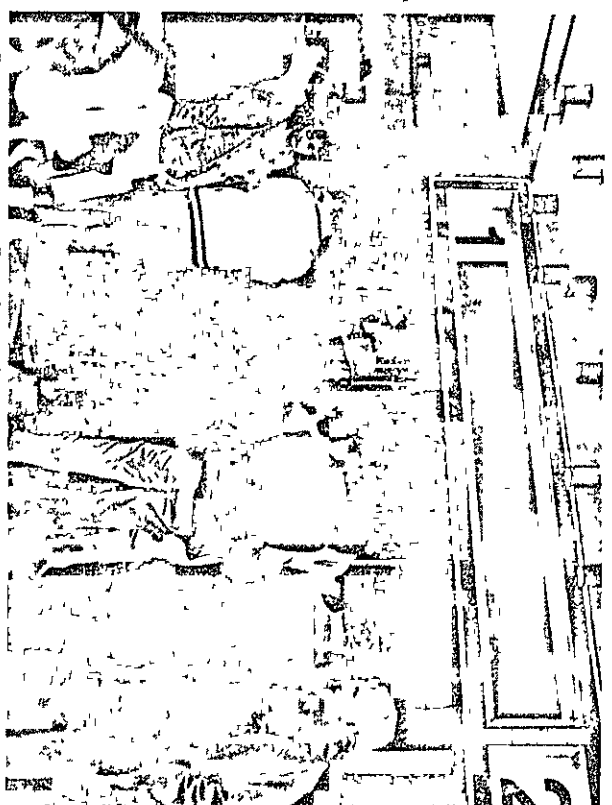
what is and what is not desirable for public consumption

"The fact that even such a rigorous gambler of censorship cannot stand on its own without interference indicates the facade behind which the real decisions are made — a "legal process" is created, but when it does not suit the Nationalist Government, there are always enough all-embracing draconian measures that can be reverted to."

Weekend Angus Foreign Staff in London reported that the immediate reaction to the South African Government's intervention to block the screening of *City of Freedom* had made it a Black Friday for South Africa.

Mr Michael Williams-Jones, president and chief executive officer of the distributors, United International Pictures, said, "It's beyond belief. I can only say that I am disgusted, outraged — I find it incredibly cynical and so inconsistent with the fundamental principles of freedom of expression, freedom of speech and freedom of opinion."

"I think it is a black day if this action results in the film not being seen by all South Africans, who absolutely and fundamentally deserve the right to make up their own minds."



Patrons outside a Foreshore cinema complex yesterday after police had seized the film, *City of Freedom*.

Steve Biko and his friendship with Woods is not as bad as I had imagined from all that had been said and written.

The script seems to be enormously banal (to a South African audience at any rate) but more of all who needs to be told that a banned person may not be in a room with more than one other person at a time? The rest of the civlised world that's who

And for those who don't want to know, the fact that *City of Freedom* is just another film and a sad and horrible real-life story, like so many others from Hollywood might give its content just that little bit more of a chance of hitting home in South Africa where, after all, it belongs.

It's our story, like it or not.

other convincing portrayal. It is important that he conveys a certain charisma, and this Washington does with a quiet strength.

John Thaw's portrayal of Minister of Justice Jimmy Kruger, who said Biko's death left him cold, is a ridiculous caricature.

The dialogue is utterly banal here and there, and one wonders how much time the screenwriter, John Briley, spent in a newsroom.

There are certain attempts at local touches that don't ring true but these would be noticed only in South Africa. Outside they would make no difference at all.

City of Freedom is essential viewing for any concerned South African not wanting to be caught up in the growing polarisation.



Sir Richard Attenborough

A bumpy ride from the start

by KAREN STANDER
Weekend Angus Reporter

THE controversy surrounding *City of Freedom* is typical of the problems that have plagued the film since its conception.

In South Africa it was first passed by the censors, who were then ordered by the Government to reconsider, but when it was passed again by the censors yesterday it was seized by police under the emergency regulations.

The controversy started in 1984 when Sir Richard Attenborough's low-key visit to South Africa ended in a blaze of publicity.

Before he had even started his film on the friendship between black-consciousness leader Steve Biko and banned newspaper editor

Donald Woods, Sir Richard left the country in a rage, accusing the SABC of "a scandalous tissue of distortion and half-truth".

In 1986 there was speculation that the filming of *City of Freedom* would be suspended, if not abandoned, because of financial problems.

However, Sir Richard flew to Zimbabwe to begin filming only a few months later and the Zimbabwean Government invested R10-million in it.

American actors Denzel Washington and Kevin Kline were cast as Biko and Woods, a move which did not please South African actors. Special security measures were taken during the filming because of the alleged danger of sabotage from South Africa.

The next blow to the R47-million production was a threat by Azapo to drive the film off world cinema screens because it allegedly gave a distorted view of the black-consciousness leader.

The film opened in the United States to largely favourable reviews but that did not prevent a box office disappointment. On video it is doing far better and this week was listed among the top 10.

There were some rave reviews and some pans but even the favourable reviews often commented that it was not quite what it was expected to be, a story about Biko.

However, long before filming began Sir Richard was quoted as saying that the Biko story would not be central to the film.

He said that a film about recent events in South Africa could not leave out the Biko story but he was not making a film devoted entirely to his story.

In Britain *City of Freedom* is proving to be an enduring attraction, according to its distributors. More than two million people have seen it.

"It has done extraordinarily well, and not only in Britain," Mr Michael Williams-Jones, president and chief executive officer of United International Pictures, said this week.

"On a worldwide basis it has done business in excess of R50-million at the box office. It has been released in 42 countries."

It was nominated, but failed to take honours, in the prestige Evening Standard British Film Awards.

ENGAGEMENT

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w/e ARGUS 30/7/88

Police 'tried to make a deal'

Weekend Argus Correspondent

DURBAN.— A police investigator for the James Commission, probing allegations of corruption in the House of Delegates, tried to make a deal with a key witness, according to evidence led by Chatsworth businessman Mr Govindasamy Pillay.

Mr Pillay, cross-examined by the chairman of the Delegates' Ministers' Council, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, in Durban Magistrate's Court, said a top police officer made him the offer.

Mr Pillay said that after making an affidavit which contained allegations against Mr Rajbansi, he submitted another statement withdrawing his charges. He said he lied in his original affidavit and wanted it withdrawn.

"But a police officer, a Colonel Kaap, told me

that if I did stick with my original statement I would not be charged with perjury and that he would take me to the Attorney-General and get me indemnity immediately," said Mr Pillay.

He rejected the offer, he added.

The public hearing, which began on Wednesday, has been sensational with allegations about shady business deals worth millions of rands, forged documents, character assassinations and lies.

And, with 30 minutes to the weekend recess, another row developed when Mr Rajbansi warned he was seriously thinking about calling in the National Intelligence Service to investigate whether his telephone was tapped.

He asked the commission chairman, Mr Neville James, former Judge-President of the Supreme Court in Natal, for an adjournment until Monday.

Bleak for consumers in a world without advertising

Star 23/4/88

30

In a world without advertising, consumers lack a means of distinguishing one product from another

Producers lack a means by which to reward themselves for successfully establishing a particular product as a benchmark for quality.

They find they profit most by attracting the least attention and that the smart tactic is to cut costs and avoid being noticed for any loss in quality.

The disappearance of advertising would discourage competition.

It would encourage producers to behave as they did in the world of the medieval guilds or of old-fashioned, Soviet-style factories

Just as it would discourage producers from competing over quality, the disappearance of advertising would discourage them from competing over price.

Producers would lack an adequate means to inform consumers that they had cut prices

Consumers would go on paying higher prices even when lower prices were available.

● "A World Without Advertising" was written for The Interpublic Group, holding company of McCann and Lintas, by David G Tuerck, professor and chairman of the Department of Economics, Suffolk University, Boston, Massachusetts.

When professional societies or trade groups oppose price advertising they ignore the fact that a ban on advertising often raises consumer prices

Retail price advertising has produced documented savings in the case of eyeglasses, prescription drugs, and petrol.

It has permitted the introduction of cut-rate legal and health services

Critics of advertising argue that it raises consumer prices by raising manufacturers' prices

They forget what the world looked like before manufacturers' advertising became common

A hundred years ago, manufacturers did not ordinarily promote their own brands to consumers. Retailers and wholesalers de-

ecided which manufacturers' goods to place before consumers and did most of the advertising

Merchants dominated consumers and manufacturers, keeping choices narrow and their own distribution margins wide.

The introduction of manufacturers' advertising reversed this. Distribution margins shrank, often leading to lower retail prices, and there emerged a wide array of nationally advertised, low-priced consumer goods

Merchants introduced private labels and discovered that by opening chain stores they could make up on volume what they had lost on margin

The world of advertising and distribution as we know it finally emerged

Without advertising we would return to the earlier world — a world of high retail price margins, scarcer goods, and the disappearance of the advertised brands to which generics and private labels owe their justification.

Any reduction in factory price made possible by the elimination of advertising would be offset by the promotion costs manufacturers would incur in selling to retailers and wholesal-

ers, by the increased market power merchants would acquire over consumers, and by the increased difficulty consumers would have making price comparisons

Because manufacturers could not appeal directly to consumers without advertising, they would lose an important incentive to improve existing products and to introduce new ones

A world without advertising would lack the volume and diversity of print and electronic media that we now take for granted

Government would find itself filling yet another governmentally induced vacuum, with all the predictable consequences for free speech and market innovation

This, then, is the world without advertising. In this world, the image of manufacturer and merchant vying vigorously for the consumer's patronage is replaced by another image. It is the image of the consumer reading his government-edited newspaper as he waits in line to buy goods he doesn't recognize at prices he can't evaluate.

It is to this world that many critics of advertising would, however unwittingly, lead us

'Cry Freedom' a nightmare to haunt us all

SK 30/7/88

11A

THE wracking impact of "Cry Freedom" is not brought about by the film's artistic merit; it is, for white South Africans, because it dashes once and for all the hope-sustaining myth we are the "good guys".

Despite accents which occasionally jar, acting which is highly competent but not outstanding, and the storyteller's need to paint his picture in sharp contrasts without shading, the first half of Richard Attenborough's film is impressive.

What's involved here, again for white South Africans, is a loss of innocence watching Hippos roll into Crossroads and seeing men with sjamboks chasing and beating women and children in Soweto is soul-destroying when you know that such things have actually happened.

It is intolerable that we have behaved in a manner that draws accusations of barbarism.

Historically, white South Africa has seen itself as being on the side of the angels, here we are shown, in panoramic terms and to an identifiable degree, as villains.

Had the producers been satisfied to stick with the Biko story and eschewed the drama/thriller aspects of Donald Woods's biography, the film might well have had a far greater credibility.

Its publicity has capitalised on Biko as the protagonist, but it has delivered more Woods. The pupil has stolen the limelight from his mentor.

Bantu Stephen Biko is portrayed by Denzel Washington as a tolerant, articulate intelligent young man pitting himself against the might of corrupt power.

Through his thoroughly modern, squeaky-clean guile, he is in the process of taming the savagery of ignorance and prejudice when, by happenstance, he delivers himself into the hands of unrelenting brutality. And so he dies — to become a martyr.

The script leaves to imagination

GARALT MacLIAM

what might have happened when he was in the custody of security police for 25 days before his death and is the more effective for having omitted detail, perhaps theorising that no terror can be put into more purple prose than that which the individual can bring forth when he or she delves into the dark caves of fear.

The second half of the movie tells more of Donald Woods's conversion to black consciousness, his banning and his eventual escape from South Africa. It is here that security police are depicted as comic-book villains.

"Cry Freedom's" evil ones are visibly so (with the exception perhaps of Minister Kruger whose callous, devious behaviour is of a more subtle nature), they are the dumkopfs whom Woods eventually outwits with what appears to be a mixture of schoolboy stealth, patience and superior intelligence.

To undervalue the power of intellect which South Africa has at its disposal and to present that under-evaluation in docu-drama form is a gross artistic error.

It even puts in question things that are known to be true.

It allows the thinking cinemagoer, here and abroad, to see that when all's said and done, the content is simplistic and, with exceptions already mentioned, it does not capture the sub-text of South African life as it was in the 70s.

It also leaves the film open to the argument that it is largely a piece of propaganda.

Because of that fundamental flaw, it is not a work that merits any serious attention on an artistic level.

That, however, does little to lessen its visceral effect.

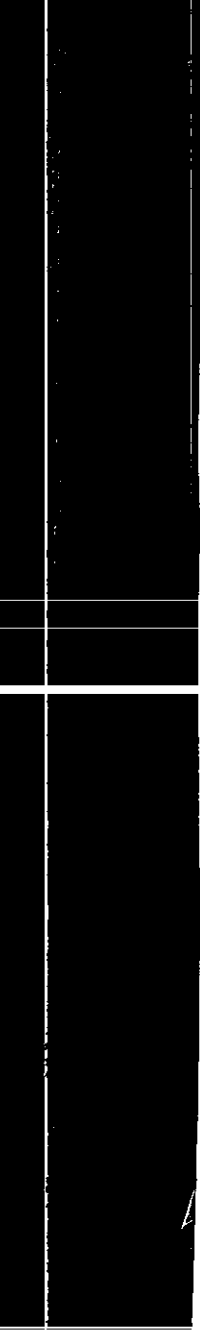
It crawls insidiously under the skin and into the very core of being where its horror will remain all the days of my life.

Faults, yes, but it dashes the myth that we are the good guys



QUESTIONING: Donald Woods (Kevin Kline) is questioned by security police in a scene from the film.

cornmeal



Saturday Star July 30 1988

5

CRY FREEDOM



DIRECTOR: Sir Richard Attenborough backed by posters of "Cry Freedom's" Steve Biko (Denzel Washington).

explosions and bomb threats.

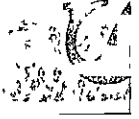
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STAR REPORTER

TO PAGE 2

"I'd you so, darlings."



A YOUNG South African woman has claimed sanctuary in the British embassy in Angola, claiming she has fled incarceration in an ANC prison camp.

Miss Olivia Forsyth, 28, a researcher in political and economic affairs in Johannesburg until she mysteriously disappeared last year, has been holed up in the embassy for the past 10 weeks. The British Foreign Office, which confirmed last night that Miss Forsyth is in their embassy in Luanda, is facing a bitter confrontation with Angola's Marxist government.

SA woman says she was tortured

In a bizarre echo of terrorist fugitive Klaas de Jonge's retreat into the Dutch embassy in Pretoria, Miss Forsyth refuses to leave her refuge.

She claims the Angolan authorities will hand her back to the ANC, who will take her back to the imprisonment and torture she says she suffered at a camp near the movements's military headquarters in Lubango in southern Angola.

Miss Forsyth, a former student at Rhodes University in Grahamstown and a prominent committee member of Nusas, holds dual nationality, British and South African.

Demand

The South African Department of Foreign Affairs last night disclaimed all knowledge of her.

British Ambassador to Angola Mr Michael Glaze and his staff of four have demanded her safe passage to London.

According to London's Mail on Sunday newspaper, Miss Forsyth cannot leave the confines of the embassy for fear of being arrested by the Angolan Government and sent back to the ANC prison camp.

There, she claims, she was held for 22 months, accused of being a South African spy in the ANC ranks.

Miss Forsyth claims to have been severely tortured.

Her asylum is threatening to drag Britain into a major diplomatic confrontation with Angola.

Permit

A British Foreign Office spokesman told the Sunday Times yesterday that Miss Forsyth was "fine and in good health and spirits".

A spokesman said "We are awaiting the outcome of several applications to the Angolan Government for an exit permit for Miss Forsyth to allow her safe passage to London."

"She has been put in touch with her father at her own request. She has also expressed a desire to come to England and we will help her."

The ANC is believed to have complained to the British Government over the Forsyth issue, denying the reports of her imprisonment. But British diplomats believe her account of the or-



IN GOOD SPIRITS ... Olivia Forsyth, 28. She is holed up in the British embassy in Luanda.

deal Olivia's mother, Mrs Joan Brune, who lives in Pietersburg, said she last heard from her daughter in June, 1986.

When told of the latest developments, she said "It is

disastrous that the story has come out. I don't know how the British authorities will react now.

"I am so upset and worried about my daughter. It is frightening. Poor Olivia."

embassy drama

'ANC prisoner' in

11A

A visit to Nelson Mandela

Prison bars divided comrades for 26 years

OP Correspondent

IT took them 26 years to see their friend Nelson Mandela but the visit to Pollsmoor Prison last week was worth the wait, said Yusuf Cachalia and his wife Amma.

The visit was the cherry on top of a wonderful year for them. They saw two old comrades - Mandela and ANC president Oliver Tambo, who is in exile.

Discussing Saturday's visit, Amma said she had been very nervous the previous night.

"I was very excited and had butterflies in my tummy. I could not sleep. I was too busy thinking what I would say to him after 26 years."

On Saturday she wore a multi-coloured saruti to "brighten up Pollsmoor". She said Mandela was "immaculately dressed in well pressed khaki trousers, brown shoes, beige socks, a khaki shirt and a woollen vest."

And the visit? Nelson was waiting for us with his arms outstretched. I embraced him and planned kisses all over his face on behalf of so many friends," she said.

"When I looked at him I realised he had become very thin. But his smile was as wide as ever. His eyes, which had the same

Pope showers him with praise

By STAN MHLONDO

POPE John Paul II is the latest world leader to have showered praise on jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

The Pope, due to visit Southern Africa during September, paid a glowing tribute to Mandela on his 70th birthday. "Mandela is a man who has suffered so much for the rights of his people," he said.

Today many years after he was jailed for treason, Mandela remains a very prominent public figure. The African newspaper *Beledi* and the PFF, have recently urged the government to release him - despite his refusal to denounce violence as a condition of his release.

To the curious and inquisitive public, the reasons for Mandela's continued imprisonment remain shrouded in mystery.

The Minister of Information, Stoffel Botha, recently refused to give the reasons behind the government's decision to continue holding Mandela.

One of the questions posed by those supporting Mandela's release is "Why is the government keen to

negotiate with the Cubans and Russians while reluctant to negotiate with Mandela?"

Mandela's tribute to Mandela makes remarkable reading. "The sufferer has a high price, but which arouses appreciation from all who are concerned about the rights of man, about the problems of race," said the Pope.

"One can see the greatness of the testimony of this (Mandela's) personality. These days I have thought of him in a special way," said the Pontiff.

Amma was wearing "The said I looked lovely."

Yusuf said he met Mandela through mutual friends while studying law at Wits University.

Our families became firm friends. We were detained together in 1960.

"Our friendship has grown through regular letters since his incarceration."

Cachalia said he last saw Oliver Tambo on South African soil "a day before he shipped the country in March 1960".

That night Tambo and the late Yusuf Dadoo

former president of the SA Indian Congress and member of the SA Communist Party, informed him of their plans to leave their native country.

"They asked me to leave with them. I said no because I had Amma and our children to think about," said Cachalia.

Early the next morning I was detained under the just-imposed state of emergency and held for four months.

By coincidence, their paths crossed in Zimbabwe in March.

"We did not know Tambo was in the country, but mutual friends told him of our presence."

"My wife and I were in our hotel room when the telephone rang one night."

"I picked it up and a male voice said 'The old man wants to see you'. I knew immediately that the 'old man' was Tambo."

The Cachalias went off to see him.

Amma said "Oliver reminded us of the date. It was March 28 - 28 years to the day he and Yusuf Dadoo said goodbye us."

"He looked amazingly well. He has not changed much. He has put on weight around the waist, unlike Nelson. He was baldier than the Oliver Tambo I knew, but his face was the same."

Sceng Tambo was too much for her.

"I just cried. It was so emotional. I told myself I would not cry when I saw Nelson. And I did not."

Yusuf said "It has been a wonderful year for us. We have seen two colleagues for the first time in more than 28 years."

"We are happy and honoured to have had this

Boesak lauds Frelimo award to Mandela

OP Correspondent

THE Award bestowed by the Mozambican Parliament, the People's Assembly, on jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela, "is an honour, not only for Nelson Mandela, but an honour for all of us," declared South African activist, Dr Allan Boesak, in Maputo recently.

Boesak was speaking to journalists at Maputo International Airport immediately after his arrival for a two day visit.

Last week the standing committee of the Peoples Assembly voted unanimously to award Nelson Mandela Mozambique's highest honour, the Eduardo Mondlane Order of Merit.

The order is named after the founder and first president of Frelimo, Dr Eduardo Mondlane.

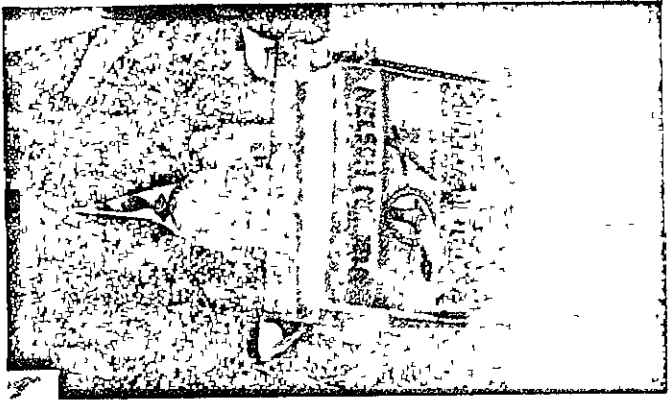
Boesak described the award as "wonderful," and added that the Peoples Assembly had decided to honour Mandela "for his role in the struggle, and we feel that his struggle is our struggle."

Boesak said he felt an award from Mozambique was "worth more" than similar awards from other parts of the world, "because of the affinity between the people of Mozambique and the people of South Africa."

The church leader noted that the South African authorities had banned most of the celebrations of Mandela's 70th birthday "earlier this month."

Boesak said he felt an award from Mozambique was "worth more" than similar awards from other parts of the world, "because of the affinity between the people of Mozambique and the people of South Africa."

The church leader noted that the South African authorities had banned most of the celebrations of Mandela's 70th birthday "earlier this month."



Alan Boesak shows off birthday greetings.

and in Cape Town members of the committee organising the celebrations had been detained.

Although most activities were outlawed, a church service was held on July 18 the date of Mandela's birthday and balloons in the colours of the ANC were released.

Boesak added that the police had appeared at one Cape Town school to announce that releasing the balloons was "a subversive act."

Asked about the current negotiations to end the conflict in Angola and Namibia, Boesak warned "one should not trust the South African Government over much. They have proved to be people who do not keep their word."

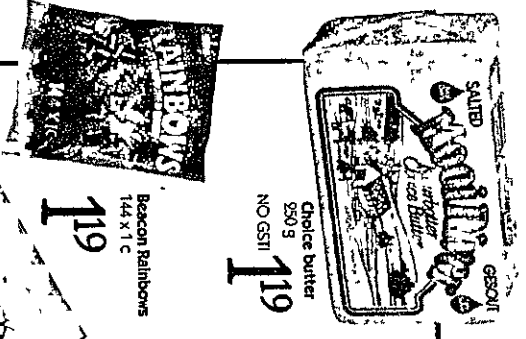
It was "very important to make sure that the independence of Namibia

remains firmly on the priority list," he said.

Stressing the issue of Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola, instead of what has been happening over the past few years, he continued adding that "the Cubans were brought in to help the Angolans defend the country from South African aggression."

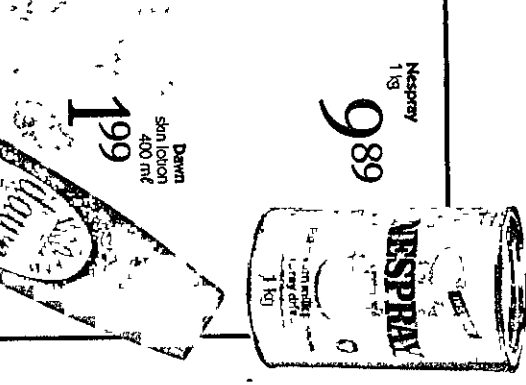
The achievement of peace in Angola and the ending of all South African and US support for UNITA were certainly important goals, said Boesak, but if independence for Namibia is not achieved, then we will not have made progress towards a real settlement."

He called for "direct negotiations" between the South African Government and Swapo.



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South Africa remembers E Cape leaders' killings

CP Correspondent

MORE than 800 people packed Cradock's Anglican Church Hall last Saturday to commemorate the death of four Lingshale Township leaders murdered by unknown assassins near Port Elizabeth three years ago.

The four were Matthew Goniwe, Fort Calata, Sicele Mhlawuli and Sparrow Mkhonto. Their badly burnt and mutilated bodies were found near each other at Bluewater Bay, one kilometre from PE.

Their relatives were informed of their tragic deaths after trying in vain for days to establish their whereabouts.

3/17/88 C/P Press (11A)
"Their deaths are sacrifice to you"

The men had all attended a UDF meeting in PE, and were reportedly headed for home when the mysterious tragedy occurred.

Goniwe allegedly said before leaving the meeting that he would not stop on the way home for anyone except uniformed police.

In his opening address to the packed hall, the chairman of the Eastern Cape Council of Churches, Rev Canon Mcebisi Xundu, said "their deaths were a sacrifice of themselves to you and of yours to them".

"Around the anniversary of these fallen comrades we pledge and seek unity in their memory.

"We have always resisted oppression and the takeover of our land since the days of the frontier wars. These young men died in their resistance to oppression."

Xundu said people had to realise it was no use to die by the wayside, but should rather die in their sacrifice for a good cause.

An old woman broke into tears when she looked at the Lingshale Stadium

where the funeral of the four was held in July three years ago.

"This field will always be in our minds. I can still remember when these heroes lay in state when man after man talked over their dead bodies," she said.

The church is opposite the stadium.

Eyewitnesses said that shortly before the service a white woman, Angie Hamlet, 42, was photographing a group of young black boys showing black power salutes.

A police van patrolling around the church grounds stopped and the driver asked in Afrikaans why she was using children for "propaganda".

She told him they were only children and nobody was using anyone for "propaganda". The police drove away.

Many people who wanted to attend the service were turned away or had their cars and belongings searched.

One man who attended said he was turned back at one of the gates leading to

Lingshale. He returned to town and used an alternative entrance to get into the township.

"I had to leave my jacket with a friend and wear a beret in order to be able to pass through their dragnet," he said.

The service started with the lighting of four candles symbolising the dead leaders' spirit and commitment.

The candles had barbed wire around them. One of the organisers, Alfred Skweyiya, said the wire symbolised the nation under siege.

Skweyiya said "These candles represent our sincerity to our struggle and this wire shows the agony Goniwe and his friends had to go through in pursuing a non-racial future for all of us as citizens of this country."

"We have once again come here to reconstruct and rededicate ourselves to the cause that led to the brutal deaths of these heroes," he said.

Three of the men's widows were present. Nombuyiselo Mhlawuli had other commitments.

A 10-member Cradock Youth Association choir sang songs dedicated to the murdered leaders.

Another member of the youth organisation read poems dedicated to them.

Messages of support were received from organisations countrywide, including the UDF, the Grahamstown Youth Congress and the Grahamstown branch of the Dependents Conference.

A message was received from former Robben Island prisoner and ANC leader Govan Mbeki.

The Institute for Democratic Alternatives in South Africa sent R250 in support of the commemoration service.

The inquest into the death of the four Lingshale leaders was again postponed on Monday to February 15, next year.



Matthew Goniwe ... mysteriously killed.

Court victory, but police cut Mandela celebration

CP Correspondent

THE Mandela Birthday Committee won a victory in the Cape Town Supreme Court on Sunday, but it could not prevent police from spoiling a festival at the University of Cape Town.

The committee planned to hold a cultural festival at UCT on Sunday, but on Saturday night SAP Divisional Commissioner Brig Roy Doring banned the event.

On Sunday, Supreme Court Judge Howie, in an urgent application, set aside the prohibition.

Costs were awarded to the applicants, the Mandela Birthday Committee, and its convener, UDF patron Rev Allan Boesak.

Hours after the court victory, security forces arrived at UCT, declared the music festival being held there illegal, and ordered more than 500 people to leave the campus.

The crowd left some banners "happy birthday" and others released black, green and gold balloons.

On Monday, Dean Edward King of Cape Town - acting as vicar general during Archbishop Desmond Tutu's visit to Canterbury for the Lambeth '88 conference - accompanied by bishops Geoffe Quinlan and Edward MacKenzie to Pollsmoor Prison to hand over birthday greetings from the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr Robert Runcie, to Mandela.

They were stopped at a police roadblock near the prison in Tokai, but allowed to pass.

Late on Monday, Boesak read a statement to a news conference at the University of the Western Cape on behalf of the Nelson Mandela Birthday Committee.

He said the committee's demand for the immediate and unconditional release of Mandela and other political prisoners "assumes greater significance with each passing day".

The people of Cape Town had continued with celebratory activities for comrade Mandela's birth-



Five runners left from near Pollsmoor Prison at the start of a relay scheduled to end at a Guguletu Stadium sports event organised as part of the Mandela birthday celebrations. The runners were arrested and the police and military sealed off the stadium and prohibited the event.

day", he said.

"This occurred despite equally persistent State attempts to disrupt and disorganise planners of these envisaged events."

Said Boesak. "It is obvious that Mandela's continued imprisonment means a continued irresolution of the South African crisis."

Pictures and posters of

Mandela filled the hall

Three chairs were reserved for him, his former Robben Island colleague Govan Mbeki and ANC leader Oliver Tambo. Seven other places were designated for people in detention, restricted, banned, on trial, on death row, in exile and in prison.

Messages congratulat-

ing Mandela on his 70th birthday were received from Tambo, Umkhonto we Sizwe members held at Pollsmoor prison for "allegedly committing treason", the banned South African Trade Unions and South African Communist Party leader Joe Slovo.

Others were telexed by Amy Carter, daughter of

former American President Jimmy Carter, the Black Sash, the South African Youth Congress, the University of the Western Cape SRC, the National Education Crisis Committee and many others.

UDF Western Cape president Zolhe Malindi, who was detained in Cape Town for 10 days, was freed with eight others this week.

They were detained for allegedly helping to plan Mandela birthday celebrations in the Western Cape.

Lawyers said those released were Malindi, Athlone lawyer Bulelani Ngcuka, photographer Omar Badsha, political cartoonist Jonathan Shapiro, Argus journalist Rehana Rossouw, UDF administrative secretary Veronica Simmers, high school teacher Saleem Mowzer, Nconde Balfour and Nabs Wessel.

Nelson's birthday marked in PE

CP Correspondent

PORT Elizabeth was one of the few places in the country which celebrated Nelson Mandela's 70th birthday last weekend.

About 600 cheering well-wishers secretly gathered at KwaZakhele's St Don Bosco Catholic Church hall to honour the day.

Ministers of the Interdenominational African Minister Association of SA, in conjunction with the Port Elizabeth branch of the Black Sash whose members baked a huge cake decorated in black, green and gold and bearing 70 candles, officiated.

Youths sang freedom songs dedicated to Mandela, while a huge banner saluting South Africa's great leaders hung on a wall.

Speaking on behalf of Idamasa, the Rev Mcebisi Xundu highlighted the importance of the day by congratulating Mandela.

"Our presence here is to be an act of solidarity with Nelson for all that he stands for," Xundu said.

Idamasa president Rev De Villiers Soga said: "We hope and pray the winds of change that are blowing throughout the length and breadth of our land will carry our message of support and solidarity to our dear friend Nelson to give him the assurance that he is not forgotten."

"He must remain for many years as a shining star on the horizon of our land to guide the struggle for a democratic, non-racial South Africa which we all work for," Soga said. - Pen

Political comment and Newsbills by Z. Sibya. Headlines and sub-editing by F. Alberts, all of 204 Eloff Street, Johannesburg.

**PAC lay claim
3/17/88 CP Press
to SAP attack**

CP Correspondent

THE PAC has claimed responsibility for last Sunday's incident near Mafikeng

The organisation's military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, reacted when one of its units was stopped at a roadblock by members of the South African Police, a PAC statement from Dar es Salaam said

Three men and a woman were shot dead and 12 policemen were wounded in the clash - Ano

31/7/68

Solidarity pledge by Azasm

By STAN MHLONGO

~~2/1/68~~

THE Azanian Student Movement this week pledged solidarity with the 14 students expelled from the Soshanguve Central State Secondary School

11/11

Azasm spokesman Holy Kekana said the solidarity decision with the 14 students was taken at the organisation's two-day seminar held at Medunsa recently

11/11

In a statement Kekana said Azasm realised the common nature of problems faced by the various regions at secondary and tertiary institutions

C/11/11

"We also realise that tough measures are the order of the day. The students are denied the basic moral of human rights at Soshanguve. The students require unity to stop this harassing"

"It is high time students, teachers and parents met to discuss the problems

11A

Botswana slams BBC reports on ANC-SAP 'border clashes'

CP Correspondent
A SPOKESMAN for the Department of External Affairs in Botswana has described as "ridiculous and dangerous" consistent reports carried by the British Broadcasting Corporation that alleged ANC guerillas clashed with units of the South African Police near the Botswana

border
It was reported on July 24 that four suspected insurgents - including a woman - were killed and 12 policemen injured in a handgrenade and gun battle at a South African roadblock near Lichtenburg in western Transvaal. Asked to comment, the Botswana spokesman said

the BBC report linking the clash with Botswana was ridiculous because nobody who knew the geography of South Africa would describe Lichtenburg as being near the Botswana border.
He said the linking was dangerous as it might be seen as "legitimising the illegal and unwarranted

raids by the South African Defence Force into Botswana that this country has suffered over the past three years".
The spokesman also took to task a report in a Johannesburg afternoon newspaper that the ANC often infiltrates its members into South Africa via Botswana, through the western Transvaal. He said reports that treat opinions like facts were "extremely dangerous".

He challenged the newspaper to produce evidence to substantiate its allegation that Botswana was a transit route for ANC members.

The spokesman reiterated Botswana's position of not allowing anybody to use Botswana as a launching pad for attacks against her neighbours.

This policy formed the cornerstone of Botswana's relations with her neighbours, irrespective of the system of government they practised, the Botswana spokesman added -
Ano